

THE POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

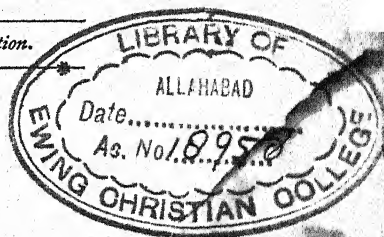
BY

CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME VII.

FROM THE WAR OF 1793, TO THE MATERIAL PROGRESS OF
BRITISH INDIA, 1826.

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POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

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AT the close of the Session of Parliament on the 21st of June, there was an exulting notice in the King's Speech of "the rapid and signal successes which, in an early period of the campaign, have attended the operations of the combined armies." The successes, at that moment, were scarcely of a nature to call for such congratulation. After the defection of Dumouriez, general Dampierre was appointed to the command of the republican army on the Flemish frontier. The Allied army, under the prince of Cobourg, took no advantage of the alarm produced amongst the French forces when the commander who had defended the Argonne, and won the battle of Jemappes, went over to their enemies. There was a month of inactivity whilst a Congress was deliberating at Antwerp upon the plan of a campaign. In the entrenched camp of Famars, which covered Valenciennes, Dampierre received reinforcements. He thought himself strong enough on the 8th of May to make an attack on the extended lines of the Allies. On this day, the English Guards, under the duke of York, were first brought into action; and their bravery contributed much to the result of the engagement. The French were driven back to their camp, with a severe loss, and general Dampierre was killed. On the 23rd the camp of Famars was attacked and carried by the Allies; and the French fell back to the camp of Cæsar, leaving Valenciennes uncovered. The siege of

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that city commenced on the 14th of June, the besieging forces being commanded by the duke of York. A fierce bombardment went on till the 28th of July, when the garrison capitulated, and were allowed to retire to France, on condition of not again serving against the Allies. Their arms were turned against their fellow-countrymen in La Vendée. Condé also capitulated in July. On the Rhine, the forces of Prussia had defeated the French in several considerable actions. The great success was the surrender of Mayence to the king of Prussia, after a protracted siege, on the 22nd of July; the garrison of twenty thousand men being allowed to retire to France upon the same condition as the garrison of Valenciennes. The king of Prussia, having thus secured the safety of his own frontier, left the Allies to pursue their course without any further effectual co-operation. He sent the greater part of his army to occupy Dantzic and Thorn, upon which he had seized as his spoil in the new partition of Poland.

After the surrender of Valenciennes and the surrender of Condé, there was no fortified place sufficiently strong to have arrested the march of the allied armies to Paris had a vigorous and united policy been resolved upon. At the beginning of August, the republicans were driven from their stronghold, the camp of Cæsar, to a position behind the Scarpe, in front of Arras. But there was little vigour amongst the Allies, and there was less union. The combined armies separated. The Austrians, with forty-five thousand men, commenced the siege of Quesnoy, which fortress they took. The British, and their Hanoverian contingents, under the command of the duke of York, marched to attack Dunkirk, and were joined by a detachment of Austrians. This movement, for an object as selfish as the policy of Prussia, was dictated by the ministry of Mr. Pitt, under the miserable traditional desire to maintain our maritime ascendancy by the possession or the destruction of this French naval entrepôt. The duke had thirty-seven thousand men under his command. On the 18th of August an engagement took place at Lincelles, and the brave Guards carried a strong redoubt. Dutch troops also advanced against Dunkirk. Great preparations had been made in England for this enterprize. Eleven battalions were sent from the Thames, with a bombarding flotilla; but they arrived too late. The besieging army had not only failed of assistance from home; but in their encampment near the sandy shore they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's gun-boats. Whilst they were preparing for active operations during three weeks, the French, by the energetic direction of Carnot, who had brought the military affairs of the republic under the control of one powerful

will, had rapidly marched from the Moselle, and finally compelled the duke of York to raise the siege. The covering army of the Austrians was defeated on the 8th of September, by the French general Houchard, near Hondscote. The garrison of Dunkirk made a sally on the besiegers at the same time. The duke of York was placed in a position of imminent danger; and he resolved, on that night of the 8th, to withdraw from his lines, abandoning his heavy artillery and ammunition. The king's son, who possessed the bravery of his family, and was not altogether deficient in the rarer qualities of a commander, was not to be blamed for this reverse. The French general Houchard was submitted to a more terrible criticism than the reproaches of the journalists who libelled the duke of York. The Convention put their general to death because he had not been vigilant enough to prevent the retreat of the English. In the affair of Dunkirk the duke of York manifested a generous forbearance towards those who were chiefly to blame. Lord Malmesbury, on his way to Berlin, saw the duke on the 6th of December; who said his army was ill provided; and he condemned the whole measure of Dunkirk, and separation of the armies. "On my hinting," says lord Malmesbury, "a possibility, or rather a certainty, that Grey would make Dunkirk the first object on the opening of the Session, the duke said he trusted none of *his* friends would be so over zealous as to defend him at the expense of others. . . . He should be very sorry indeed that any blame should be thrown on any particular measure, or any particular minister, as it certainly would go to censure the principle of the war and produce the worst consequences." * On the first night of the Session (January 21, 1794), Mr. Fox did defend the duke of York, and did blame the minister. He wished to know who was the wise man who planned the expedition, and advised the division of the combined forces in Flanders? He exclaimed, "What must have been the feelings of a gallant British prince, who, through dangers and difficulties, had approached the sea, the natural dominion of his country, and expected to find the whole coast a fortress for him, at beholding his troops destroyed by the gun-boats of the enemy commanding the shore." Fox did point at the "particular minister" whom he held accountable for this and other miscarriages: "The Chancellor of the Exchequer possesses great talents and great eloquence; and the long period during which he has had the opportunity of displaying these talents in office has no doubt added to the number of his admirers: but he must now pick from the very lowest class of his flatterers before

* Malmesbury—"Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 17.

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he can collect thirty men around his own table who will tell him that he is a great war minister." *

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The failures in the North of France were compensated in the view of the British government by great events in the South. Lord Grenville wrote to his brother on the 15th September, lamenting that the bad accounts overbalance the good in Flanders. But, he adds, "I am much mistaken in my speculation if the business at Toulon is not decisive of the war. Only let your own mind follow up all the consequence of that event, and you will, I believe, agree with me that the expression I have used is not too sanguine." † The English Secretary of State beheld the outbreak of civil war when the Girondins had been proscribed by the Jacobins; and as the probable end of a civil war he anticipated the restoration of the Monarchy. In the same letter, in which he rejoices over "the business at Toulon," he says, "we have news that the people of Lyon have defeated Dubois Crancé. . . . The next month or six weeks will be an anxious period, and big with events." Lyon, Toulon, La Vendée, during that autumn, were the scenes of some of the most stirring and terrible events in modern history. We were not content to look on. We did little good, if not positive harm, by our interference. The British government was far too weak effectually to control the issues of the fearful struggle between the factions of the Revolution. Grenville saw this: "We have nothing like force enough for all the objects that present themselves, and you know my settled aversion to undertaking little points of detail; some of which might succeed, but the result of the whole must be to cut to pieces the small force we have, without adequate success." ‡

Lyon, the great manufacturing city of the Rhone and the Saone, in 1793 contained a population amongst which were to be found all the extreme opinions engendered by the Revolution. There were ultra-royalists, constitutional royalists, moderate republicans, and republicans that went to such lengths in the assertion of anarchical doctrines that even Marat accused them of being paid by the foreign enemy. The party of the Girondins was the most numerous; that of the Jacobins the most daring. There dwelt in Lyon a Piedmontese named Chalier, who had been a considerable traveller, and had noted the oppressions of mankind under despotic governments. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution he went to Paris; became associated with Robespierre; and returned to

* "Parliamentary History," col. 1268-1271.

† "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. ii. p. 242.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 244—Letter of October 11.

Lyon to denounce, in the Central Club of that city, not only kings and nobles, but all the possessors of property, in whom the prophecy was to be fulfilled—"The wealthy shall be despoiled, and the poor shall be enriched." Chalier and his brother Clubbists sent for a guillotine from Paris; issued lists of the proscribed; and having obtained the control of the municipal authority, enforced their sweeping orders for the arrest and imprisonment of suspected persons. At length the terrorists, with their revolutionary tribunal, roused the citizens of Lyon to resistance. A battle between the partizans of Chalier and the sections of the city took place, which ended in the defeat of the municipal tyranny, and the triumph of the Girondins, at the very time when their leaders had fallen in Paris. Lyon, however, did not fear to oppose the dominant party in the Convention. Chalier, the disciple of that party, was condemned to death, and died by his own guillotine. From this time the city of Lyon was marked by the Jacobins for destruction, as the seat of counter-revolutionary opinions. The city refused to accept the new Constitution decreed by the Convention; and in August was in open revolt, with republican armies gathering on every side. At the beginning of August Lyon was surrounded by a great force under the command of Kellermann, who had been ordered to leave the defence of the frontiers to meet this more pressing danger. The men of Lyon had chosen for their leader the count De Précý, who had been colonel of a regiment, and had fought for the throne on the memorable tenth of August. He was a brave and skilful commander; and so directed the armed resistance of the Lyonnese that for two months they defended the beleaguered city amidst all the horrors of a bombardment. The fiercest assaults of the infuriated besiegers were met by the desperate sallies of the starving besieged. Public edifices, workshops and warehouses, mansions and hovels, were choking the narrow streets with their blazing ruins. Shelter and sustenance were at an end; when De Précý and three thousand resolute followers went forth to cut their way through the republican lines, leaving Lyon to its fate. The greater number of this band perished. De Précý was one of the few who escaped. On the 8th of October the troops of the Convention entered the town. Kellermann, whose views were too merciful for the Jacobin rulers of France, had been superseded by Dubois-Crancé; and his authority was merged, after the surrender of the city, in the superior power of Couthon and the other Commissioners of the authorities in Paris. The doom of Lyon was pronounced by Barère, of whom it has been said, "He tasted blood, and felt no loathing: he tasted it again, and liked it well.

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Cruelty became with him, first a habit, then a passion, at last a madness.* This clever and odious man, whose character is implied in his nickname, "The Anacreon of the guillotine," thus pronounced the doom of the great manufacturing emporium, with its hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants: "Let the plough pass over Lyon. Let her name cease to exist. The rebels are conquered; but are they all exterminated? No weakness; no mercy. Let every one be smitten." The Convention issued its decree; Collot d'Herbois and Fouché went forth to execute it. Couthon had not slain enough men, nor destroyed enough property. He had traversed the city with a silver hammer in his hand; and when he struck a door, saying, "Rebellious house, I strike you in the name of its walls," the mansion was quickly gutted and its walls overthrown. But he had not sent twenty victims daily to the scaffold, by the sentence of a Revolutionary Tribunal. He had not dragged batches of prisoners from their dungeons and destroyed them at once by volleys of musketry and grape-shot. This was the work of the Proconsuls, one of whom, Collot d'Herbois, apologizes to the Convention for his tardiness: "We go on demolishing with the fire of artillery, and with the explosion of mines, as fast as possible. But you must be sensible that, with a population of 150,000, these processes find many obstacles. The popular axe cuts off twenty heads a day, and still the conspirators are not daunted. The prisons are choked with them. We have erected a Commission as prompt in its operations as the conscience of true republicans trying traitors can be. Sixty-four of these were shot yesterday on the spot where they had fired on the patriots. Two hundred and thirty are to fall this day in the ditches, where their execrable works had vomited death on the republican army." Fouché, his colleague, disclaimed any participation in these acts. He said to the late earl Stanhope, in 1815, in speaking of a German memoir of him which referred to the sanguinary scenes of Lyon, "I went there to save the inhabitants, all of whom would otherwise have been murdered by Collot d'Herbois." His name, with that of his colleague, was appended to some of the letters of this period; but he denied the authenticity of his signature.† A letter written by Fouché in March, 1794, after Collot d'Herbois had quitted Lyon in the previous December, unless it be a forgery, is sufficient evidence of his guilt. "There still remain some accomplices of the Lyonese revolt. We are about to hurl the thunderbolt at them."‡ Six thousand had per-

* Macaulay: "Edin. Review," vol. lxxix. p. 279.

† Lord Brougham—"Statesmen," 3rd series, p. 46, 8vo. edit., and note by Earl Stanhope, p. 125.

‡ See Louis Blanc's "Histoire de la Révolution," tome x. p. 135.

ished by the knife and bullet after the surrender of the city. The few wretches who crept out of their hiding-places after five months were reserved for the tender mercies of the virtuous Fouché.

Marseille had preceded Lyon in an insurrection against the Jacobin tyranny. But the revolt had been suppressed by general Carteaux; and those who had escaped the gaol and the scaffold had fled to Toulon. In that great sea-port there was deep discontent; and a monarchical spirit was rising into avowed hatred of the excesses of the republic. The fleet in Toulon harbour partook of this spirit, and its commander, admiral Trogoff, was opposed to the course of the Revolution. In the middle of August, admiral lord Hood was off Toulon, with twenty-one sail of the line and several frigates and sloops. A Spanish fleet was on its passage from Cadiz to join lord Hood. The French fleet in Toulon consisted of seventeen sail of the line, with frigates and corvettes, besides others fitting and repairing. On the 23rd of August two Commissioners from Toulon came off to lord Hood's flag-ship, to propose the surrender of the port and shipping to the British. They represented themselves to be charged with full powers from the sections of the Mouths of the Rhone to negotiate, with a view to the restoration of peace, and the re-establishment of a monarchical government, under the son of Louis XVI., according to the constitution as accepted by their late sovereign in 1789. Lord Hood issued a proclamation in which he promised that if the people should declare openly in favour of a monarchical government, and should put him in possession of the harbour, they should receive all the succour which he could afford; and that upon the return of peace the fleet should be restored to France. In a second proclamation he referred to the solemn declaration of the Commissioners, and stated that he should take possession of Toulon, as a deposit for Louis XVII. until peace should be re-established in France. After some delay, occasioned by the opposition of the French admiral St. Julien, a staunch republican, who was supported by the crews of seven ships, the British marines, and the Spanish forces that had now arrived, took possession of the forts of Toulon. The French fleet removed into the inner harbour, and the British and Spanish fleets occupied the outer harbour. St. Julien and his adherents were permitted to leave the ships, and escape into the interior. The revolt of Toulon was met by the same vigour of the Jacobin rulers as they had manifested in the bombardment of Lyon; and the same principle of terror was called into action. Barère exclaimed in the Convention, "The corpses of the rebellious Lyonnese, floated down the Rhone, will teach the perfidious citizens of Toulon the fate

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which awaits them." The besieging army of Lyon was free to march against the revolted sea-port; general Carteaux moved from the subdued Marseille with his troops; another force advanced from Nice. In a few weeks a great French army was gathered round the walls of Toulon, animated by one spirit and led by daring officers. The garrison of Toulon at the end of October was in number about seventeen thousand, consisting of a mixed force of French royalists, Piedmontese, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, with little more than two thousand British. In the British fleet was a post-captain, Horatio Nelson, who, in a letter to his wife, described the surrender of Toulon and its fleet, without firing a shot, as such an event as history cannot produce its equal.* Nelson was dispatched in his swift-sailing ship, the *Agamemnon*, to procure from Naples the aid of Neapolitan troops; four thousand of whom finally joined the Allied forces under the temporary command of lord Mulgrave.

The political responsibilities of the British commanders at Toulon were of a very difficult and delicate nature. Lord Mulgrave, in his place in Parliament, stated, that he had refused to be present at the hoisting the white flag in Toulon, as requested by the principal magistrate. The constitution of 1789, he said, was adopted in the stipulation between the people of Toulon and us, for the purpose of quieting the fears of all descriptions of persons, and of removing all apprehension of the restoration either of the ancient or the modern despotism. Lord Mulgrave's description of the political opinions of the people of this great sea-port may be received as, in all probability, a tolerably correct view of the general state of public opinion in the provincial towns of France. The inhabitants of Toulon understood nothing of the terms of the Constitution for which they had stipulated: "Some felt such detestation and horror of the old despotism,—her bastiles, lettres de cachet, &c.,—that they were ready to undergo every extremity rather than submit to it; while others, conceiving that they had adopted the ancient system, wondered at the continuation of the modern authorities, — the sections, tribunes, magistrates, &c.,—when they had agreed to the restoration of monarchy, with all its appendages of nobility, orders, and priesthood."† The French before the Revolution had lost all political life; they had no practical acquaintance with the working of political institutions; and it is not therefore surprising that when the Revolution came they did

* "Inedited letters of Lord Nelson," communicated to "The London Review," conducted by Charles Mackay.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxi. col. 250—Debate, April 10, 1794.

not understand it. A Constitutional Monarchy was for them an anomaly. In a Monarchy they saw only a return to the ancient despotism. A Republic based upon law and order seemed to them an impossibility. They had a Republic of anarchical tyranny, before which the greater number trembled. But there was no sound public opinion to lead to the middle path of safety. The British government timidly appealed to the monarchical spirit, and as timidly professed a respect for the spirit of freedom. Lord Grenville was exceedingly solicitous about the precise term of a Declaration, published by order of the king, on the 29th of October, 1793.* It was written in French, and was especially addressed to the "well-disposed part of the people of France." It said, "His majesty by no means disputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the influence of external force with respect to the particular forms of government to be established in an independent country. Neither has he now that wish, except in so far as such interference is become essential to the security and repose of other powers." His majesty called upon the people of France, therefore, "to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy; not for the purpose of deciding, in this moment of disorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be susceptible, but in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and of religion." The rhetorician on the sea-shore, trying to make his voice heard above the roar of the angry waves, is but a faint type of lord Grenville preaching of "external peace, domestic tranquillity, a real and genuine liberty," to a people of whom one of their countrymen has written the character in words of deep significance: "Was there ever any nation on the face of the earth so full of contrasts, and so extreme in all its actions; more swayed by sensations, less by principles; led therefore always to do either worse or better than was expected of it, sometimes below the common level of humanity, sometimes greatly above it; a people so unalterable in its leading instincts, that its likeness may still be recognized in descriptions written two or three thousand years ago, but at the same time so mutable in its daily thoughts as to become a spectacle and an amazement to itself, and to be as much surprised as the rest of the world at the sight of what it has done!" †

The man was at Toulon who was fully to develop the leading attribute of the French people,—“apt for all things, but excelling only in war; adoring chance, force, success, splendour, and noise, more than true glory.” ‡ In the French army was an officer of

* See "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. ii. p. 246.

† Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution," p. 384.

‡ *Ibid.*

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artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte. He was twenty-four years of age had been educated at the military school at Paris; had been a lieutenant of artillery in his seventeenth year; early in 1793 had fought for the Convention against Paoli in his native Corsica; had left the island with his mother and sisters in May of that year; had spent a short time at Marseilles, where he had written a pamphlet exhorting the revolted Marseillaise to obey the Convention; and in September had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and had joined the besieging army before Toulon. He has himself described the general, Carteaux, under whom he was appointed to serve, as a man utterly incompetent. The artillery officer had a plan for conducting the attack upon Toulon, which he finally submitted to a Council of War, when Carteaux had been replaced by a more able commander, Dugommier. The success of this plan compelled the British to evacuate the city; and gave to the young officer a reputation which finally carried him, step by step, to be the arbiter of the destinies of Europe; and, beginning his career as a soldier of Liberty, to be the greatest foe of Liberty that ever appeared in the world.

The engineering operations of the French appear not to have at first impressed lord Hood and lord Mulgrave with an adequate sense of their possible consequences. Lord Mulgrave wrote home that Toulon was in a state of comfortable security; when the besieging army under Carteaux was taking up its positions. Towards the end of November, the plan of the enemy to attack the outer works which commanded the harbour, instead of making a general assault upon the town, was sufficiently developed, by the opening of a battery near the fort of Malbosquet, one of the most important of the forts in the occupation of the Allies. This was the mode of attack projected by Bonaparte. The fortifications of Toulon on the land side were below the posts of the besieging army on the amphitheatre of hills which surrounded the town. If batteries could be brought to bear on these fortifications from the higher ground, they might be taken by assault, and then the inner and outer harbour would be at the mercy of the besiegers, and the town must be evacuated. The fire of the French upon Malbosquet was so annoying, that on the 30th of November the garrison made a sortie with two thousand three hundred troops of various nations, of which three hundred only were British. The sortie was ineffectual. The Allied troops, commanded by sir David Dundas (lord Mulgrave having gone home), were repulsed by a much stronger body of the republicans; and General O'Hara, the commander of the garrison, was wounded and taken prisoner. On

the 13th of December lord Hood sent home a despatch in which he says, "Nothing very material has happened since the 30th of last month, except that the enemy has made approaches nearer to us by some new erected batteries." These nearer approaches were something very material, whose consequences were soon to be determined. In a week after his despatch of the 13th, lord Hood writes, "It is my duty to acquaint you that I have been obliged to evacuate Toulon." On the 17th of December, after a continued bombardment during twenty-four hours, the French forced the line of defence in two of its most essential points; and now, to use lord Hood's words, "the enemy commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells." The evacuation was determined upon by a counsel of war held the same day; and it was also resolved that the French ships which were fitted for sea should sail out with the English fleet, and that those which remained in the harbour, as well as the magazines and arsenal, should be destroyed. On the 18th the troops had been all withdrawn from the forts, and were concentrated in the town, ready to embark when the signal should be given for the most awful conflagration that naval warfare had ever presented. Sir Sidney Smith volunteered to conduct the terrible work of destruction. On the evening of the 18th the Vulcan fire-ship was towed into the inner harbour, and placed across the tier of the men-of-war. Preparations had previously been made for burning the arsenal and the storehouses. At ten o'clock a rocket flew up; and then the trains were fired that consigned the stores of this great naval depôt to the flames; and the fireship went amongst the men-of-war and the frigates at their anchorage, and they were quickly burning to the water's edge, amidst the explosion of powder magazines which threatened to involve the destroyers themselves in the general havoc. "The concussion of air," says sir Sidney Smith, "and the shower of falling timber on fire, was such as nearly to destroy the whole of us." Napoleon at St. Helena described the conflagration at Toulon as a sublime and unique spectacle. But that night presented a scene of horror far more impressive than the grandeur of the illumination which threw its red light afar upon sea and mountain. The quays of Toulon were crowded with terrified multitudes of both sexes, earnestly imploring a refuge in the Allied fleet from the dreaded vengeance of the triumphant republicans. Many of the more prominent of the monarchical party had been previously received on board the British and Spanish ships which were about to move into the roads off Toulon; but there was a helpless band of fugitives left behind, who, having

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found a temporary abiding place, knew that the vengeance which they had escaped at Marseille and Lyon would follow them here. Some crowded with desperate haste into boats which they found upon the beach, and were swamped. Others dashed into the sea, hoping to be picked up by the ships' crews. Sir Sidney Smith lingered in the harbour—amidst the bewildering glare and smoke, the tempest of scorching ashes, even the fire of the republican batteries upon the port,—till his own retreat had become difficult, in the endeavour to rescue all who cried to him for succour. In a debate in Parliament it was asserted that the commanders were much to blame in not having made dispositions for securing and bringing away the miserable inhabitants; and that, although a considerable number had embarked, that number was small, when compared with the wretches that were left behind.* On the contrary, it was officially asserted that every one was taken from the town on its evacuation that felt disposed to go.† The naval historian of Great Britain says, "Those who recollect the massacres that stained republican France will be gratified to learn, that 14,877 men, women and children, of the loyal Toulonese received an asylum on board the ships of the British."‡ The refugees of Toulon, according to Lamartine, were conveyed to Leghorn, and established themselves in Tuscony. Lamartine paints the horrors of that night, and the difficulties of the attempt to carry away the terrified multitudes. But he does not distort historical facts, to gratify that hatred of England which seems, in some instances, to be engendered by her hospitality. Another historian of the Revolution says, "A party of fugitives had found an asylum on board the Spanish and Neapolitan vessels, where they were treated with a generous sympathy. The English themselves, although less anxious (*quoique moins empressés*), received a *certain number*, and the English government allowed them some support."§ Those "sentiments of humanity," which M. L. Blanc eulogizes in the Spanish admiral, Langara, appear to have had some place in the heart of the English admiral. Lord Hood, in his despatch of the 20th December, writes, "It is a very comfortable satisfaction to me, that several thousands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon were sheltered in his majesty's ships." Those were sedulously cared for who claimed protection as being most compromised. Mr. Fox, in the debate on the evacuation of Toulon, said, if we

* "Parliamentary History," April 10, 1794, vol. xxxi. col. 243.

† *Ibid.*, col. 246.

‡ James's "Naval History," vol. i. p. 156.

§ Louis Blanc, "Histoire de la Révolution," tom. x. p. 101.

took away all those who were desirous of coming away, we had the less to lament our failure; but he added, that the numerous executions that followed tended to throw a doubt upon this statement. The executions were indeed numerous. Barère had expressed the temper of the French Convention towards Toulon: "The conquest won by the Mountain over the Brissotines must be commemorated by a mark set on the place where Toulon once stood. The national thunder must crush the house of every trader in that town." The Committee of Public Safety had sent thither its commissioners, Barras, Fréron, and the younger Robespierre. According to some accounts these ministers of vengeance slew thousands by their fusillades. According to other accounts, the number of victims did not exceed a hundred and fifty or two hundred.* The letters of Fréron himself, if not forgeries, contradict the apologists of republican massacres. On the 24th of December, five days after Toulon had been evacuated by the Allies, he writes to the Committee in Paris, that he had secured twelve thousand labourers to raze to the ground the buildings of the town; and he adds, "Each day I accomplish the fall of two hundred heads; and already eight hundred Toulonese have been shot."

The capture and destruction of a large portion of the French fleet at Toulon was of considerable service to Great Britain in the naval war. But, like many other successes, it may be doubted whether the moral injury did not overbalance the material advantage. Burke, before the events of the 18th of December, "heard with infinite sorrow that in taking the king of France's fleet in trust, we instantly unrigged and dismasted the ships. . . . These ships are now so circumstanced, that if we are forced to evacuate Toulon, they must fall into the hands of the enemy, or be burnt by ourselves. I know this is by some considered as a fine thing for us. But the Athenians ought not to be better than the English, or Mr. Pitt less virtuous than Aristides."† This reasoning was too subtle for the Parliament or the people to comprehend it. Great Britain was at war with France; and therefore it was good for Great Britain to have destroyed fifteen vessels of war at Toulon, and to have brought away seventeen. When Aristides would not listen to the project of burning the Lacedæmonian fleet, he said that nothing could be more advantageous to the State or less honourable. The parallel does not hold in all its circumstances. The destruction of the Lacedæmonian fleet would have been an act of

* Thiers, tom. vi. p. 146; Louis Blanc, tom. x. p. 103.

† "Policy of the Allies."

treachery to confederates. No one denied the advantage of crippling the Toulon fleet; and few could see any injustice in despoiling any enemy, whose language was, "May England be ruined! May England be annihilated! Such ought to be the concluding article of every revolutionary decree of the National Convention of France." *

In the debate on the Address, when Parliament was opened on the 21st of January, 1794, Mr. Fox took a retrospect of the events of the preceding seven months. He said that when the Session closed in June, there were parties existing in France of equal strength. The Girondins occupied Lyon, Bourdeaux, and other places; the Royalists possessed La Vendée. The Convention not only quelled all internal insurrections, but defeated their foreign enemies. What, he asked, is the inference? "That there is no probability, nor even possibility, of overthrowing the Jacobin government of France in another campaign, nor in another after that." The minority in both Houses constantly alleged against Mr. Pitt, that the establishment of monarchy in France was the object which he wished to effectuate. They might have reproached him more justly that, if he really had this object at heart, he lost the only real opportunity of giving an energetic support to the loyal and religious spirit which had been awakened in a portion of France; and had neglected thus to oppose a definite principle to the ferocious domination of the Jacobin government. It has been said of Mr. Pitt by one who, looking calmly upon the past, is not carried away by any anti-democratic prejudices, "If it was impossible to preserve peace, he should have adopted the only policy which could lead to victory. He should have proclaimed a Holy War for religion, morality, property, order, public law, and should have thus opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own." † In March, 1793, the people of Brittany and La Vendée rushed into such a Holy War; and during the whole of that year they were fighting with an energy which at one time appeared not unlikely to hurl back the Jacobin tyranny to its chosen seat of Paris, and give the provinces a chance of escape from the Reign of Terror which had established itself after the fall of the Girondins. The efforts of the poor Vendéans are in vain. The provinces look on and tremble whilst the guillotine does its work in the South of France; whilst the Queen Marie Antoinette,—sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the motion of Barère, who calls the daughter of Maria Theresa "the Austrian woman,"—is dragged to the scaffold on the 10th of October; whilst Vergniaud, the young and eloquent,

* Speech of Barère, September 21, 1793.

† Macaulay, "Life of Pitt."

and twenty-one other Girondin deputies, are put to death on the same day, the 31st of October; whilst the enthusiastic Madame Roland; and Bailly, once so venerated as a patriot; and the duke of Orleans, whose fate nobody deplores, are executed early in November; whilst the Goddess of Reason, personated by a harlot of the Opera, is inaugurated at Notre Dame. Surely, the outraged humanities and decencies of life will not long endure these horrors. They will be endured; and they will go on from bad to worse. Terror calls out its levy-en-masse to defend the Republic from all internal and external enemies. Wherever there is a foe on the frontier the conscripts are hurled against him. Wherever insurrection against the Mountain shows its head, legions march to put it down. Jourdan drives the prince of Cobourg over the Sambre on 16th of October. The Vendéans are annihilated at Mans and Saumur in the middle of December. The Jacobin government is successful in all its military operations. Success throws a veil over its crimes; and the French learn to believe that Barère was speaking very reasonably when he exclaimed, "The vessel of the Revolution can float into port only on waves of blood."

The exciting and romantic incidents of the war in La Vendée are familiar to most persons, in the charming *Memoirs of the Marchioness de La Rochejaquelein*. She has presented to us, in her simple and touching descriptions, the picture of a community almost wholly different from any other French population at the time of the Revolution. La Vendée, known also as *Le Pays du Bocage*,—a tract of about a hundred and fifty miles square, on the southern bank and at the mouth of the Loire,—was for the most part a sequestered district, with few towns—a pastoral district, where the resident proprietors lived without pomp or luxury, keeping up an affectionate intercourse with the peasantry; and where the curés and their flocks had no differences of opinion, and the philosophy of the Revolution had not come to disturb the old piety and its traditional superstitions. This state of tranquillity was interrupted by the harsh measures of the republican authorities, before the death of the king. The murmurs of the people became loud against their oppressors. "The unhappy peasants, wounded in every thing that was dear to them—subjected to a yoke which the happiness they had formerly enjoyed made them feel still heavier—revolted at last. . . . The insurrection began, from the impulse of the moment, without plan, without concert, and almost without hopes." * It broke out at La Florent in Anjou, where the young men made a forcible resistance to the Commissioners who

* "Memoirs of the Marchioness de la Rochejaquelein," English translation, p. 53.

were superintending the ballot for the levy of troops. Jaques Cathelineau, a hawker of woollens, put himself at the head of his countrymen, who were all accustomed to field-sports, and some familiar with the use of arms. Their numbers soon amounted to a thousand; but after several successful encounters with the republican troops, they suddenly dispersed; for Easter was at hand, and they must keep the sacred festival in their own homes. But the Vendéans were soon again in the field, many under the command of M. de Charette; who became the principal chief of the district of Bas Poitou. Another leader, the most popular of the insurgents, was young Henri de la Rochejaquelein, who said to his ten thousand followers, "Follow me when I advance against the enemy; kill me when I turn my back upon them; revenge me, if they bring me down." M. de Lescure, the first husband of the fair historian of La Vendée, was equally beloved. There were other chiefs who held commands, some of whom had served in the army. But the discipline of the insurgents was very imperfect, and their organization still more loose. It was an army of partizans, who fought well, but had little effectual concert in their operations.

To trace the course of civil war in La Vendée would exceed the limits of this history, and would be a departure from its objects. After various successes against the republicans, the contest assumed the most formidable dimensions. Cathelineau was appointed to the chief command of the insurgents; but was soon after killed. General Westermann was dispatched by the Convention, with orders to lay waste and burn the whole district. The royalists attacked Westermann at Chatillon; and his defeat was followed by fearful massacres of the republicans in revenge of their vindictive acts. The whole country was in the agonies of an internecine conflict. During the summer the English government offered assistance through an emigrant from Brittany, M. de Tinteniach, who brought despatches from Mr. Dundas. The ignorance of the English, in all that related to the position of the Vendéans, is described as complete; and M. de Tinteniach, although he stated that the English government appeared disposed to assist, and that all seemed ready for a landing on the coast of France, could not help suspecting its lukewarmness, on account of "the conduct of the English ministry towards the emigrants." The Vendean chiefs proposed a place of landing for a British force, and promised to join with fifty thousand men. For months the Vendéans thought that the promised help would come. The war went on without any assistance from the ministry of Mr. Pitt. It was probably out of his power to render any effectual aid, with a number of other

objects in hand, each requiring a few thousand men. We did not make war, as Carnot made war, by throwing a great force upon one point. The Convention sent two hundred thousand men into La Vendée, with orders that the whole inhabitants should be exterminated without regard to age or sex, the woods in which they sheltered cut down, the habitations given to the flames. Terrible was the resistance to these sanguinary decrees. Some of the Vendean chiefs, such as M. de Lescure and Henri de la Rochejaquelein, were humane ; others, such as Charette, repaid cruelty by cruelty. The Vendéans obtained a victory over Kleber, at Chollet in September ; but another battle was fought on the same ground, when the overwhelming forces of the republic drove the insurgents to the low country on the bank of the Loire. M. de Bonchamps, one of the most efficient commanders, was mortally wounded at Chollet. M. de Lescure had been previously wounded, and met a lingering death. Henri de la Rochejaquelein was now elected to the chief command. The passage of the Loire into Brittany, where the people invited the fugitives to come over and join their fates to theirs, has been described by the Marchioness de la Rochejaquelein with a power which an eye-witness could only attain. She paints the heights of St. Florent forming a semicircular boundary to a vast level strand reaching to the wide Loire ; eighty thousand people crowded in the valley ; soldiers, women, children, aged, wounded, flying from destruction ; the burning villages behind ; another multitude on the opposite shore. There were five thousand republican prisoners with the Vendean army. It was proposed to shoot them. The wounded De Lescure interfered, and they were spared. But another spirit soon came over this devoted royalist almost in his dying hours. He was carried with the army in a carriage. On his way "somebody came and read to him from a newspaper the details of the queen's death. He cried out, ' Ah ! the monsters have then killed her ! I fought to deliver her ! If I live it will be to revenge her ! No more quarter.' This idea never quitted him." * The details of that murder, if truly told, would excuse this outburst. The long imprisonment in the temple ; the brutal separation of the mother from her son ; her removal to the dens of the Conciergerie ; her mock trial and exposure to the obscene insults of the judges of the infamous Tribunal ; her lofty contempt ; her pious fortitude ;—these were indeed details to move even a merciful leader of a royalist insurrection to think only of revenge. De Lescure died : but his words were not forgotten. Then came a series of battles in

* "Memoirs," p. 312.

which no quarter was given on either side. The harassed fugitives again tried to repass the Loire, reduced in number to ten thousand survivors. The final destruction of "the Catholic army" soon closed that first great struggle of the Vendéans. The brave Henri de la Rochejaquelein was killed. The horrible proceedings of the Jacobin Proconsul Carrier at Nantes—his *noyades*, in which boat-loads of victims were sunk daily by this exulting ruffian,—these formed the climax of the horrors of the royalist war. The details of these tragedies are heart-sickening. "Cruel is the panther of the woods, the she bear bereaved of her whelps; but there is in man a hatred crueller than that." *

Whilst all these struggles in La Vendée, heroic but hopeless, were proceeding during that eventful year, the British government having twice been in communication with the royalists, at length roused itself to make an effort for their assistance. At the moment when the Vendéans had re-crossed the Loire, unable to maintain their position in Brittany, an expedition under the command of lord Moira, with eight English battalions and ten thousand Hanoverians and emigrants, was dispatched to their assistance. There was no signal from the shore. The help had come too late.

* Carlyle, book v., chap.

CHAPTER II.

The Reign of Terror in France.—Sentence upon Muir and Palmer in Scotland.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.—Trials for High-treason of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall.—Invasion threatened.—National Defence.—State of the Navy.—Howe's Naval Victory of the first of June.—French decree of No Quarter for Englishmen and Hanoverians.—Jacobinism recognizes the Supreme Being.—The Fall of Robespierre.—Rottenness of the Coalition against France.—Successes of the French.—Recall of the Duke of York from the command of the British forces.—Holland lost.—Remnant of the British army leaves the Continent.—Poland finally enslaved when Kosciusko fell.—Corsica.—Siege of Bastia.

ON the opening of the Session of Parliament in January, 1794, the earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) delivered a most remarkable speech, in which he traced the whole course of the French Revolution, contending that it was impossible to make peace with those who directed the government of France. His eloquent peroration was in some degree prophetic of the vicissitudes that the then possessors of revolutionary authority might be expected to undergo. Would a great nation rely upon her own sword, or entrust the whole frame of her laws, her liberties, and her religion, "to whatever may be the accidental caprice of any new band of malefactors, who, in the last convulsions of their exhausted country, may be destined to drag the present tyrants to their own scaffolds, to seize their lawless power, to emulate the depravity of their example, and to rival the enormity of their crimes?" * Assuredly the Revolution was then steadily pursuing the process of "eating its own children." The Girondins had all vanished—some by the scaffold, some by starvation, some by poison. Other chiefs of rival factions were about to follow. On the 24th of March, the Hébertistes were guillotined. On the 3rd of April, the Dantonists were guillotined. Hébert,—the most filthy of writers, the most violent of insurrectionists,—and a strange assortment of his disciples, were condemned for their love of blood. Danton, and Camille Desmoulins, who had grown sick of revolutionary horrors, stood equally in the way of Robespierre, and were condemned for their moderation. The Notabilities of the Revolution fall in quick succession; but the guillotine knows no distinction of

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 1213.

persons. It sweeps all opinions into its sack. It takes without any nicety of selection the widow of Hébert; the widow of Camille Desmoulins; the princess Elizabeth, the admirable sister of Louis; the duchess de Grammont, and the duchess du Chatelet;—famous members of the Constituent Assembly, D'Espremenil, Chapelier, and Thourot;—Malesherbes, the generous defender of the king, with his daughter and grand-daughter. For republicans and royalists, for rich and poor, for either sex, for bedridden fourscore, and for blooming sixteen, the Revolutionary Tribunal has its infallible prescription. The prisons of Paris are full—not of violators of the laws for the protection of person and property, but of *suspects*. The prisons must be emptied. In these pleasant months of April and May, when the orange blossoms are smelling sweetly in the Tuileries gardens, the dread machine is doing its daily work upon batches of a dozen or a score; and women sit upon its steps and knit—the “Tricoteuses of Robespierre” who were paid to assist in the “National fêtes,”—the priestesses of the sacrifices, during those two months, of five hundred and twenty-seven select victims out of seven thousand prisoners.

These things were not done in a corner. Englishmen heard and read of the atrocities of the Reign of Terror—probably presented to them with some exaggeration. At this season the English government chose to believe that revolutionary principles had an especial attraction for some portion of the people of this country. Obscure quarters of London were swarming with emigrant nobility and clergy—learning to labour at some calling, or earning their bread by teaching their language. Delicately nurtured women were mantua-makers in garrets in the dingy regions of St. Pancras. There might be a few stern believers in equality who would rejoice to see the great ones of the earth humbled in the dust; but even these might have been softened in beholding how cheerfully adversity was borne,—in many cases how piously. What Englishmen heard of the course of Revolution abroad—its murders, its confiscations, its interruptions of all industry, its conscriptions;—what they saw of the privations and humiliations of those who had taken refuge where they might at least be safe from lawless violence—these things were not calculated to make them desirous of such organic changes as would substitute a sanguinary Despotism for a limited Monarchy, a National Convention for a House of Commons, and a Revolutionary Tribunal for a British Jury. Nevertheless, this was the dreaded danger, to proclaim which Burke first rang his alarm-bell. According to the belief of the great parliamentary majority, the advocates of Reform were the high-priests of Anarchy.

Pitt did not hold such extreme views. He said, as he had a right to say, that it was a dangerous time for any constitutional change. But he was carried along with the current; and he practically identified himself with the passions of the time, when he sanctioned the arbitrary attempts to punish Reformers as conspirators.

The disposition of the British government was exhibited in a very striking manner in the parliamentary proceedings arising out of the sentences passed by the Courts of Scotland upon Thomas Muir, and Thomas Fyssh Palmer. We are told by the biographer of lord Eldon that "the revolutionary poison, distributed by the French republicans, had now begun to operate extensively. A time therefore was considered by the government to have arrived, when the safety of the State required prosecutions, which should involve heavier consequences than those attaching under the English law to mere sedition. The first experiments were made in Scotland." * These first experiments were certainly not greatly to the honour of those who, in the sister kingdom, contrived to inflict the punishment of fourteen years transportation upon Muir, a young advocate at the Scotch bar, and seven years transportation upon Palmer, an English clergyman, for an offence which in England would have amounted only to a misdemeanour, if a jury could have been found in England to convict the accused. They were agitators for Reform in the representation of the people. The lord justice clerk Braxfield summed up violently against Muir; and, says lord Campbell, "hardly attempted to conceal that the corpus delicti was the advocacy of Parliamentary Reform." This specimen of a past time asked, what right had the rabble, who had been petitioning Parliament, to representation? The landed interest alone has a right to be represented. In passing sentence upon Muir it was proclaimed that by the Roman law, which is held to be the Scotch Common Law, transportation was amongst the mildest of penalties; that death was the proper punishment of sedition—death by the gallows or by exposure to wild beasts, as the merciful judge set forth in Latin quotations. In a most learned and able speech in the House of Commons, where these arbitrary proceedings formed the subject of several debates, Mr. Adam maintained that the offence with which these persons were charged in their indictments was what the law of Scotland termed Leasing-making; that is, uttering words, or publishing matter, tending to breed discord between the king and his people; and that the punishment of transportation could not, by the same law, be inflicted for the crime of Leasing-making. The lord advocate contended that he had indicted them

* Twiss—"Life of lord Eldon," vol. i. p. 230.

under the Common Law, and that the judges in Scotland had a discretionary power of punishing by transportation what in England was known as Sedition. This law officer had the indiscretion to say that, Mr. Adam having talked of assimilating the law of Scotland to the law of England, and of calling the attention of the Scotch judges to the milder punishments of England for the same offence, "he saw no reason for this; on the contrary he saw many strong reasons for bringing the law of England up to that of Scotland." The indignation of Mr. Fox was withering. "If that day should ever arrive which the lord advocate seems so anxiously to wish for—if the tyrannical laws of Scotland should ever be introduced in opposition to the humane laws of England, it would then be high time for my honourable friends and myself to settle our affairs, and retire to some happier clime, where we might at least enjoy those rights which are given to man, and which his nature tells him he has a right to demand." Mr. Pitt had on this occasion, as in many other instances, to endure the reproach of departing from the principles he once professed, in now sanctioning the execution of the sentences upon these men; "whose offence," said Mr. Adam, "might perhaps be traced to the doctrines formerly inculcated by some of those who now held distinguished situations in the Cabinet." *

On the 12th of May a Message from the king was delivered to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Dundas, in which it was stated that upon information of seditious practices carried on by certain Societies in London, their books and papers had been seized; and that his majesty had ordered them to be laid before the House. A Committee of Secresy was appointed by ballot to examine these papers, and on the 16th they presented their first Report. The Societies whose papers were thus examined were "The Society for Constitutional Information" and "The London Corresponding Society." † On the presentation of the Report, Mr. Pitt dwelt upon the various allegations of the Committee; and particularly upon their conclusion that a Convention was contemplated, which might take upon itself the character of a general representative of the people; a Convention evidently designed, said Mr. Pitt, "to exercise legislative and judicial capacities, to overturn the established system of government, and wrest from the Parliament that power which the people and the constitution had lodged in their hands." He then moved "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his per-

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 1490 to 1576. † See *ante*, vol. vi. p. 563.

son and government." The proposed measure was a Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act ; * and its necessity was grounded upon the recital of the Bill, "that a treacherous and detestable conspiracy had been formed for subverting the existing laws and constitution, and for introducing the system of anarchy and confusion which had lately prevailed in France." It was opposed strenuously by the usual small minority, but was rapidly carried through the Commons ; and was passed at three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 18th. On the 23rd it passed the House of Lords. On the 19th, after examinations before the Privy Council, six persons were committed to the Tower, charged with high-treason ; amongst whom were the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to earl Stanhope, Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall. The State Trials arising out of these arrests, and of the arrests of others also charged with the highest offence known to the law, are amongst the most interesting proceedings in our constitutional history. Five months were employed by the government in preparation for the arraignment of thirteen persons to be charged with "compassing the death of our Lord the King." This resort to the law of Constructive Treason can scarcely now find a defender, except a remnant be left of the alarmists who regarded the long struggle against popular rights as the saving of the monarchy. Most men agree with the eminent lawyer who now holds the highest office under the Crown, that if the ministerial measure had succeeded, "all political agitation must have been extinguished in England ; as there would have been a precedent for holding that the effort to carry a measure by influencing public opinion through the means openly resorted to in our days is a compassing of the death of the sovereign. The only chance of escaping servitude would have been civil war." †

The Grand Jury of Middlesex having found an indictment against twelve persons for high-treason, and a Special Commission having been appointed for their trials, this memorable proceeding commenced at the Session House in the Old Bailey, on the 28th of October, with the trial of Thomas Hardy. One who was amongst the twelve accused has described this crisis with some pomp of words which sounds like exaggeration, but which is scarcely an overstrained estimate of the popular feeling. Thomas Holcroft says, "Perhaps this country never witnessed a moment more portentous. The hearts and countenances of men seemed pregnant with doubt and terror. They waited, in something like a stupor of amazement, for the fearful sentence on which their de-

* See Vol. IV. p. 344.

† Lord Campbell—"Lives of the Lord Chancellors," vol. vi. p. 470.

liverance or their destruction seemed to depend. Never surely was the public mind more profoundly agitated. The whole power of government was directed against Thomas Hardy; in his fate seemed involved the fate of the nation." * Erskine and Gibbs were assigned as counsel for the prisoner. Sir John Scott, Attorney-General, opened the case for the prosecution in a speech of nine hours. He maintained that the evidence would establish the fact of a conspiracy to depose the king, which, in point of law, is an overt act of compassing his death; that this overt act was included in the still wider design of subverting the entire monarchy, and substituting a commonwealth, which was the real object aimed at, under colour of a full and fair representation of the people; that the Convention which the persons thus charged conspired to establish, was a Convention to alter the whole form of the sovereign power of this country, by vesting in a body formed upon universal suffrage and the rights of man, all the legislative and executive government of the country; and, contemplating the destruction of the regal office in the constitution of the state, was an overt act of high treason. The evidence to establish this statement occupied five days, from an early hour of each morning till midnight. "In the annals of English criminal jurisprudence there had not yet been an instance of a trial for high treason that had not been finished in a single day," says lord Campbell. This evidence embraced copious extracts of the voluminous publications issued by the reforming Societies—resolutions and speeches all over the country—toasts at public dinners—a vast variety of matters which Erskine, in his reply, described as not the peculiar transactions of the prisoners, but of immense bodies of the king's subjects in various parts of the kingdom, assembled without the smallest reserve. "Not a syllable have we heard read," said he, "in the week's imprisonment that we have suffered, that we had not all of us read for months and months before the prosecution was heard of." † This reply of the great advocate occupied seven hours in the delivery. No one, even at this distance of time, can read it without emotion; for assuredly in the whole compass of forensic eloquence is not to be found a nobler display of impressive reasoning, of constitutional learning, of earnestness in the assertion of the great principles of liberty, of fearlessness in the exposure of the tendencies towards arbitrary government. Men must then have acknowledged the force of the great truth which he uttered, as we now regard it from the historical point of view, when he said, "We are in a crisis of our affairs, which, putting justice out of the question,

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 180. . . . † "Erskine's Speeches," vol. iii. p. 393.

calls in sound policy for the greatest prudence and moderation. At a time when other nations are disposed to subvert their establishments, let it be our wisdom to make the subject feel the practical benefits of our own : let us seek to bring good out of evil: the distracted inhabitants of the world will fly to us for sanctuary, driven out of their countries from the dreadful consequences of not attending to seasonable reforms in government,—victims to the folly of suffering corruptions to continue, till the whole fabric of society is dissolved and tumbles into ruin. Landing upon our shores, they will feel the blessing of security, and they will discover in what it consists : they will read this trial, and their hearts will palpitate at your decision : they will say to one another, and their voices will reach to the ends of the earth, May the constitution of England endure for ever—the sacred and yet remaining sanctuary for the oppressed.” This confident anticipation of their verdict was not too bold. Although the House of Commons had made an *ex parte* declaration of guilt in the recital to the Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus—although “the protesting Commons was itself the accuser, and acted as a solicitor to prepare the very briefs for the prosecution” *—the orator’s belief was fully realised. After nine days close confinement, the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

The advisers of the Crown now desperately resolved to cast the die for another chance of success. Upon the same charge, and with the same evidence, John Horne Tooke was arraigned. He took much of the conduct of the defence into his own hands, by cross-examining the witnesses for the prosecution. His coolness and readiness, his repartees and quaint questions, appeared to betoken a levity inconsistent with his serious position on a trial for life or death. But he had the discretion to leave the speech for his defence in the hands of Erskine. It was bolder and more confident than the speech for Hardy. Mr. Pitt was examined by Tooke as a witness for the defence; and he was subjected to a life-enduring mortification in having to say that he “did not recollect” having been present at a meeting of delegates previous to one of his motions in Parliament on the subject of Reform. There were others who did recollect. The trial of Tooke lasted three days. The jury, without retiring, returned a verdict of Not Guilty. A third prisoner was put to the bar, John Thelwall. He was also defended by Erskine; and the same verdict of Not Guilty was returned upon the third day. The service which Erskine rendered to his country, by his wonderful efforts on these trials,

* Speech on the Trial of Horne Tooke—“Erskine’s Speeches,” vol. iv. p. 7.

has been estimated by one of the most eminent of the orators of our own age: "If there be yet amongst us the power of freely discussing the acts of our rulers; if there be yet the privilege of meeting for the promotion of needful reforms; if he who desires wholesome changes in our Constitution be still recognized as a patriot, and not doomed to die the death of a traitor; let us acknowledge with gratitude that to this great man, under Heaven, we owe this felicity of the times."* Lord Campbell affirms that Lord Loughborough was a principal adviser of these trials; and he adds a remarkable anecdote: "To the credit of George III., when the whole subject was understood by him, he rejoiced in the acquittals, and laying all the blame on the Chancellor, he said, 'You have got us into the wrong box, my lord, you have got us into the wrong box. Constructive treason won't do, my lord, constructive treason won't do.' "†

A sagacious observer of the public temper of this period—one who had lost all his original enthusiasm for the French Revolution, and dreaded that the French would "preserve nothing of civilized life but its vices"—writes in October, "There are many persons here who wish a total overthrow of our constitution, and many more who desire great changes in it." Romilly thus separates the smaller class of republicans from the larger class of reformers. There was a far more numerous class than either of these—"the majority of the nation," who are "most ardent zealots for maintaining our constitution as it is, and disposed to think the reform of the most palpable abuse, which has been of long continuance, as a species of sacrilege."‡ We may be sure, therefore, that to "the majority of the nation" the determination of the government to resist every species of innovation offered no ground for alarm or solicitude. They thought there were greater dangers than abridgment of public liberty. Nevertheless, the confiding Englishman who believed himself free, at a time when the political spy was everywhere dodging his footsteps, had no desire again to look upon heads on Temple Bar, and was not sorry when Hardy, the shoemaker, and Parson Horne, and Thelwall, the lecturer, and nine other men of various grades in society, returned to their homes. Whatever might have been the general apathy, this was, indeed, a period of real danger—a period in which the rashness of impracticable theorists, and the terrors of party lawgivers, might have

* Lord Brougham—"Statesmen."

† "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," vol. vi. p. 267. Lord Campbell has no reference to an authority for this anecdote.

‡ "Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly," Letter cii.

plunged the country into a contest which would have ended in anarchy or despotism. But the quiescent state of the bulk of the people was their safety. The rallying cry of Liberty at the beginning of the reign of George III. was no longer heard; but the principle was not dead. There is a noble passage in Erskine's Speech for Hardy, the truth of which is as fresh now as on the day of its utterance, and whose value may even be better estimated at the present day, after the experience of the last quarter of a century: "In reviewing the history of this highly favoured island, it is most beautiful, and at the same time highly encouraging, to observe, by what an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, under the superintendence of a benevolent Providence, the liberties of our country have been established. Amidst the convulsions arising from the maddest ambition and injustice, and whilst the State was alternately departing from its poise, on one side and on the other, the great rights of mankind were insensibly taking root and flourishing. Though sometimes monarchy threatened to lay them prostrate, though aristocracy occasionally undermined them, and democracy in her turn rashly trampled on them, yet they have ever come safely round at last. This awful and sublime contemplation should teach us to bear with one another, when our opinions do not quite coincide; extracting final harmony from the inevitable differences which ever did, and ever must, exist amongst men." *

From the commencement of the war, the spirit of Reform in England was abundantly neutralized by the spirit of Patriotism. The French government at the beginning of 1794 threatened invasion. The English government not only increased the regular forces, but advocated the formation of bodies of Volunteers in every county. On the 17th of April an Act was passed, "for encouraging and disciplining such corps, or companies of men, as shall voluntarily enrol themselves, for the defence of their counties, towns, or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the present war." This arming of the people was principally confined to corps of yeomanry cavalry. Lord Grenville, writing to his brother, says, "I think the natural defence of this country against an enemy once landed, is by the immense irregular cavalry that might be collected, and formed round small bodies of disciplined horse. This, of course, does not exclude the necessity of some infantry to oppose the enemy in front." † Lord Grenville's notions of national defence seem to have been as crude as the plans

* "Erskine's Speeches," vol. iii. p. 347.

† "Court, &c., of George III." vol. ii. p. 255.

of the ministry for carrying on the war abroad. In the naval administration there was less to be deplored. A great writer has said, "The English navy no mismanagement could ruin. But during a long period whatever mismanagement could do was done."* A great naval commander, on the contrary, says of the period at which he first joined the service (June, 1793), "The energy of the government kept pace with the patriotism of the nation. That fearful system of naval jobbery,—which unhappily characterized the subsequent progress of the war, crowding the seas with worthless vessels, purchased into the service in exchange for borough influence,—had not as yet begun to thwart the unity of purpose and action."† A system different to that of the present time seems to have been then pursued. "Dockyards in those days were secondary objects. At Sheerness, the people lived like rabbits in a warren, in old hulks, hauled up high and dry; yet everything was well done, and the supervision perfect. . . . The service now seems to savour too much of the dockyard, and too little of the seaman. Formerly, both officers and men had to lend a hand in everything; and few were the operations which, unaided by artificers, they could not perfectly accomplish."‡ There was no false economy in the supply of means for manning the navy; although the want of men was sensibly felt. The number of 85,000 seamen and marines, voted by Parliament for the year, could only be obtained by the wretched system of impressment. Heavy guns, known as carronades, were being gradually introduced in a few ships of the line. Invention was busy in the arts of war as well as in those of peace. The French had invented the Telegraph; and they had applied the hitherto useless Balloon to observations of the nature of a country, and the position of an enemy. Steam-navigation for warlike purposes had even been dreamt of. Experiments upon the application of the steam-engine to the propulsion of mercantile vessels had been tried, at great cost, and with small results. It is stated that Fulton had, in 1793, submitted some drawings of an apparatus for steam-navigation to lord Stanhope. This ingenious nobleman, as ardent as a projector as he was violent as a politician, in 1794 believed in the immediate practicability of that extraordinary application of mechanical power which, half a century afterwards, was to revolutionize the entire system of naval warfare. He thus writes to Wilberforce: "I know, and in a few weeks shall prove, that ships of any size, and for certain reasons the larger the better, may be navigated in any narrow or

* Macaulay—"Life of Pitt."

† Earl of Dundonald—"Autobiography of a Seaman," vol. i. p. 53. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

other sea, without sails, though occasionally with, but so as to go without wind, and even directly against both wind and waves." The earl did construct such a paddle vessel, but its speed did not go beyond three miles an hour. Nevertheless, he saw with remarkable clearness the final results of what he terms a "stupendous fact;" that it would "render all the existing navies of the world—that is, military navies—no better than lumber. For what can ships do that are dependent upon wind and weather, against fleets wholly independent of either. Therefore the boasted superiority of the English navy is no more. We must have a new one."*

The old fashioned naval battles of the war of the French Revolution,—when adverse winds baffled many an attempt to bring an enemy to action; when admirals manœuvred for days to get the weather-gage, if they came in sight of their adversary; when "a short range was ever the chosen distance,"†—these yard-arm to yard-arm contests may seem of inferior importance to those who may hereafter have to read of a great sea-fight between fleets of screw-steamers, armed with rifled-cannon whose range is estimated by miles. But they can never be without their interest to a nation whose "home is on the deep"—whose safety will be insecure when its young men read with indifference of the victories achieved by Howe, and Jervis, and Duncan, and Nelson. In the first years of these momentous wars, the signal triumphs of the British fleets were the counterbalance to the long series of disasters and mistakes in the employment of the British armies. The earliest in the series of great naval victories was that of earl Howe on the first of June. The veteran who had been a midshipman under Anson in 1740 was in command of the Channel fleet in 1794, waiting at Portsmouth for intelligence from his cruisers that the Brest fleet had put to sea. That fleet was declared by the French journalists to be the most formidable that had ever anchored in Brest harbour; and they proclaimed that "all burn with desire to fight the enemies of their country to the very banks of the Thames, and under the walls of London." The French Convention had sent its commissioner, Jean Bon St. André, to watch over the movements of its admiral, Villaret Joyeuse; and to remind the crews of a decree which he had himself proposed to the Convention, that every officer should be adjudged a traitor who struck his colours to a superior force, until his ship was in danger of sinking before the crew could be saved. Admiral Howe sailed from St. Helen's, on the 2nd of May, with thirty-four sail of the line, of which eight

* "Wilberforce Correspondence," vol. i. p. 109. † James's "Naval History."

were detached to protect two convoys of merchant vessels clear of the Channel. The French fleet had also to look out for a convoy expected to be returning from the United States and the West India Islands. With twenty-six sail of the line, and five frigates, lord Howe cruised for many days off Ushant, in foggy weather. At last it was ascertained that the Brest fleet had left the harbour. It was not descried till the 28th of May. In the number of line of battle ships the French were equal to the English; in size, and in the weight of metal and the number of men, they were superior. On the evening of the 28th there was a partial engagement, in which the English 74, the Audacious, was so shattered, as to be obliged to separate, and make for Plymouth; and the Revolutionnaire, a French ship of 110 guns, was towed into Rochefort, both ships having been separated from their respective fleets. There was much firing between the English van and the French rear on the following day. On the 30th and 31st inst., a heavy fog prevented any decisive movement. On the morning of the 1st of June, the sky was bright; and the French were seen under easy sail, in order of battle. Then began one of the most desperate actions in our maritime records. The close fighting lasted little more than an hour; when the French admiral, who had been engaged with Howe's own ship, the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, followed by all who could carry sail, leaving half his dismasted fleet behind him. French historians, not satisfied with the tribute which the British admiral paid to the "customary resolution" of his enemy, * detail this battle with the grossest exaggerations; and adopt the falsehoods long since exploded. "The French had only twenty-six ships, whilst their enemies had thirty-six," says Thiers.† He glances, without contradicting it, at the narrative which Carlyle describes as "the fable of Le Vengeur," ‡ which fable Lamartine boldly repeats. Surrounded by three enemy's ships, the historian of the Girondins says, she still fought. The English kept clear of her as of a body whose last convulsions might be dangerous. The crew carried the pride of the flag even to suicide *en masse*; obstinately refusing all quarter, waiting whilst the water, from minute to minute, was increasing in the hold, until they gradually submerged; continuing to fire till the last gun was covered with the waves; and then going down with the ship amidst cries of *Vive la République*. The fable was exposed in 1802 by Mr. W. S. Rose; but it having been repeated by English writers, admiral

* Howe's Despatch, June 2.

† "Histoire de la Révolution," tom. vi. p. 78—ed. 1846—Paris.

‡ Carlyle, in 2nd edit.

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Griffiths came forward in 1838, to declare that the whole story was a ridiculous piece of nonsense; that at the moment when the *Vengeur* sank the action had ceased some time; that a hundred and twenty-seven of her crew were prisoners on board the *Culloden* (of which ship admiral Griffiths was then fourth lieutenant), besides about a hundred in the *Alfred*, the *Vengeur* having been taken possession of by the boats of those ships, and the British ensign hoisted. "Seven ships," says lord Howe in his despatch, "remained in our possession; one of which, however, sank before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many were saved." Lamartine tells us that "the victorious shipwreck of the *Vengeur* became one of the popular songs of the country." The whole story was an invention of Barère. "It may be regarded as Barère's master-piece; the largest, most inspiring piece of *blague* manufactured, for some centuries, by any man or nation."* The French lost their seven ships of the line; but their convoy from America arrived safely in port. The battle of the first of June was useful to us beyond its immediate results. It gave confidence to the nation. But it was a lesson to our rulers not to believe too implicitly that at sea we were so infinitely superior to any enemy; that inexperienced captains and impressed crews were invincible. Seven ships were taken; but the others that had been dismasted were suffered to escape. It was afterwards said, that if Nelson had been in the place of Howe the probability is that the French would not have saved a single ship. The biographer of Howe, Sir John Barrow, asks "what could lord Nelson or any other commander effect, if his whole plan was deranged by the bad qualities of his ships, and the inexperience and incapacity of many of their commanders?" The Parliament and the people were satisfied with the results of the first of June. Mr. Dundas especially pointed out "the national humanity" that had been evinced in saving the lives of drowning enemies; and he said, "Let any man contrast this conduct with the decree of another nation, the object of which was that no quarter should be shown."† Five days before the first of June, the National Convention, upon the motion of Barère, had thus resolved: "The National Convention decrees that no Englishman or Hanoverian shall be made prisoner."

The system of terror, of the theory of which this odious decree was the exponent, was approaching its termination. Fortunately for the honour of the French soldiers the decree was for them only a theory. No respect was paid to the order of the Convention. The army of France in Holland must have been ashamed of

* Carlyle, in 2nd edit.

† "Parliamentary History," June 13.

their government, when the duke of York, in his general orders of the 7th of June, announced this decree to the troops under him, reminding them that "mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character," and exhorting them "not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world." He truly said, "in all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies." * The system of terror was coming to an end. But in France it was not a theory as long as Robespierre was the real ruler of the unhappy country. In the months of June and July fifteen hundred and seven persons were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and were carted every day to the guillotine—every day, with the exception during these two months of five *décadi*, the *décadi* being the public holiday substituted for Sunday. In July, the *décadi* fell on the 8th; and the suspension for twenty-four hours of the work of blood was compensated by the execution of sixty-seven on the 7th, and sixty on the 9th. The work went on, although the Convention had deposed the Goddess of Reason and decreed "the existence of the Supreme Being." Robespierre, on the first *décadi* of June, the 8th, officiated as High Priest to this newly discovered Divinity of the Revolution. On that wonderful fête day, the sound of cannon summoned the people to the garden of the Tuileries. Beautiful processions of mothers with bouquets of roses, maidens with baskets of flowers, and of citizens with branches of oak, spoke of joy and love, such as should celebrate the festival of the Author of Nature! A mound has been raised, on which as many members of the Convention stand as can be crowded round four pasteboard mawkins, of hideous aspect, representing Atheism, Egotism, Discord, Ambition. Robespierre, in a sky-blue coat, takes a torch from the hand of David the painter, who prepared this Mystery, and he sets fire to the turpentine-anointed images. As they blaze and crumble into ashes a figure slowly rises out of the trap-door of the mound. It is the statue of Wisdom. Unhappily the face of Wisdom "appeared entirely blackened by the flame, which was regarded as a sinister omen." † Other processions succeeded; and the people sang a hymn to the Eternal, composed for the occasion; and there were discoursings and embracings most touching to hear and see. "The instrument of punishment had disappeared under a covering of rich

* "Annual Register," 1794—State Papers, p. 168.

† Louis Blanc, tom. x. p. 457.

hangings."* Two days after this festival, which was to be the herald of gladness for all the earth, it was decreed in the Convention that the Revolutionary Tribunal should be divided into four Tribunals, so as to do its work more expeditiously. The rich hangings were taken down. The "instrument of punishment" shows its face again without any false shame. The Tricoteuses again sit upon its steps; and the passing red-caps speak out the name of their faithful servant, with a gratitude that scorns the euphemism of modern republicans.

Robespierre, after this miserable extravaganza of the festival of the Supreme Being had been performed, kept aloof from the Convention and from the Committee of Public Safety. In his House of Lords, the Jacobin Club, he placed his chief reliance to carry him through the dangers that were gathering around him. During this term of his absence from the immediate direction of affairs, the guillotine was working at its most furious rate; and it has been surmised that he was therefore not directly responsible for the executions of that horrible period. His two ferocious colleagues, Couthon and St. Just, were in full activity, and were in constant communication with him. The triumvirate worked together, and happily they fell together. Other members of the Committee of Public Safety began to tremble for their own lives. Rumours were afloat that lists of the proscribed had been seen whose destruction was to prepare the way for the rule of a supreme Dictator, when he had dealt with the Convention *en coupe réglée*—as a forest marked out in patches to be cut down in succession. On the 26th of July Robespierre entered the hall of the Convention. The speech which he delivered from the tribune, calling, in the old terms, for vengeance upon traitors, was received with no applause; and a motion that the speech should be printed having been passed, was after a violent debate rescinded. It is decidedly a crisis. Robespierre in the evening seeks the solace of his Jacobin Club, where there is no mutiny; and his myrmidons shout for revolt against Convention and Committee of Public Safety. That night, members of the Convention begin to fear that they shall meet no more. But they do meet. Insurrection has not yet organized itself. St. Just begins to read a Report, Robespierre standing by. He is interrupted by many voices. Tallien draws a dagger, exclaiming "If the Convention dare not strike the tyrant, I dare." Loud rise the shouts of fury against the tyrant—against the Triumvirs. The President rings his bell in vain, whilst Robespierre cries, "Will you hear me, President of Assassins?" "Decree of Accusation"

* Louis Blanc, tom. x. p. 454.

is roared out on all sides. Robespierre and his brother Augustin, Couthon, St. Just, Lebas—are decreed. But the struggle is not yet over. The Municipality will resist the Convention. The accused are sent off to prison; but the gaolers have orders not to admit any brought in custody: They are taken to the town hall. Paris is in tumult through the afternoon and night. The convention have decreed Robespierre and his adherents out of law. They have given the command of troops to Barras, who goes forth to encounter the troops of the Municipality under Henriot. They stand face to face in the Place du Greve. "Hear the decree of the Convention," is the voice on one side—"Robespierre and all rebels out of law." The lighted matches are not applied to the loaded cannon. The armed men of each party unite to uphold the decree. Henriot rushes into the Hôtel de Ville to say all is lost. Robespierre puts a pistol in his mouth, and blows off his under jaw. Henriot and Augustin Robespierre throw themselves out of the window. St. Just, Couthon, Lebas, think of suicide, but attempt it not, or fail in the attempt. At four in the afternoon of the 28th of July, Robespierre, his jaw bound up, his mangled brother lying beside him, with Henriot in the same wretched condition, are carried on a tumbril to the guillotine, other tumbrils following with other condemned. From the time when the Dictator attempted self-destruction he spake no word. He opens his eyes as he is lifted upon the scaffold, and looks for an instant on the bloody knife. The executioner's work is done, and Paris sends forth its universal shout of joy.

The character of Robespierre is one of the unsolved problems of history. His crimes are upon the surface; his motives are not so manifest. Coleridge, in 1795, anticipated the substance of a great deal that has been written about him: "Robespierre possessed a glowing ardour that still remembered the end, and a cool ferocity that never either overlooked or scrupled the means. What that end was is not known; that it was a wicked one has by no means been proved."* Most persons—however some may be bewildered by the manifold speculations afloat in the world as to the objects which he proposed to himself in his difficult career—will agree that, if "he was, beyond most men that ever lived, hateful, selfish, unprincipled, cruel, unscrupulous," it may also be affirmed "that he was not the worst of the Jacobin group."†

The vicissitudes of parties in France were no interruption to the success of the French armies. After the fall of Robespierre, lord Cornwallis very justly described this remarkable state of

* "The Friend," Essay xii.

† Lord Brougham, "Statesmen"—Robespierre.

things :—" The French, although they have neither security of person or property, although the streets of Paris and all their principal towns are daily streaming with blood, and their government, if such it can be called, is the most tyrannical and cruel that ever existed, still carry on the war with a vigour and energy that is scarcely to be conceived; and when one set of butchers are themselves slaughtered at Paris, the army pays the same deference to their murderers as they had before done to the villains whose heads they had cut off."* To understand this apparent anomaly, it must not be forgotten that the French army was directed by one prevailing mind, that of Carnot; and that it had one great idea to fight for, the liberty and independence of the country. The armies of the Coalition were distracted by the rivalries and jealousies of sovereigns and generals. The incapacity of the leaders was as notorious as the selfishness of the crowned heads who appointed them.

Before the close of 1793, the rottenness of the Coalition against France was understood by the English government—understood, but still sought to be remedied by golden props. Lord Malmesbury is sent upon a special mission to Berlin. It was in vain that lord Grenville desired the ambassador to say to his Prussian majesty that the king of England "never will submit to purchase by a subsidy that assistance to which he is entitled by treaty."† It was in vain that he was instructed "that the utmost jealousy prevails between the two courts of Vienna and Berlin." The English Cabinet was divided in opinion. Loughborough was "for giving a large subsidy to the king of Prussia, but Pitt and Grenville think otherwise."‡ Lord Malmesbury at Berlin found that "the necessity of pecuniary relief was still the constant theme of the Prussian ministers." And so at last a treaty was signed, by which his Prussian majesty agreed, upon 300,000*l.* being paid as a subsidy, to furnish an army of sixty-two thousand men, under a Prussian commander-in-chief, at the further rate of 50,000*l.* per month; 1*l.* 12*s.* per head for bread and forage each month during the term of its service; and 100,000*l.* when the army was to return home. The despatches of lord Malmesbury detail, at wearisome length, the progress of these pitiful bargains. The same system was pursued by Austria. Mr. Thomas Grenville is negotiating with the Court of Vienna. They had required, "as indispensable conditions, that their loan must be completely satisfied in England to enable them to answer the demands of this year, and that they must receive from England

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 267.

† "Diaries, &c. of the earl of Malmesbury," vol. ii. p. 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

a considerable subsidy for next campaign, if it is expected that they should act vigorously in the prosecution of the war."* Mr. Grenville wrote that it was his confident belief that if the English Cabinet expected to purchase energy and activity at this dear rate from the government of the emperor, the experiment would fail. "There is no soul in the bodies of these men." He was perfectly right. We want no key beyond the rapacity and heartlessness of the Prussian and Austrian governments to explain the series of calamities which befel the Allied armies in the campaign of 1794. The military details have little interest for the general reader of the present day. The duke of York defeated Pichegru on the 10th of May. Charleroi, besieged by the French, had been relieved by the hereditary prince of Orange on the 14th of May, after a severe battle, when the enemy was driven across the Sambre. Jourdan, having given some offence to the Committee of Public Safety, had left the army, and was again a shopkeeper at Limoges. He was summoned from his obscurity to take the command of the army of the Moselle. The choice of Carnot was amply justified. After defeating the Austrian general at Arlon, he captured Charleroi on the 25th of June; and on the 29th won the battle of Fleurus,—the greatest victory of the revolutionary arms before the career of Napoleon. This battle decided the fate of the Netherlands. His operations were a succession of triumphs over the Austrians; and led to the necessity of the duke of York retreating from Tournay and Oudenarde upon Antwerp. There was little chance now of preserving Holland. Confident supporters of Mr. Pitt's policy began to despair. One of these supporters, lord Mornington, saw very clearly what would be the probable result. In a letter to Mr. Addington, on the 27th of July, he says,—“I am full of despondency upon the subject of the war. I think it is too probable Holland will fall.” Then, he thought that the resources of France would receive an enormous accession from this conquest; that the fleets of Denmark and Sweden would join hers; that she would add the plunder of the Netherlands and of all the countries on the banks of the Rhine; that Switzerland and Italy would be at her mercy. “I expect,” he says, “to see the whole of this realized, having, after a good deal of reflection, entirely renounced all confidence in our allies, and all hopes of any internal convulsion in France.”† The successes of the French may also in a great degree be attributed to the extraordinary military capacity of the men who were leaders of her troops, even in that early period of the

* “Court, &c. of George III.” vol. ii. p. 262.

† “Life of Lord Sidmouth,” vol. i. p. 123.

great war. In the army under Jourdan were serving Moreau, Bernadotte, Kleber, Ney, and Soult. They had one purpose,—to make the Republic victorious. They had the certainty that the humblest in the army might rise to the highest command if he successfully performed his duty,—for success was a test of merit, however imperfect and occasionally unjust was the criterion. The British army, with some exceptions, presented a deplorable contrast; and there was no cordiality between the British commander-in-chief and the Austrian generals. Lord Cornwallis was sent out to arrange a system of co-operation that might remove these jealousies. It was thought by the British government not unlikely that the Austrian government might entrust the general command to one so experienced as Cornwallis himself; and that the duke of York might be persuaded to retire from a post for which he was manifestly incompetent. The letters of lord Cornwallis show the progress of these negotiations, which were utterly fruitless. Mr. Windham went out to smooth the difficulties in the way of the duke of York's resignation, to which difficulties he appears too readily to have yielded. These might have ultimately been overcome; but nothing could counteract what Windham describes as "the dreadful duplicity of the Austrians, and the unfeeling and unprincipled indifference with which they sacrifice the greatest public interests to their private emoluments and animosities."* The king, however, stood in the way of the desire of his Cabinet that lord Cornwallis should have the command of the allied armies. He objected to the supercession of his son by an English man. He would not object to the command being entrusted to general Clairfait.† Cornwallis was unwilling to be placed in a position of such delicacy; but he saw the necessity of a change by which the public good might be consulted instead of private feelings, even those of royalty. At last the necessity became so obvious that, although there was an end to the notion of appointing Cornwallis to the command, Mr. Dundas informed him on the 27th of November that, "Mr. Pitt wrote a very long and dutiful letter, but at the same time a very honest and firm one, to the king, stating the necessity of putting an end to the duke of York's command of the army on the continent." His royal highness was on that day requested to return home.‡

The previous disasters of the army under the command of the duke had been very serious. When Windham was at the British head-quarters, at Bois-le-Duc, on the 13th of September, he saw

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 234.

† *Ibid.*, p. 263.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 276.



that the army of 30,000 British, Hessians, and Hanoverians, was left to act alone, without any hope of co-operation, against an enemy who menaced an immediate attack with an army of 50,000. He blamed himself for not having pressed the resignation of the duke with greater pertinacity; for he could not but wish, "when strong immediate interest forces away every other consideration, that a person of more experience and authority had the command, first to decide whether the battle ought to be fought, and then to conduct the fighting it."* Bois-le-Duc was surrendered by the Dutch after a brief siege. The duke of York then moved to cover Nimeguen, the possession of which by the French would facilitate their advance into Holland. He was attacked on the 19th of October, and again on the 27th, and compelled to withdraw. Nimeguen was surrendered very shortly after this retreat. Maestricht also surrendered to Kleber. The road into Holland was open to the Republicans. The command of the army, now wretchedly reduced in number, was left to a Hanoverian nobleman, count Walmoden. The winter had set in with severity. The Hanoverian general appears to have believed that in winter an army could do nothing but rest in its quarters. Pichegru, the French commander, thought otherwise. He crossed the river Waal on the ice in the middle of December. Then the British troops, 8000 in number, who were commanded by general Dundas under Walmoden, made a desperate attack upon the French, and drove them back over the Waal. But the bravery of our troops was exerted in vain. They were suffering great privations from a wretchedly managed commissariat; and when Pichegru again crossed the Waal with an immense army, there was no chance but that of a speedy retreat to save the remnant of the British. After terrible losses from a pursuing enemy, and from the inclement weather, two or three thousand of our countrymen fought their way to the mouth of the Elbe, and embarked at Bremen for England. Holland was lost.

"Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." France was alive, and dangerous. Poland was prostrate—"the sick man" of that time; and the eagles were at hand to hasten the death, and divide the carcase. But there was an awakening before the death. When Poland, in 1792, saw her liberal Constitution put down by the armies of Russia, and had called in vain upon Prussia to support her in a resistance to aggression,† the national spirit of independence was embodied under prince Poniatowski, and Kosciusko showed his countrymen that a great leader would not be wanting if the prospect of deliverance was

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 268.

† *Ante*, p. 529.

sufficiently clear for a protracted conflict. The oppressors were too powerful. Russia appropriated a large share of the sick man's possessions and chucked a smaller share to Prussia. Poniatowski, Kosciusko, and many others who had fought against Russia, left their country. In 1794 the time appeared favourable for another attempt at independence. In the north of Poland there was an insurrection. An army was quickly organized. Kosciusko returned to Poland, and was appointed the leader of his countrymen. He published a manifesto against the Russians; and obtained a signal victory on the fourth of April. The people at Warsaw then rose, and expelled the Russians from their city. Aid from all sides came to the patriotic cause. Kosciusko was advancing to meet the Russian intruders; when Frederick William of Prussia, having received his pay from England for effectual assistance in the war against France, turned his thoughts to a more advantageous prospect than a hearty and honest fulfilment of his engagements would have afforded. He advanced into Poland at the head of forty thousand men; and was boldly met by Kosciusko with a force not one third of that number. Kosciusko was obliged to retreat towards Warsaw; but he effectually covered that capital for two months. Austria now considered it expedient to take a hand in this royal game, which promised great gains to those who made their stakes in time. Whilst she was bargaining for loans and subsidies with England, and leaving the duke of York to bear the brunt of the French attacks in the Netherlands, she marched an army into Little Poland. On the 10th of October, in an unsuccessful battle against the Russians under Suwaroff, Kosciusko was wounded. As he fell, he exclaimed "*Finis Polonia.*" The struggle was continued for a little while, and then Warsaw capitulated; after Suwaroff had put to the sword twenty thousand wretched inhabitants of the suburb of Praga, a massacre as horrid as that of Ismail, which, four years before, had signalized the triumph of this semi-barbarian.

There was one achievement of this year, memorable as an example of British daring; though it was a success without any permanent advantages. At the commencement of the French Revolution, the island of Corsica had been recognized as a department of France. But Paoli, who had been many years an exile from his country, returned; and finally organized a revolt against the French authorities. He entered into communication with lord Hood after the evacuation of Toulon; and it was determined that the republican occupiers of Fiorenzo should be besieged. Troops were landed; and the French, being unable to maintain the post,

concentrated their forces at Bastia. The British general, Dundas, thought the place too strong to be taken, without a reinforcement. Horatio Nelson, one of lord Hood's captains, said he would be ready to attack it with five hundred men, and the crew of his own ship, the *Agamemnon*. With his usual firm reliance upon the bravery and endurance of his sailors, and unbounded confidence in his own powers, Nelson effected for his admiral the reduction of this strong place without the help of general Dundas, taking the command of the soldiers, seamen, and marines. Four thousand troops capitulated to a force not exceeding twelve hundred men. Corsica, for a short period, was annexed to Great Britain. The people had a free constitution offered to them; and they testified their desire to be under British protection. It was an union of very short duration, for it had no natural principles of cohesion. Corsica very soon came again under the dominion of France; and certainly this island, with its fierce and ignorant population, was not a possession that would have been easy to retain under a system of regulated liberty, even if it had been worth retaining for any higher object than the assertion of national pride.

CHAPTER III.

Accessions to the Ministry.—Opening of the Session.—Mr. Canning.—Opposition to the Address by Mr. Wilberforce.—Acquittal of Warren Hastings.—Marriage of the Prince of Wales.—Session closed.—Expedition to Quiberon.—Insurrections in Paris.—Revolt of the Sections suppressed by Bonaparte.—Opening of Parliament.—Attack upon the king.—Coercive policy of the Government.—Dread of Mr. Fox of approaching absolutism.—Bonaparte chief of the army of Italy.—Territorial divisions of Italy.—Bonaparte's first Italian Campaign.—Austrian successes in Germany.—Lord Malmesbury negotiates for peace, at Paris.—Death of the Empress Catherine II.—Retirement of Washington.—French fleet in Bantry Bay.

BEFORE the meeting of parliament on the 30th of December, 1794, the ministry of Mr. Pitt had received some important accessions from that section of the Whig party which had already given him their support in debates and in divisions. The duke of Portland was appointed third Secretary of State; Mr. Windham, Secretary at War; and earl Spencer First Lord of the Admiralty. Earl Fitzwilliam went to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in December; but he was recalled in the following March.

Whatever was the amount of national gloom at the prospect of the war, there was one man who never lost heart or hope. The royal speech on the 30th of December was the anticipation of the sentiments, which William Pitt would again and again utter in majestic periods, to which his disciples would listen with unfeigned admiration. Disappointments and reverses were acknowledged, but security was only to be found in firmness and perseverance. Everything showed the rapid decay of the enemy's resources, and the instability of every part of their system. The United Provinces had entered into negotiations for peace, but no established government could derive real security from such negotiations. Forces were to be augmented; large additional burdens were to be imposed; and operations for another campaign were to be concerted with such of the powers of Europe as were impressed with the same sense of the necessity for vigour and exertion.

In the House of Commons, on that 30th of December, the speeches of two of the members excited more attention than even the stately harangue of the prime minister himself. George Canning, who had taken his seat in the previous session, seconded the motion for the Address. He had spoken three times during

the session which preceded, and had been reproved for a slight exercise of his sarcastic power, being described by sir Philip Francis as "the young gentleman who had just escaped from his school and his classics, and was not yet conversant in the laws and constitution of his country." Sheridan had somewhat rashly proclaimed to the House at the end of 1792, when Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards earl of Liverpool) made his first speech on the side of the Government, that his own party was about to receive a great accession in the companion and friend of the young orator who had then distinguished himself. Canning disappointed the hopes of Sheridan, and became the most devoted as well as the most able supporter of Pitt. Of his adhesion to the great minister's policy, there is a wild story told by sir Walter Scott: "Canning's conversion from popular opinions was strangely brought round. While he was studying in the Temple, and rather entertaining revolutionary opinions, Godwin sent to say that he was coming to breakfast with him, to speak on a subject of the highest importance. Canning knew little of him, but received his visit, and learned to his astonishment, that in expectation of a new order of things, the English Jacobins designed to place him, Canning, at the head of their revolution. He was much struck, and asked time to think what course he should take; and having thought the matter over, he went to Mr. Pitt, and made the anti-Jacobin confession of faith." Scott tells this story upon the authority of sir W. Knighton.* A more improbable story was never told. That Godwin, a man of ripe age; singularly cautious in his actions, however bold were his political theories; studiously keeping aloof from all the Societies of that troubled time,—should have made this extraordinary proposal to a lad, whose abilities might have been exhibited in some British Forum, but were only known to the general world by his clever papers in "The Microcosm"; † moreover that Pitt should at once have gladly snatched the young democrat out of the dangerous embraces of the English Jacobins, to become his own bosom friend and companion in power—this is indeed a pretty romance, but one which we may leave for any historical value to the adornment of an eloquent biographer.‡ Canning's uncompromising speech on the 30th of December, 1794, for a vigorous continuance of the war, excited the admiration of the ministerial party, but it had an effect little anticipated by the minister. It called up Wilberforce, to move an Amendment to the Address—Wilberforce,

* "Diary," April 17, 1828.

† Published in 1787, in which year Canning, at the age of seventeen and a half, was entered at Christchurch, Oxford.

‡ See Robert Bell's "Life of Canning," p. 85.

the warmest and most disinterested friend of Pitt. The conscientious man had a hard struggle to bring his mind to oppose the statesman whom he loved and revered. But he became convinced that his duty lay in recommending an attempt to negotiate with the French republic for peace on equitable terms. Pitt felt this difference very acutely. "There were but two events in the public life of Mr. Pitt, which were able to disturb his sleep—the mutiny at the Nore, and the first open opposition of Mr. Wilberforce." * The natures of the two friends were too genial to allow of a permanent rupture. Pitt showed no resentment. The more violent of the ministerial party looked upon the unexpected opposition as something not much short of treason. "When I first went to the levee," says Wilberforce, "after moving my Amendment, the king cut me." But Wilberforce was not shaken by the taunts of the warlike party in the government, or by the frowns of the sovereign. He subsequently brought forward a specific motion to recommend overtures for peace, which, of course, was rejected by a large majority. He argued with Pitt in the old confidence of friendship, that he was under a delusion in his abiding belief that "the French were in a gulf of bankruptcy, and that he could almost calculate the time by which their resources would be consumed." At Wilberforce's own table a clever Frenchman had said, "I should like to know who was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Attila." †

During this session the resistance to the policy of the Government was very ineffectual. The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was continued. A loan of four millions to the emperor was voted. The trial of Warren Hastings, which had dragged on for seven years, then came to an end, the Lord Chancellor declaring him, upon the votes of the peers, to be acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought against him.

The great domestic event of the year was the marriage of the prince of Wales—an event whose unhappy consequences were not to be measured solely by the miseries and disgraces of the ill-assorted pair themselves. Lord Malmesbury—who was about to return home from his mission at Berlin, where he had unsuccessfully struggled against the selfish dishonour of the Prussian court—was commanded by George III. to proceed to Brunswick, to demand the princess Caroline in marriage for the prince of Wales. The Diary of lord Malmesbury is indeed a most instructive revelation of the dangers that might have been expected from an alliance forced on for state reasons—an alliance between a reckless volup-

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 17.

† *Ibid.*, p. 92. Macaulay has paraphrased the Frenchman's *mot*, see ante, p. 524.

tuary, anxious only to have his debts paid by the nation on the occasion of his marriage, and a giddy, coarse, ill-educated woman, who was dazzled with the glittering prospect of quitting a petty principality to intermarry with the heir-apparent of one of the most splendid of European crowns. Lord Malmesbury had his instructions from the king himself, "with no discretionary power to give advice or information to his majesty or the government on the principal subject of this mission." He saw the princess, "vastly happy with her future expectations." A messenger from England "brings the prince's picture, and a letter from him to me, urging me vehemently to set out with the princess Caroline immediately." The duke of Brunswick told the ambassador that his daughter was not silly—(*Elle n'est pas bête*)—but that she wanted judgment—had been brought up severely, which was quite necessary. The father saw the trouble that was in store—"he dreaded the prince's habits." The poor princess said to Malmesbury, "I am determined never to appear jealous. I know the prince is *leger*, and am prepared on this point." The sagacious ambassador very soon perceived the impending danger. He regretted the apparent facility of the princess's character—her want of reflection and *substance*—"with a steady man she would do vastly well, but with one of a different description there were great risks." He came to the conclusion that "she has no governing powers, although her mind is physically strong." Malmesbury did his duty in offering her advice and sometimes remonstrance—especially "on the toilette, on cleanliness, and on delicacy in speaking"—strange subjects of discussion with a lady who might be queen of England. The destined bride and the ambassador set out at last for the court of St. James's. On the 5th of April their arrival was notified to the king and the prince of Wales. The princess was introduced to the prince, who came alone to receive her. She attempted to kneel, as she was instructed. "He raised her gracefully enough, and embraced her; said barely one word; turned round; retired to a distant part of the apartment, and, calling me to him, said, 'Harris, I am not well; pray get me a glass of brandy.'" Harris recommended a glass of water, and the prince, exclaiming "No," with an oath, rushed away to the queen. Well might Caroline of Brunswick be "in a state of astonishment," and inquire, "is the prince always like that?" The marriage took place on the 8th. Parliament voted a large income, but determined that out of this income the prince's debts should be paid without a separate grant.*

On the prorogation of Parliament on the 27th of June, the royal

* See Malmesbury's "Diary," &c., vol. iii. p. 147 to p. 210.

speech expressed a hope, derived from "the internal situation of the enemy," "that the present circumstances of France may, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers." Fox interpreted this sentence as indicating the views of that party in the Cabinet who could anticipate no "state of order and regular government" but in the return of the Bourbons to power. He describes these expressions as "that foolish paragraph in the king's speech at the prorogation, at which they made him foretell the restoration of monarchy in France." * There were "other powers" whose prudence or whose fears led them to preserve or to seek "amity and peace" with the Republic. The United States had preserved peace both with France and England, chiefly through the firmness and moderation of Washington. Prussia had made peace with France on the 5th of April. Spain, at this very time, was negotiating for peace, and a treaty was ratified in less than a month after this prorogation of Parliament. But on the very day that the royal speech pointed, as Fox believed, to a return of the old order of things as the only security for peace, a landing of emigrants and British marines was effected in Brittany, for the purpose of assisting a projected insurrection of the Chouan Royalists. Its results were most disastrous. This unfortunate expedition, it is affirmed, "was known to be peculiarly the measure of the Burke part of the Cabinet, and to have been undertaken on the sole responsibility of their ministerial organ, Mr. Windham." † A pacification with the Vendéan chiefs had been effected by the commissioners of the Convention on the 12th of February, 1795. There was still a smouldering fire of disaffection; and Puisaye, an agent of the French princes, led the warlike members of the English Cabinet to believe that the whole country could be again roused, if the means were afforded of landing a body of emigrant volunteers, and of supplying arms to the peasantry. A squadron of nine ships of war, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, convoyed fifty transports, having on board the royalists and their stores. On the 27th of June they landed near Carnac. On the 3rd of July they occupied the peninsula of Quiberon. The emissaries of the royalists again stirred up a civil war throughout Brittany. Charette, Stofflet, and other insurgent chiefs, who had submitted in February, resumed their arms. But Hoche was at hand with fourteen thousand men. He made a night attack upon Fort Penthièvre; poured his thousands into the peninsula; and by daybreak he was driving the wretched

* "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 119.

† Moore, "Life of Sheridan," p. 522.

emigrants into the sea, or taking them prisoners to be doomed to death as traitors to the Republic. The Comte d'Artois came with another expedition. He looked upon La Vendée, and consulted his safety by a return to England. On the 8th of June the unhappy son of Louis XVI. had died a prisoner in the Temple, in the 12th year of his age. Physicians who examined the body declared that his death was caused by scrofulous disease. The poor boy had been subjected to the most shameful treatment, even when the Jacobin reign of terror was at an end. He was confined in a small room; was left without change of linen; was devoured by vermin. His uncle Monsieur was now Louis XVIII. But neither of the uncles of the child who is registered in the annals of France as Louis XVII. could have revived such a feeling of royalism as the continued existence of this suffering prisoner of the Temple might have commanded—if the spirit of royalism, indeed, had not been almost extinct, and incapable of being revived by any rallying cry. The daughter of Louis XVI., who was called by Napoleon "the only man of the family," was released from her confinement after the death of her brother.

The chaos of the French Revolution was slowly resolving itself into something like order. After the fall of Robespierre there was a progressive reaction against the system of terror of which he had been the most conspicuous mover. The instruments of bloodshed, before whom all France had trembled, were now to live in dread, not only of a loss of power, but of retributive justice. In May, 1795, Fouquier Tinville, and fifteen of the old Revolutionary Tribunal, were brought before a new Revolutionary Tribunal, were condemned to death, and were executed. The charge against Fouquier Tinville was, specially, that of causing the destruction, under the guise of trial, of a countless number of French of all ages and of both sexes, by inventing schemes of conspiracies.* But the reaction against the Jacobins too often involved as much injustice and cruelty as had marked their supremacy. The struggle against the power of the Convention by the sans-culottes of Paris, crying for bread, and led on by a remnant of the chiefs of the days of terror, broke out in three insurrections. The first was that of the Twelfth of Germinal (April 1), which was put down by Pichegru without bloodshed—by the mere boom of unshotted cannon. The second revolt was that of the First of Prairial (May 20). The cry now is, "Bread and Constitution." Saint Antoine pours out its citizenesses into the hall of the Convention. Its citizens murder one of the deputies, Férand. Sixty of the old deputies of the

* See *ante*, vol. vi. p. 591.

Mountain retain their seats in the hall, all others having gone away to look for safety. The purged Assembly now decrees whatever sans-culottism demands. But the Jacobin deputies and their rabble are soon swept out by charge of bayonet; and the guillotine, suicide, and deportation leave the Convention for a little while in quiet. Its business is now to make a new Constitution. Sièyes has his plans ready for a Constitution far less democratic than that of 1793. There is to be a money qualification for electors; there are to be two chambers; two-thirds of the existing Convention must be re-elected; there is to be a Directory of five members. It was determined to submit this new Constitution for the acceptance of the people in their primary assemblies on the 6th of September. As might have been anticipated, a violent opposition, especially to that portion of the scheme which gave the citizens only the privilege of electing one-third of the new representatives, broke out. The Constitution was accepted by a very large majority of the people, and it was declared to be the fundamental law of the State. The sections of Paris were, however, in a ferment. The Convention saw that a third revolt was at hand. It had five or six thousand troops for its defence, and Menou had their command, as general-in-chief of the army of the interior. On the 4th of October Menou is sent to disarm the Section Lepelletier, which is sitting with loaded guns in a convent in the Rue Vivienne. He proceeds to enforce their obedience with his artillery and his battalions, demanding the surrender of their arms. He returns to the Convention to say that he has summoned Lepelletier in vain; the Section has shown too formidable an array. Some more determined leader must be found. Barras is named to the command in the place of Menou; but Barras is only to be a vicarial commander. There was a young man known to Barras as having done good service at Toulon, but who had been unemployed for some time; had been suspected as an adherent of Robespierre; and was now in very straitened circumstances. He was the man for a dash at the insurgents, whose numbers had increased to forty or fifty thousand after the retreat of Menou. These insurgents were of all classes of the discontented—Jacobins and royalists, republicans and constitutional monarchists, the starving and the restless. Napoleon Bonaparte was placed at the head of the troops of the line, as second in command to Barras. He had hesitated about accepting this command; as any less scrupulous man might have hesitated when he was selected to war against his fellow-citizens as against a foreign enemy. But having chosen his course, he lost no time in adopting the means of success. Murat, then an officer

of cavalry, was despatched by Bonaparte, that night, to bring away from Sablons the cannon which had been deposited there during the insurrection of May, when the National Guards wished to show their fidelity to the Convention. The Section Lepelletier had also despatched its officers to bring away the cannon. Murat was beforehand with them, and arrived early in the morning of the 5th at the Tuileries with the park of artillery. Bonaparte distributed his cannon and his troops at every point where the Convention was open to attack. The Section Lepelletier was joined by other Sections. Generals were chosen. A plan of attack upon the Tuileries was arranged. Bonaparte ordered that no aggressive movement should be made, but that his troops should remain on the defensive. The members of the Convention took their seats, arms having been provided, which they were themselves to use in case of attack. The day wore on till half-past four, all the streets surrounding the Tuileries being filled with troops of the Sections. The insurrectionary columns then moved up the Rue St. Honoré, and along the quays, and when they came to where Bonaparte's men were posted, instead of dispersing, as they were summoned to do, they discharged their muskets. The young general of the Convention thought the time was at last come for decisive action. A great body of insurgents had taken up a commanding position on the steps leading to the Church of St. Roch. Bonaparte opened a heavy fire of grape-shot upon them; and they were quickly dislodged. He brought his cannon into the street of St. Honoré, and swept it with his *mitraille* from one end to the other. The insurgents fled from this quarter; but at other points of the city the same contest was going on between disciplined troops, most skilfully disposed, and a rash multitude without efficient leaders. Bonaparte, says Thiers, "shewed a merciless energy, and fired upon the population of Paris as upon Austrian battalions." The captive at St. Helena himself said, "It is false that we fired first with blank shot; it had been a waste of life to do that." At six o'clock all was over, and the victorious general of the Convention fired his cannon loaded with powder only, to terrify those who had still a wish to fight. The fortunes of Bonaparte were in the ascendant; and from that day the history of Europe becomes in a great degree merged in the history of one man. The time is not yet ripe for the supreme power of this man. There will be an Executive, composed of five Directors; Council of Ancients; Council of five hundred. The French people will feel that the days of anarchy and insurrection are over—that the volcano of the Revolution is burnt out. But other nations will feel,

for twenty years, that the strong arm of military power, which has striven with and conquered the spirit of revolt in Paris, will become an organized ambition, as dangerous to the repose of the world as the outbreaks of that democracy against which kings vainly confederated.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 29th of October, under very inauspicious circumstances. On the 26th, a general meeting of the London Corresponding Society was held in St. George's Fields, when some bold speeches were addressed to a vast multitude. Provisions at this period were excessively dear. The same privations that moved the people of Paris to assail the Convention with "Bread and the Constitution," moved the people of London to assail the king on his way to Parliament with cries of "Bread! bread! Peace! peace!" One of the windows of the state carriage was broken by a stone, or by a shot from an air-gun. The king manifested his wonted courage, amidst the groans and hisses of an excited mob. An Address to his majesty was voted in both houses before the royal speech was taken into consideration. The government, as was for many years its policy, whenever popular discontent assumed the form of violence and outrage, was ready with its measures of coercion. In the House of Lords, lord Grenville brought in a bill "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts." In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt brought in a bill "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." The Treasonable Attempts Bill was an extension of the provisions of the statute of Edward III., as to compassing and imagining the death of the king, by connecting that compassing and imagining with the publication of any printing or writing. The parliamentary opposition to the Bill was as strong as to that against Seditious Meetings. The one measure still forms part of our code of law; the other was totally unfitted for any permanent condition of constitutional liberty. By this second Bill, every public meeting for the purpose of preparing any petition or remonstrance, or for deliberating upon any grievance in Church or State, was forbidden to be held, except under certain regulations, by which the individuals calling the meeting could be identified: it further gave power to any justice of the peace to disperse the meeting, if the language of the speakers was calculated to bring the government into contempt; and if twelve persons remained together one hour after being so ordered to disperse, the offenders were to be adjudged felons, without benefit of clergy. The public reprobation of these measures was expressed in the

most unequivocal manner. The indignation of Mr. Fox carried him beyond the verge of discretion, however just and courageous we may now consider the words which he uttered: "If ministers were determined, by means of the corrupt influence which they possessed in the two Houses of Parliament, to pass the bills in direct opposition to the declared sense of a great majority of the nation, and they should be put in force with all their rigorous provisions, if his opinion were asked by the people as to their obedience, he should tell them it was no longer a question of moral obligation and duty, but of prudence." Mr. Pitt expressed his horror and disgust at the words of Mr. Fox, which, he said, openly advised an appeal to the sword. Mr. Fox declared that he would not retract one word of what he had said: "Strong measures require strong words." The country had never been more agitated than at this crisis. Pitt expected "a civil broil," and said, "If I were to resign, my head would be off in six months." * The bills passed. There was no civil broil. But it was very long before Englishmen could cease to feel that they had lost some portion of the freedom which their ancestors had won. It was no merely rhetorical art that led Fox to declare himself so strongly against these enactments. He expressed his deliberate conviction in a letter to lord Holland: "There appears to me no chance at present, but between an absolute surrender of the liberties of the people, and a vigorous exertion, attended, I admit, with considerable hazard, at a time like the present. My view of things is, I own, very gloomy; and I am convinced that in a very few years the government will become completely absolute, or that confusion will arise of a nature almost as much to be deprecated as despotism itself." † With a prolonged suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; with an Attorney-General who boasted that "in the last two years there had been more prosecutions for libels than in any twenty years before;" ‡ with a new law to attach the penalty of treason to certain libels, and a new law to give one magistrate the power of dispersing any assembly, under the penalty of death to those who demurred to his will—we can scarcely think that the view of things taken by Mr. Fox was too gloomy, or that his resistance was unpatriotic and factious. In a review of "Gifford's Life of Pitt," written by Mr. Canning, in 1810, remarkable as much for its ability as its moderation, there is the following defence of, or rather apology for, these measures: "In other times, indeed, we should have condemned the coercive policy

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 114. † "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 124.

‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxii. col. 488.

of Mr. Pitt. That policy is always to be judged of as being intended for a *crisis*; and, whatever may be thought of its merits, there can be no doubt that, on the one hand, the proselyting dexterity which characterized the prevailing spirit of the French Revolution, and, on the other, the general agitation, or disquietude, of, the popular mind in our own country, concurred to form at that period, a moral crisis of a very peculiar nature.* We have no more right to assume that Pitt was resolved upon establishing a despotism, than that Fox desired to witness the overthrow of the monarchy.

In the year 1796 the military operations in Germany and Italy were carried on upon a scale which had not been witnessed since the days of Marlborough. The French Directory had resolved to attack the forces of the emperor upon two points at one and the same time. The command of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse was given to Jourdan; the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle was given to Moreau. At the end of November, 1795, the army of Italy had obtained some successes under Schérer, but his defeat of the Austrians had not been followed up in a manner to satisfy the Directory. During the winter, the pale, thin, reserved Corsican who had cannonaded the Sections into submission, remained in Paris, raised out of his poverty into what was then termed good society by the democrats who had grown luxurious, but which society, Burke, in one of his fiercest moods, describes as "a set of abandoned wretches, squandering in insolent riot the spoils of their bleeding country."† In the saloons of Barras and of Madame Tallien, Bonaparte met Josephine Beauharnois, the widow of the viscount Beauharnois, who had taken the side of the revolutionists, but was guillotined in the days of terror. The young general was married to Josephine in March. But his duties as chief of the army of Paris, and his devotion to an amiable and attractive woman, did not divert his thoughts from objects of high import. He had devised a plan for the invasion of Italy, which he submitted to Carnot, then one of the Directory. To obtain a permanent footing beyond the Alps; to hold the small Italian provinces in sovereignty or in subjection; perhaps to conquer the whole territory, and to make one subject people in that land of antique glory; this was the traditional policy of France, and any scheme for its realization was now peculiarly acceptable to the French Government. Bonaparte was appointed chief of the army in Italy; and on the 27th of March he entered upon his command at Nice.

* "Quarterly Review," vol. iv. p. 230.

† "Regicide Peace," Letter III.

Before we proceed to relate the events of this campaign, we must very briefly notice the territorial divisions of Italy at the period when the French Republic was established in 1792, and its political condition at the beginning of 1796. The kingdom of Sardinia—consisting of Savoy, Nice, Piedmont, and the island of Sardinia—was under Victor Amadeus III. This prince had joined the Coalition against France, and Savoy and Nice, lying convenient to the revolutionists, were very soon seized. But he continued to resist, although little able to struggle against his dangerous neighbour. The republic of Genoa was neutral; but an Anti-Gallican party had given offence to the Directory, and the Genoese oligarchy were not likely to be treated with kindness. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, under Ferdinand III., had recognized the French Republic at an early period. The small republic of Lucca was independent of Tuscany. The States of the Church, under Pope Pius VI., were so wretchedly administered—the people were so servile and degraded—that the anathemas of the sovereign pontiff against the Revolution were not likely to divert the French armies from plundering Rome, and devastating the provinces. The Kingdom of Naples, including Sicily, was under Ferdinand IV., a weak Bourbon prince, married to the sister of Marie Antoinette. The Duchy of Modena was governed by Ercole Renaldo, a descendant of the house of Este. The Duchy of Parma was ruled by a Spanish prince, Don Ferdinand. The two Duchies of Milan and Mantua, forming Lombardy, were under the emperor of Germany, Francis II. The Republic of Venice had declared against France in 1793; but had subsequently adopted a neutral policy, and had compelled the head of the French Bourbon family to quit Verona. Such were the various Italian States to which the French armies carried their promises and their threats—whose people they harassed with confiscations, and deluded with the prospect of Italian unity and freedom.

The French army was posted on the Riviera, west of Genoa. It numbered about 40,000 men, who were in a very wretched condition, badly clothed, without pay. Bonaparte brought them a little money; but he also brought something more efficient even than money—the principle that war should support war, and that whatever was wanting should be supplied by the people with whom they came to fraternize. He had able generals and an active staff—Massena, Augereau, Serurier, Berthier. Opposed to the French were the Austrian general Beaulieu, with 30,000 men, and the Austro-Sardinian force of 22,000 men, under Colli. Bonaparte was received by the army with little enthusiasm, but the

French troops soon recognized a general to their mind—"You are ill-fed and almost naked; the government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. I will lead you into the most fertile plains of the world—to grand towns and wealthy provinces, where you will find glory and riches."* On the 12th of April, Bonaparte attacked the Austrian centre, consisting of 10,000 men under D'Argenteau, and routing them at Montenotte, cut off the communication between Beaulieu and Colli. He defeated in succession these two generals. The king of Sardinia was terrified, and demanded an armistice; which the French general agreed to conclude upon being put in possession of the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, the keys of Piedmont. The court of Turin also sent ambassadors to Paris to negotiate a peace, which was signed on the 15th of May upon the humiliating conditions of resigning to France eight frontier fortresses till a general peace, and confirming to France the possession of Savoy and Nice in perpetuity. General Beaulieu now gave up Piedmont as lost; crossed the Po; and applied himself to the defence of the Austrian possessions in Lombardy. The French followed him; and compelled his army to retire to the Adda. On the 9th of May, the French were before Lodi. The famous passage of the bridge was accomplished by a rapid and daring movement, which sat at nought the twenty pieces of cannon by which it was defended. Beaulieu retreated beyond the Mincio; and the French entered Milan on the 15th of May. There was now a little spare time to gather some of the spoils of five weeks' fighting. The eulogistic historian, Thiers, tells us that the exactions of Bonaparte were indispensable. He levied a contribution of twenty million francs on the Milanese. He granted an armistice to the duke of Modena upon the payment of ten millions. Salicette, the commissioner of the Directory, and their politic general, robbed the Monte di Pietà of Milan of the valuables deposited there as pledges for money lent. These measures were very grievous to the tender heart of Bonaparte, "for they retarded the march of public spirit," says M. Thiers. He sent millions to the Directory, much of which was intercepted in its way into the public coffers. He had always ample means for corrupting those in the employ of the Italian governments. It is only justice to say that a very small share of the Italian spoils went into Bonaparte's own pocket. The exactions of the French led to resistance amongst the oppressed people of Milan and of Pavia. In Pavia there was a serious revolt, and some of the French were killed. Bonaparte hurried there with a sufficient force; broke down the

* Thiers, "Revolution," livre xxxiii.

gates with cannon; and gave the city up to pillage—"for three hours," says M. Thiers; for twenty-four hours, say more reliable authorities. "There was only a thousand men," writes the candid historian, "and this small number could cause no serious disasters in a town so considerable as Pavia." No doubt these thousand brigands did their spiriting gently—the very Claude Duvals of robbers. Ladies would gladly yield their jewels to the polite strangers; and would accept their caresses as a signal honour. Bonaparte, after the sack of Pavia, sent his cavalry into the neighbouring country, who sabred a large number of the revolted peasantry. A novel species of contribution was now insisted upon, as the French armies marched from city to city, and dictated the terms upon which their forbearance might be purchased. It was not sufficient that the duke of Parma should obtain an armistice by large money payments and supplies of horses and stores, but he must give twenty of his choicest paintings to be sent to Paris. The duke of Modena had to purchase a temporary respite of the seizure of his dominions, by contributing not only millions of livres, but treasures of art which no money could buy. Bonaparte thus early saw his way to flatter the national vanity of the French, by gathering for the Parisians those works of genius which lost half their interest when taken away from the lands which had produced them, and from the people who inherited them. Send me artists and scholars, wrote Bonaparte to the Directory, to assist me in choosing from the galleries, museums, libraries, and churches of Italy, the best paintings, sculptures, and manuscripts for our *Musée* of the Louvre.

The Austrian general, Beaulieu, having arranged for the defence of Mantua, retreated into the mountains of the Tyrol. His army had temporarily occupied the Venetian town of Peschiera; which occupation was an excuse for Bonaparte seizing the place upon its being abandoned by Beaulieu; and subsequently for demanding admittance to the Venetian city of Verona, thus treating Venice as a hostile power. He then turned his arms against the Pope, who was terrified into an armistice, which was bought by money contributions, and by precious works of art and rare manuscripts. Tuscany was at peace with the French. But the warehouses of Leghorn were full of English merchandize, and thither Bonaparte rapidly marched, seized all the goods belonging to "the enemies of the republic" who had fled to their ships; and levied a contribution of five millions of francs upon the native merchants as the permission for them to keep the other property which had been entrusted to them by English and Portuguese houses. In these odious

transactions Bonaparte was the instrument of the Directory ; and he sometimes remonstrated against the impolicy of their violence and rapacity, but never against the iniquity. The Austrian Government superseded general Beaulieu, and sent a gallant veteran, general Wurmser, to take the chief command of a new army in Italy. With the old traditional strategical mistake of dividing their forces, whilst the young French general invariably concentrated all his power for attack or defence, the Austrians moved towards Mantua in two separate divisions. Bonaparte attacked and routed the army under general Quosdanowich, and the army under general Wurmser.

But the Austrians were not yet disposed to give up the great struggle. The French main army under Bonaparte was weakened by the necessity of maintaining divisions to blockade Mantua, to occupy Verona and Legnano, and to guard some of the passes of the Tyrol. Another Austrian army of sixty thousand men advanced in two divisions, one under general Alvinzy, the other under general Davidowich. On the 12th of November Bonaparte attacked Alvinzy at Caldiero ; but he sustained very heavy loss, and was compelled to retire into Verona. He wrote a desponding letter to the Directory ; but that mood was not of long duration. He was one of that order of minds who " out of the nettle, danger, can pluck the flower, safety." On the night of the 14th he marched in silence out of Verona, as if retreating. He moved rapidly by the right bank of the Adige, which he crossed at Ronco, where he had made a temporary bridge. He was now in a marshy tract, between the Adige and the Alpone ; which river it was necessary to cross before he could reach Villanova, where the Austrian baggage and stores were stationed, in the rear of Alvinzy's army. One of the causeways of the morass led to the bridge of Arcole. Three times the passage of this bridge was obstinately contested on the 15th of November, Bonaparte himself leading his grenadiers in one of the desperate attempts to contend against the Austrian batteries. For three days this battle of Arcole, the most severe of the Italian war, went on. The third day concluded the terrible conflict, when Alvinzy retreated towards Vicenza. Bonaparte had prevented the junction of the two Austrian armies. The battle of Arcole made a profound impression upon Europe. It ought to have shown the continental powers where their safety lay. It should have taught them a lesson which they too often forgot in a long series of fruitless endeavours : " Matched against a competitor of such extraordinary activity, it was incumbent on them to lay aside the embarrassments of ancient forms and ancient prejudices ; and

to gird up the skirts of their luxurious and effeminate magnificence." *

The combined operations upon the Rhine of the French generals, Jourdan and Moreau, were not favourable to the Republic. The archduke Charles encountered Jourdan when he had crossed the Rhine in June, and had advanced to Lahn. The French army was driven back, and recrossed the Rhine. Moreau carried his army over the Rhine at Strasbourg, and defeated the Austrian general Latour. The archduke fell back to the Danube. Jourdan, reassured by the operations of Moreau, again advanced towards Bohemia. The archduke fought a battle with Moreau; crossed the Danube; and drove back Jourdan in a series of well-concerted attacks. Moreau, separated by a long interval from Jourdan, and exposed to the assaults of the archduke on his front, and to those of Latour on his rear, ascended the Danube, and accomplished his retreat through the Black Forest. This celebrated movement saved his army from an imminent danger. After fighting several battles, Moreau finally reached Strasbourg. The wonderful success of Bonaparte in Italy is partly to be attributed to the contempt in which he held the orders of the Directory. The plan of the German campaign was laid down in Paris, and hence its failure.

The successes of the Austrians in Germany, appeared to the English government more important than the career of Bonaparte in Italy. Lord Grenville thought in September, that if Moreau were "dispatched, and that quickly, there will be time and means to make Bonaparte suffer severely for his late advanced move." Our situation, he considered, was very much improved.† The moment was deemed favourable to open negotiations with the French Directory for peace; although some previous overtures had been contemptuously received. Lord Malmesbury was appointed as plenipotentiary on the part of his Britannic majesty, and he arrived in Paris on the 22nd of October. Burke held that any attempt to negotiate for "a Regicide Peace" was a disgrace and a humiliation for England. He wrote under the full influence of his own enthusiasm, and of the passions of the emigrants by whom he was surrounded. M. Thiers, half a century after 1796, when national prejudices ought to have been softened down by historical truth, adopts as insolent a tone in relating the progress of this negotiation as if the mantle of Barras had descended upon his shoulders. Pitt, he says, demanded passports for an envoy to be sent on the part of Great Britain. Pitt had no real wish for peace;

* Canning, in "Quarterly Review," vol. iv. p. 253.

† "Court and Cabinets of George III.," vol. iii. p. 351.

he only wanted to satisfy public opinion; he knew that his terms would not be accepted; but to obtain sixty thousand militia, and fifteen thousand sailors, he would pretend that he had done all he could for peace—"son possible pour traher." Without the hope of obtaining peace, he made an advance towards the Directory. Thus M. Thiers repeats, in almost the same words, the mean insinuations with which the Directory announced to the Council of Five Hundred the proposal of Great Britain to negotiate. He adds, "this surprising step of the most implacable enemy of our republic was a glory for her. The English aristocracy was thus *reduced* to demand peace from the regicide republic."* The historian of "the Revolution" has taken as little pains to look at the authentic relations of this episode of diplomacy, as he has taken to understand the family name of the negotiator chosen by Pitt, when he calls him "*lord Malmesbury, autrefois sir Harry.*" †

For nearly four years the condition of France, as exhibited in the appearance of the country, had been as little known to the English as Japan. Lord Malmesbury had his eyes open, and Mr. Talbot, a gentleman connected with the embassy, has left a very interesting account of what he observed. Many of the houses on the road from Calais to Paris were shut up; very few of the churches appeared to be open; but the land throughout was in a state of high cultivation, though there were comparatively few men at work. The farmers had become wealthy proprietors, by receiving depreciated assignats for their produce, and buying estates—national domains—with that paper money, at the sum which it represented. In Paris the streets were crowded, the shops tolerably well supplied, the theatres well attended, some private carriages, and a great number of public vehicles: "All this," says the sensible attaché, "brought to my reflection how very difficult a matter it must be to destroy a great country." ‡

It would be tedious to follow the course of this negotiation. Lord Malmesbury arrived at Paris on the 22nd of October; he left Paris on the 21st of December. The points of difference between the two governments were too serious to be overcome by any anxiety of the prime minister of Great Britain for peace, even if the French Directory, rendered more warlike than ever by the successes of Bonaparte, could have regarded the real welfare of France more than its false glories. Lord Malmesbury required as a *sine quâ non*, that the Netherlands should not be annexed to France.

* Thiers, livre xxxiv.

† Sir James Harris was raised to the peerage as Earl of Malmesbury.

‡ "Court, &c., of George III.," vol. iii. p. 355.

M. Delacroix, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, held that the banks of the Rhine were the natural limits of France. It was in vain to diplomatize. Mr. Pitt had to call upon his country for new sacrifices, and the French Directory had to send new armies to seize the means of subsistence in the lands which Bonaparte was revolutionizing.

At a period of less public excitement than was occasioned by other events which marked the close of the year 1796, the death of Catharine II., Empress of Russia, on the 10th of November, and the retirement of Washington from the Presidency of the United States, in December, would have been fruitful sources of political speculation. The sudden decease of Catharine, who for thirty-six years had been the autocrat of all the Russias, was in some degree a triumph for the French republic; and that event probably decided the Directory in suddenly breaking off the negotiation for peace with England. She was preparing to take part in the coalition against France. Her successor, Paul, was inclining to the French interests. The retirement of Washington interrupted the continuance of that system of neutrality by which he had preserved the American republic from the dangers attendant upon the extreme opinions of the federalist and the democratic parties—the one disposed, however timidly, to take part with England in the great European crisis; the other, of which Jefferson was the head, manifesting hostility to the mother-country and favour to France, in a manner that savoured more of evil passions than of wise statesmanship. Washington regarded with alarm the Societies, modelled upon the Jacobin clubs, which had sprung up in the United States; and his expression of this feeling produced in the democratic party a violent hostility to the treaty which had been concluded under his auspices with Great Britain in 1795. Washington's retirement was preceded by manifestations of party spirit against the policy of the great founder and preserver of the republic. Had his nature been different—had his ambition been less under the control of his virtue,—he might have taken up the sword, and, sweeping away his enemies, have raised himself to supreme power upon the ruins of his country's liberty. He retired to his estate of Mount Vernon, to pass the rest of his days as a private citizen. At this period, the young conqueror of Italy was meditating upon plans of rising to what some would deem the pinnacle of human greatness. His scheme of glory was accomplished. He founded a military despotism. Washington's scheme of glory was also realized. He had been a ruler of free men—ruling by the power of law. He laid down his authority when he had done the work to which he was called, most

happy in this, that ambition of a selfish order could never be justified by his example.

On the 17th December, two days before lord Malmesbury left Paris, an expedition went out from Brest, consisting of seventeen sail of the line and thirteen frigates. Its destination was Ireland, with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Hoche, who had succeeded in the pacification of La Vendée. A great storm dispersed this formidable fleet. A portion of the squadron entered Bantry Bay on the 24th of December. It consisted of seven sail of the line and ten smaller vessels. The general who was to advance with the troops into the interior—who was to support the disaffected, and revolutionize the government—had been separated from the rest of the armament. The officers who were with the troops in Bantry Bay were desirous to effect a landing. The admiral refused to comply with their requisition, and sailed back to Brest. The other divisions of the French fleet also sought to return. Several ships were captured, and others reached the French ports in a shattered condition. Some amongst our statesmen knew the danger, if such a landing as that contemplated by the Directory had been effected. Lord Mornington wrote, in September, "My great fear is a blow in Ireland, before sufficient preparation has been made for our defence in that most vulnerable, and at the same time mortal part." * Lord Malmesbury, in the middle of November, gave an intimation to Lord Grenville that an expedition was meditated against Ireland; that the troops were encouraged to embark by the most exaggerated reports of the temper of the country. Loyal Irishmen were grateful that "the goodness of Providence to us has exhibited a second armada." But even loyal men inquired why the coast had been left wholly unprotected by our fleet for seventeen days; why admiral Colpoys could not follow the French fleet for want of water and provisions; why lord Bridport was lying at Spithead, not even ready for sea, instead of being off Ushant." †

* "Life of Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 474.

† *Ibid.*, p. 181.

CHAPTER IV.

Landing of French in Pembrokeshire.—Commercial Distrust.—Run upon the Banks.—Suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank of England.—Extension of the National Industry.—War with Spain.—Battle of St. Vincent.—Nelson boards and takes two ships.—Discontent in the Navy.—Mutiny at Spithead.—Mutiny at the Nore.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Negotiations at Lisle for peace.—Bonaparte's triumphs in Italy.—Revolution at Paris of the Eighteenth Fructidor.—End of the Negotiations at Lisle.—The "Anti-Jacobin."

THE public expectation of a peace, as the result of the negotiations at Paris, passed into an apprehension of an invasion by France, for which the Directory had been making preparations whilst these negotiations were lingering on. The descent upon Ireland failed, as we have seen. But the fact that a large fleet could cross the Channel from Brest, and a portion of the armament prepare to land on the south-west coast of Cork, shook the national confidence in the power of our navy to protect our shores. On Saturday, the 25th of February, the Secretary of State informed the Lord Mayor of London that four French ships had appeared in the Bristol Channel, and had anchored in the harbour of Ilfracombe; and that on the 23rd about twelve hundred men had been landed on the east coast of Pembrokeshire; and that a strong force having been collected by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, the invaders had surrendered at discretion. This absurd enterprise, although the ready spirit of our countrymen furnished a great cause for exultation, was also calculated to produce additional alarm by showing how accessible were these islands to an invading army, whether large or small. The popular fears took the usual course of producing commercial distrust. The currency of the country was in a condition that was likely to render a general panic, and a wide-spread ruin, almost unavoidable. The circulation of the kingdom mainly rested upon the notes of the Bank of England, and upon the bills of about two hundred and thirty country banks. Both these were payable to the bearer on demand. From the beginning of the year there had been an extraordinary run upon the northern banks; and many of them had been compelled to postpone payment in gold, till, as the banks of Newcastle announced, "they could obtain a supply adequate to the occasion." The expectations of the country bankers rested upon the assist-

ance to be rendered by the Bank of England, through the agency of the London bankers. This pressure upon the Bank of England had been progressively increasing for weeks; and it was becoming doubled, day by day, in the third week of February. But there was another large seeker for accommodation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, as far back as January, 1795, had been told by the Bank Directors that it was their wish "that he would arrange his finance for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from them." Thus, the prudent banker always addresses the sanguine private speculator. Mr. Pitt was a speculator upon the greatest scale. He speculated upon having the means always at hand for loans and subsidies to our Allies. Another loan to the Emperor of Germany "would go nigh to ruin the country," said the Directors of the Bank. Ireland, at the beginning of 1797, required, under her separate Treasury, financial assistance, and Mr. Pitt asked it of the Bank of England. On the 9th of February he was informed by the Governor, that "a further advance of a million and a half as a loan to Ireland would threaten ruin to the Bank, and most probably bring the Directors to shut up their doors."

On Saturday evening, the 25th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having one afternoon's relief from parliamentary duties,—perhaps finding some solace for his public anxieties in a mode of producing pleasant thoughts which his real friends deplored,—was startled by a message from the Directors of the Bank of England that they could pay in specie no longer. So low was their stock of bullion that, it is stated, they had been compelled to pay their notes in sixpences. Pitt at once roused himself to meet the emergency. A messenger was sent to the king at Windsor; and on Sunday morning his Majesty was presiding at a Council, at which eight members of the Cabinet were present. On that Sunday night, Wilberforce writes to Lord Muncaster, "Elliot has just been with me to inform me that the Bank is to stop payment, by command of government, to-morrow morning." He records in his Diary that the Cabinet were very averse to take upon themselves the responsibility of the measure; that the Chancellor said, "No—this will never do."* Lord Campbell states that the Chancellor held that the order forbidding the Bank to make any further payments in cash, "although contrary to law, would be in accordance with the constitution." Lord Loughborough concluded that as in this case, if the Executive Government abstained from interfering, the opinion of Parliament could not be taken till irre-

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 194.

mediable evils were brought upon the nation, the Executive Government was bound to interfere.* The Order in Council was notified to the Bank on the Sunday night. On the Monday morning the Directors of the Bank published the Order, with a notification that the general concerns of the Bank were in the most affluent and prosperous condition, and that they would continue their usual discounts, paying in bank-notes. There was a great meeting at noon of merchants at the Mansion House, when an unanimous resolution was passed, that "we will not refuse to receive bank-notes in payment of any sum of money to be paid to us, and will use our utmost endeavours to make all our payments in the same manner." The Stocks immediately rose. A weight was suddenly taken off the springs of industry. There was no lack of a due supply of provisions for the capital, as Wilberforce apprehended might be the case. There were no riots; and the prophecy of Lord Auckland that "this was the beginning of the throat-cutting" was altogether a delusion. There was no fever in the State resulting from this stimulant. But a chronic malady was induced which lasted during a generation—a malady which defied every attempt at cure till the principle of a convertible paper currency was again firmly established. Of the lasting effects of this measure, which was only intended to be temporary, the government of 1797 could have had no conception. For twenty-four years bank-paper stood in the place of gold, and ministerial financiers were hardly enough to maintain that bank-paper was as good as gold. The benefits and the evils of this measure have probably been each exaggerated. It is not clear that the industry of the country was thus chiefly stimulated to the gain of the capitalist. It is not clear that prices were in consequence raised, to the loss of the labourer. It is not clear that we could not have carried on the war without inconvertible paper. It is not clear that the inconvertible paper added hundreds of millions to the national debt. One thing is clear—that Mr. Pitt was relieved from an immediate difficulty; and had not to contemplate a national bankruptcy, in addition to the other perils of the great contest with France.

The measures that ministers carried through Parliament, in consequence of this suspension of cash-payments, were of a nature to continue the restriction upon the issue of specie without absolutely making bank-notes a legal tender. But as bank-notes were to be received in payment for every branch of the revenue, and as the tender of bank-notes in payment of a demand would protect the person of the debtor from legal process, the transition from

* Lord Campbell; "Chancellors," vol. vi. p. 277

gold to paper soon became speedy and certain. For all purposes of retail trade the guinea was quickly supplanted by the twenty-shilling note—a currency first resorted to by the Bank of England on the 4th of March. The door was now opened to a most extensive system of forgery, which the fear of conviction, and of punishment without mercy, was wholly inefficient to repress. By Reports of Committees of both Houses the solvency of the Bank of England was perfectly established; and the demand for a circulating capital proportioned to the political engagements of the government, and the expenditure by the people upon national improvements and the extension of profitable industry, was adequately shown. Contracted as the circulation had been during the years of war, there was no suspension of great public works. In the four years preceding the war the inclosure bills passed were a hundred and thirty-eight. In the four years of the war their number was two hundred and eighty-three. In the first of these periods, the sums authorized to be borrowed under bills for navigation and canals was nearly two millions and a half. In the second period they amounted to nearly seven millions and a half. This was profitable expenditure. By facilitating the commercial intercourse of the country it gave an impulse to those manufacturing enterprizes which had now begun to assume some of those proportions which were vast in comparison with their former magnitude. It is to be noted that the exports were actually one third more in 1796 than the average of the years of peace previous to 1792. These were circumstances that contributed to foster the delusion that a state of war was favourable to the extension of British commerce—that the nation flourished because it was at war. The industry of the nation was developed in spite of the war, at a period when scientific invention and discovery had rendered the labour of man of tenfold efficiency. The expenditure of Mr. Pitt during the first four years of the war, in loans and subsidies; in remittances abroad for the payment of British troops or foreign troops in British pay; were sufficient to account for a considerable portion of the drain of specie. But that expenditure could be doubled and quadrupled before the war was at an end, without the nation sinking under the load. The industry of the people was the mine of wealth which could sustain an outlay the most extravagant, without any real disturbance of the national credit. In the Speech from the throne on the 2nd of November of this year, the king said, “During the period of hostilities, and under the unavoidable pressure of accumulated burthens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry has been extended,

and our commerce has surpassed its former limits." The French Directory interpreted this as a declaration that Great Britain exulted in the war as the great source of her prosperity. In a Proclamation of the President, La Réveillière Lépaux, he says, "If the king of England has told the truth, what a terrible lesson is this for you, ye other powers of Europe! Of what description is that power which is interested in your discords, which derives an interest from your calamities, which prospers by your distress, and which fattens on the tears, the blood, and the spoil of other nations?"

It was on the 6th of October, 1796, that war against Great Britain was declared by Spain. Three great naval powers were now combined to resist that maritime ascendancy of England which the French regarded as the despotism of the seas. We have seen how a powerful French fleet crossed the Channel in December, and was only prevented by adverse weather from making a descent upon Ireland. There was a Dutch fleet in the Texel, which was ready to unite with France in any joint project for the invasion of our shores. There was a fleet in Carthagená,—the grand Spanish fleet—numbering twenty-seven sail of the line, and ten frigates, whose admiral was prepared on the first favourable opportunity to sail forth, and, by effecting a junction with the French and Dutch, form an invincible Armada, to overpower any fleet that Great Britain might have in the narrow seas. On the 1st of February, this fleet sailed from Carthagená, its first destination being Cadiz. Sir John Jervis, with ten sail of the line was stationed off Cape St. Vincent: and he was joined on the 6th of February by five sail of the line, detached from the Channel fleet. On the morning of the 13th Commodore Nelson also joined in the *Minerve* frigate, having at the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar fallen in with the Spanish fleet. Nelson was ordered to shift his broad pendant to the Captain. On the evening of that day, it having been ascertained that the Spanish fleet was not more than four or five leagues distant, signals were made for the British fleet to prepare for battle, and to keep in close order. During that night the signal guns of the Spaniards told of their near approach. The morning of the 14th was dark, and for several hours a fog concealed the relative strength of each fleet. The Spaniards had been told that the English had only nine sail of the line, and they were confident of an easy victory. As the fog cleared off fifteen sail were seen advancing, in two close lines, purposing to cut off a portion of the Spanish fleet that had been allowed to separate from the main body. Jervis could now ascertain the exact numerical

force with which he would have to fight. In his despatch he says, "By carrying a press of sail, I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half-past eleven o'clock, before it had time to connect and form a regular order of battle." There was no hesitation about superiority of numbers. "I felt myself justified in departing from the regular system," he writes. If "the regular system" was that a British admiral should not engage a greatly superior force, that system was wisely abandoned on this eventful 14th of February. The real inequality consisted, not in the fact that twenty-five sail of the line were opposed to fifteen; not that some of these twenty-five were of enormous bulk and corresponding weight of metal; but that the fifteen ships were manned by able seamen, whilst the twenty-five were encumbered with pressed landsmen and newly-levied soldiers. The determination of the British admiral to disregard the numerical superiority of the enemy was worthy of all praise. But there was one under his command to whom it became the habit of his life to depart from "the regular system"—to think nothing impossible to high courage and sound judgment. Nelson, on this day, as on subsequent occasions, saw that an implicit regard to the orders of his superior officer would prevent the accomplishment of a great object. The signal was given to tack. He saw that by disobeying the signal he could prevent a junction between some of the separated ships, who were manœuvring for that purpose. He instantly wore; and was consequently brought into action with seven of the largest vessels of the Spanish fleet. Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, joined Nelson, and these two for nearly an hour sustained the unequal fire—unequal indeed, if skill and discipline were not always a match for unwieldy and ill-directed strength. The Blenheim and the Excellent came up to the support of the Captain and the Culloden. Collingwood commanded the Excellent. He describes how he succoured his friend in this perilous conflict: "Making all sail, passing between our line and the enemy, we came up with the San Nicolas, of 80 guns, which happened at that time to be abreast of the San Josef, of 112 guns. We did not touch sides, but you could not have put a bodkin between us, so that our shot passed through both ships, and in attempting to extricate themselves they got on board each other. My good friend, the commodore, had been long engaged with those ships, and I came happily to his relief, for he was dreadfully mauled."* Nelson's ship was almost wholly disabled. Her fore-topmast had fallen over her side; her wheel was struck away. The Culloden was

* Collingwood's "Correspondence," p. 30.

crippled ; the Blenheim was far a-head. Nelson, at a distance of twenty yards, was firing upon the San Nicolas, of 80 guns, which returned the fire with great spirit. He suddenly ordered the helm of the Captain to be put a-starboard. The two ships were hooked together ; and Nelson gave the order to board. The rest of this wonderful story has been told by himself. He describes the alacrity of the soldiers of the 69th regiment, who were amongst the foremost in this service ; his direction to the commander of the Captain not to leave ; and the exploit of his late first lieutenant, captain Berry, in being the first to jump into the enemy's mizzen chains, "supported from our sprit-sail-yard, which hooked in the mizzen rigging." He thus continues : "A soldier of the 69th regiment having broke the upper quarter-gallery window, I jumped in myself, and was followed by others as fast as possible. I found the cabin-doors fastened, and some Spanish officers fired their pistols : but, having broke open the doors, the soldiers fired, and the Spanish brigadier fell, as retreating to the quarter-deck. I pushed immediately onwards for the quarter-deck, where I found captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down. I passed with my people and lieutenant Pearson, on the larboard gangway, to the fore-castle, where I met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to my seamen : they delivered me their swords." But the Spanish admiral's ship, the San Josef, of 112 guns, opened a fire of small arms upon the San Nicolas, from the stern gallery. The daring determination was now taken to board this first-rate, which was done in an instant, captain Berry assisting Nelson into the main-chains." At this moment, a Spanish officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said they surrendered. From this most welcome intelligence, it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, where the Spanish captain, with a bow, presented me his sword, and said the admiral was dying of his wounds. I asked him, on his honour, if the ship was surrendered. He declared she was : on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call on his officers and ship's company, and tell them of it ; which he did :—and, on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the swords of vanquished Spaniards ; which, as I received, I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen ; who put them, with the greatest *sang froid*, under his arm."

The battle of St. Vincent was concluded, without that complete destruction of an enemy's fleet, or the surrender of the greater number of ships, such as marked other successes before the close of the war. The two most remarkable trophies of victory

were the two ships that were taken, as it were, by Nelson's own hand. Sir John Jervis, on the quarter-deck, embraced the commodore (who, before the events of the 14th of February were known, had been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral); but Nelson's name is not found in his commander's despatches. On a previous occasion, when little public notice was taken of his exploits, he said, "I will have a Gazette of my own some day." Two other ships were captured; but the Spanish admiral was enabled to sail away without a renewal of the action. Many of the British ships were so injured in their masts and rigging as to be incapable of pursuing the victory to any greater material advantage. Three thousand prisoners were taken in the four prizes. The reward of Sir John Jervis was an earldom. Nelson was made a Knight of the Bath.

The news of the battle of St. Vincent arrived in London on the 3rd of March. That evening the thanks of the House of Commons were voted to admiral Jervis, to his captains and officers, and to the crews of the respective ships for their gallant behaviour. It was well for these crews that they were actively engaged, after the victory, in the chase or blockade of the enemy. It was well that the commander of the Mediterranean fleet knew how to put down a dissatisfied spirit by firmness; for the crews of Lord St. Vincent, in the enthusiasm of glory had not forgotten grievances of which the British navy had to complain. In stations at home, and in the Channel, there was a spirit of discontent which somewhat disturbed the repose of the official mind, but which excited no desire to remove the causes of dissatisfaction. At the end of March, lord Bridport, with fifteen sail of the line, had returned to Spithead from a cruise off Brest. Previous to his cruise, the seamen at Portsmouth had addressed petitions to lord Howe, praying for an increase of wages. These petitions bore no signatures, and appeared to have been mostly written by one person. They were sent to the Admiralty, after lord Howe had caused inquiries to be made as to the temper of the fleet; which inquiries, being answered by the officers in command at Portsmouth, could furnish no better solution of the complaints than that they did not express the real mind of the crews, but were to be attributed to the evil designs of some mischievous enemy of the government. The correspondence was duly tied up and labelled; the Admiralty had more pressing business than that of redressing the crying wrongs of a hundred thousand seamen.

On the 15th of April, lord Bridport, who had taken the command of the Channel fleet, made the signal to prepare for sea.

The sailors of his flag-ship, the Royal George, instead of weighing anchor, ran up the shrouds and gave three cheers. The shouts were echoed from every ship in the fleet lying at Spithead. Those cheers, so often the prelude of victory, were sounds well calculated to strike terror into the heart of the boldest captain. They were the signal of mutiny. The mutiny of a single ship might be suppressed; but the general mutiny of a fleet—where was that peril to end? On board those ships there were officers beloved by the crews, who had some consideration for their comforts and some respect for their feelings—officers who did not resort to the lash for every petty offence, and who could make their men believe them to be in earnest without accompanying every command with a volley of oaths. There were others whose tyranny was as disgusting as it was subversive of every just principle of discipline,—who governed by fear alone, regarding the sailor as a being not capable of a milder rule than the negro of a slave plantation. The wrongs of the naval service were essentially connected with the wicked system of impressment—a system which the legislators of that day might well believe essential to the very existence of our naval power, when we have been told again and again in very recent times that the exercise of impressment “is considered by every officer of experience as essentially necessary for the manning of the fleet, and of vital importance to the British navy.”* Impressment in 1797 filled the ships with men who had suffered grievous injustice—who were torn from peaceful occupations because they had once served at sea, or carried off from more lucrative employment in merchant vessels, to be subjected to the severe punishments, the small pay, the bad provisions, the neglect in sickness, all the manifold frauds of the purser and all the neglects of the Victualling office. There was the temptation of prize-money, at a time when there was little respect for private property in the operations of warfare; but the distribution of prize-money was so grossly unequal that the capture even of a Spanish galleon was more an occasion of envy than of satisfaction to the common sailor. The seamen of our day have no such wrongs to complain of. Impressment has died out; the use of the lash is so restricted, that the man who does his duty has no fear of being the victim of a petty officer’s caprice; pay is not disproportionate to the rate of wages in other occupations; food is ample. In almost every particular the seaman of 1797 was ill-treated. The belief of the Admiralty was the popular belief—that

* Lord Campbell; “Quarterly Review,” vol. xxxvii. p. 399.

"Jack dances and sings and is always content ;"

knew nothing of the value of money ; and could put up with every hardship if he had plenty of grog. Little did the statesmen of England think that the easy fool who, as Dibdin painted him

"Pays his score,
With spirit on shore,
And that's all the use of a guinea,"

was the man to strike for wages. What would have been a Strike in a factory was a Mutiny in a fleet—a terrible danger far more formidable than an economic mistake.

In the sixteen men-of-war lying at Spithead, although the commands of the admiral to put to sea were set at naught—although every officer saw that his power of compelling obedience was gone—not a hand was raised in offence, not a voice was heard of disrespect. A new power had suddenly arisen, greater than that of admiral or captains—the authority of thirty-two Delegates. In lord Howe's cabin these chosen men held their deliberations, each ship sending two invested with full powers. On the 17th an oath was administered to every man in the fleet, to uphold the common cause in which they were engaged. Two petitions were drawn up, one to the House of Commons and one to the Admiralty, which were signed by these Delegates. Never were just demands set forth with more temper and discretion. But although the consciousness of power did not display itself in angry words, there was evidence of a settled determination which might have awful results. On the fore-yard-arms of every ship, ropes were reeved, ready for the execution of summary punishment upon any deserter from their cause. Officers whose oppressions had exceeded the ordinary bounds were sent on shore, to tell their tale of the rough justice that had overtaken them. The wages of seamen, as these petitioners truly alleged, had been settled by Parliament in the reign of Charles II., and remained unaltered. The House of Commons was requested to revise these regulations. The pay and pensions of the army had been increased, whilst the seamen continued neglected. To the Lords of the Admiralty the petitioners further alleged the grievance which sailors endured in receiving only fourteen ounces to the pound in the provisions served out to them. The two ounces were retained as the perquisite of the purser, who received no other pay. They had short quantities in every article served out by measure. Their food was bad. The necessities supplied to the sick were embezzled. When they had completed the duty of their ship after their return from sea, they claimed the opportunity to taste the sweets of liberty on shore. If

a man was wounded in action they required that his pay should be continued until he was cured and discharged. The crisis was too serious to allow of hesitation on the part of the naval authorities. The Board of Admiralty assembled at Portsmouth, and gave an immediate answer, promising to recommend to his majesty to propose to parliament an immediate increase of the wages of seamen in certain proportions, and to redress the grievance of withholding pay from seamen wounded in action. The other allegations of the petition remained unnoticed; and the seamen reiterated their demands, declaring that until an Act of Parliament was passed, and pardon granted to them, they would not lift an anchor. Three admirals went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and had a conference with the delegates. One gave way to passion, seized a Delegate by the collar, swore he would hang them all, and narrowly escaped with his own life. Then was hoisted the terrible signal of the red flag—the pirates' signal, which implied that no quarter would be given. After two or three days' suspense, lord Bridport came on board his flag-ship, and promised complete redress and full pardon. Meanwhile, no official notice had been taken of these proceedings by the ministry or the parliament; and the seamen were persuaded that they were betrayed. For a fortnight a silence which was considered politic, but which was truly dangerous, had been maintained; and the mutiny again broke out on the 7th of May. Blood was then shed, and for another week the country was held in terror. It was time to act vigorously. A Bill was rapidly carried through both Houses for an increase of pay and an allowance to the seamen and marines. On the 14th lord Howe, with the Act of Parliament in his hand, and the king's proclamation of pardon, met the Delegates at Portsmouth. The presence of this veteran, the hero of the first of June, touched the hearts of the Delegates. The bloody flag was struck. Subordination was wholly restored; and on the 17th the fleet put to sea. The example of tranquillity at Spithead was sufficient to quell a similar mutiny at Plymouth.

But the danger was not yet overpast—the greatest danger, perhaps, that England had encountered since the Spanish Armada sailed into the Channel, and the guns of the Dutch told of their presence in the Medway. On the 22d of May, after some previous symptoms of disaffection, that revolt broke out which is known in history as the Mutiny at the Nore. On that day the crews took possession of the ships; elected Delegates; and prepared petitions that in their demands went far beyond those of the previous mutineers. The redress of grievances alleged by the fleet at Spithead applied to the whole British navy. The mutineers at the

Nore repeated these complaints as if they had not been redressed, and assumed an attitude which made conciliation impossible. Some of their demands might be just, others were wholly extravagant. The Delegates of the fleet at Spithead had said in their first petition, "we agree in the opinion that we should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by any power in the world." Very different was the view of their duty taken by the crews of four men of war, and a sloop, who had deserted from the fleet blockading the Texel under admiral Duncan, and had sailed to join the mutineers at the Nore. Duncan called his own ship's crew together, and amongst many other earnest words said, "It has often been my pride with you to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us: my pride is now humbled indeed." But the brave commander maintained his blockade with those who were faithful to him. At the Nore the acts of the fleet were as those of a foreign enemy. The Delegates had chosen a daring man as their President—Richard Parker—who signed the demands of his associates as if he were invested with supreme powers. Conferences between the Lords of the Admiralty and the Delegates had no result beyond embittering the dispute. The red flag was hoisted. The mutineers moored their ships in a line across the river, and intercepted every merchant-vessel. Pitt had his sleep broken; but he took the most decisive mode to sleep securely in future. He brought in bills to provide for the more effectual punishment of those who should excite mutiny and sedition in the navy; and to prevent all communication with the ships that should remain in a state of mutiny. The bills were quickly passed, amidst some party opposition, to which the patriotic conduct of Sheridan was a signal exception. The mutineers quickly discovered that the government was too strong for them; that they had not the support of the other fleets; and that they were not united amongst themselves. On the 9th of June, two of the ships concerned in the mutiny abandoned the fleet, and were fired upon by those remaining at the Nore. On the 13th five more vessels left the insurgents, and took refuge under the batteries of Shêerness. On the 15th all the ships at anchor struck the red flag. Obedience was soon completely re-established. Parker and the more prominent of his associates were found guilty, after a solemn trial. Parker had been a small shop-keeper in Scotland; was confined for debt in Perth gaol when he accepted the parochial bounty of thirty pounds to volunteer into the navy; had served two years, and was promoted to be

a petty officer, but was disrated and turned before the mast about three months before the mutiny broke out. He was executed on board the Sandwich on the 30th of June.

The alarm inspired by these mutinies may be gathered from the expressions of public men. Sheridan said in the House of Commons, "If there was, indeed, a rot in the wooden walls of Old England, our decay could not be very distant." Lord Mornington could see no way out of these troubles. "How discipline and subordination are ever again to be restored, on any permanent basis, surpasses my understanding to conceive." * On the 9th of May, lord Cornwallis wrote, "Unless the business of the fleet can be speedily adjusted, a few days must place a French army in Ireland." The alarm of the moneyed and commercial interests was sufficiently expressed by the fall in the funds. Throughout the four years of war, indeed, the price of stocks may be taken as the index of public confidence. In January, 1793, the three per cents were at 79; in January, 1796, they were at 67; in January, 1797, they were at 57; and in April, May, and June, of that year, they had fallen to 47. The crisis was indeed alarming. Public bodies, including the Common Council of London, called for the dismissal of the king's ministers, as the most likely means of securing a speedy and permanent peace. Lord Grenville wrote to his brother at the end of April, "The panic here is so disgraceful that the country will not allow us to do them justice." He thought how pleasant it were for the nation "to be quiet and suffer themselves to be saved." He looks at "the good people of England" from a point of view which sees much, but does not see all, and which sees many things "through a glass darkly." There is truth in what he says, but not the whole truth: "To desire war without reflection, to be unreasonably elated with success, to be still more unreasonably depressed by difficulties, and to call out for peace with an impatience which makes suitable terms unattainable, are the established maxims and the regular progress of the popular mind in this country." † Pitt, with all his sanguine hopes of success in a prolonged resistance to France, had far more respect for "the popular mind in this country" than the cold and haughty Grenville. There was a war party in the Cabinet and a pacific party. Pitt, encouraged by his attached disciple Canning, was resolved to brave the hostility of Grenville, Windham, and the war party, and once more to open negotiations for peace with France. Lord Malmesbury, after the mutiny in the fleet had been suppressed, was again appointed to conduct negotiations; with the assurance

* "Court and Cabinets of Geo. III." vol. ii. p. 373.

† *Ibid.*, p. 376.

from Pitt that "he would stifle every feeling of pride to the utmost to produce the desired results."* Malmesbury met the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic at Lisle, in the beginning of July. On the 9th of July, the great seer, who would have again raised his voice to cry "No Peace with Regicide," ceased to live. On the 14th, Canning wrote to his friend Ellis, who formed one of the suite of this embassy, "I ought to tell you something of what has been passing here since you left us. There is but one event, but that is an event for the world—Burke is dead. . . . It is of a piece with the peddling sense of these days, that it should be determined to be imprudent for the House of Commons to vote him a monument. He is the man that will mark this age, marked as it is in itself by events, to all times."†

The British government, in entering upon the negotiations at Lisle, was not embarrassed, as in the previous negotiations at Paris, by its engagements with other powers. Our sole ally was Portugal. The court of Vienna, under the pressure of the victorious arms of Bonaparte, had on the 18th of April signed at Leoben the preliminaries of peace with the French Republic. At the beginning of the year Mantua, continuing to hold out against its besiegers, Alvinzi advanced to its relief with a new Austrian army of fifty thousand men. He crossed the Adige, and having attacked the French general, Joubert, compelled him to retreat to Rivoli. Bonaparte, who had waited at Verona till he had ascertained the direction in which the Austrian general would advance, now moved with his wonted rapidity to the aid of Joubert. The battle of Rivoli began on the morning of the 14th of January. The Austrians fought with a determination which rendered the issue for a long time doubtful. Rivoli was taken by the Austrians, and retaken by the French, twice in that day of carnage. A judicious movement of Alvinzi on the left of Rivoli might have changed the fortunes of that field; but the effort was an hour too late. The Austrians, said Bonaparte, did not sufficiently calculate the value of time. Alvinzi retired to the Tyrol, pursued by the victorious republicans. Meanwhile Provera had marched to the relief of Mantua. On the field of Rivoli Bonaparte heard that this Austrian general was before the place on the 15th. He at once took his resolution. He left Joubert to pursue the fugitive troops of Alvinzi, and by a march of thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours, was engaged with Provera on the morning of the 16th, and compelled him to surrender with five thousand men. Mantua capitulated on the 2d of February. Bona-

* Malmesbury's "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 355.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 383.

parte treated his aged antagonist, Wurmser, who had gallantly defended Mantua, with a delicacy almost chivalrous. In the interval between the surrender of Provera and the fall of Mantua, Bonaparte had marched into the Papal States, and when within forty miles of Rome had granted peace to the terrified Pope. Another Austrian army had been collected under the Archduke Charles, against which the French marched in three divisions. Bonaparte advanced on the 10th of March to encounter the Archduke, who had formed his line of defence on the Tagliamento. Bernadotte joined him with twenty thousand men from the army of the Rhine. On the 16th of March the French forced their way across the Tagliamento, the Austrians retreating before them. The retreat of the Archduke continued through March, as if it were a pre-determined plan of operations to draw the French on to the hereditary States of the Emperor, where a battle might be fought with advantage; whilst Hungarians, and Tyrolese, and Venetians were gathering round the invaders. Bonaparte on the 31st of March wrote to the Archduke Charles, to implore him to induce the Emperor to listen to the terms of peace which the French Directory had offered. The Archduke returned for answer that he would communicate with Vienna. Bonaparte continued to advance; and on the 2d of April defeated the Archduke at Neumarkt. Alarm and despondency now prevailed in the imperial counsels, instead of a determination to hazard a battle under the walls of Vienna. A suspension of arms proposed by the Emperor was agreed to on the 7th of April. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben on the 18th. The interval in the greater operations of the Italian campaign gave the indefatigable general of the French the opportunity of avenging himself upon the republic of Venice, which, of all the Italian States, had displayed the greatest disinclination to fraternize with France. When Bonaparte was supposed to be in danger in the Austrian provinces, the hatred of the Venetians displayed itself in acts of cruelty and outrage towards the French who remained amongst them, particularly at Verona. On the 3rd of May Bonaparte issued a manifesto declaring war against the Venetian Republic. The French troops overran all the Venetian territory; took a signal vengeance on the Veronese; finally entered Venice on the 16th of May, and put an end to that famous government which had maintained its independence and its power during centuries of change. The last and greatest convulsion of Europe made the Queen of the Adriatic, first a prize to a revolutionary democracy, and then the slave of an unteachable absolutism.

Such was the position of Europe when lord Malmesbury opened his negotiation at Lisle. As the French Directory was then constituted, there was a partial disposition to meet with an equal sincerity the evident desire of the British government to put an end to this desolating conflict. The demands first put forth by the French plenipotentiaries were extravagant—that Great Britain should relinquish all her conquests, whether of French, Dutch, or Spanish possessions, and that France should retain all she had acquired by the war. It was the opinion of the British negotiators that these demands would be gradually reduced; that Carnot and Barthelemi, two of the five Directors who were decidedly advocates for peace, would win over Barras; and that the majority would be disposed to accept the conditions resolved upon by the British government, namely, to give up all the conquests made from France, and retain the Spanish possession of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. Lord Malmesbury had a channel of private information which he could trust; and he wrote to lord Grenville on the 25th of July, "The fate of the negotiation will depend much less on what passes in our conferences here than on what may happen very shortly in Paris." * Another Revolutionary crisis was approaching. Barras, Reubell, and La Réveillière Lépaux, were preparing to eject Carnot and Barthelemi, and to purge the two Legislative Councils of members who were suspected of Royalist designs, and of those who, without desiring the restoration of the monarchy, were opposed to the venality and abuse of power by the majority of the Directors. Bonaparte was cognizant of the dangers of the Triumviri,—Barras, Reubell and Lépaux,—and was ready to support them by his soldiery. The military arm, which was soon to supersede every other authority in France, was now to be the instrument of accomplishing one of those acts of violence with which we have become familiar under the name of a *coup-d'état*. General Augereau was sent by Bonaparte to Paris to do the bidding of the majority of the Directors. On the morning of the 4th of September, Augereau surrounded the Tuileries with troops, and arrested about sixty members of the Legislative Councils, with orders also to arrest Carnot and Barthelemi. *Carnot escaped; but his brother Director, the members of the Councils who had been seized, and many journalists and other writers, were banished to Guiana. Amongst the number was Pichegru. This was the Revolution of the Eighteenth Fructidor. It was decisive as to the issue of the negotiations at Lisle. Lord Malmesbury wrote to Mr. Pitt on the 9th of Septem-

* "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 406.

ber, "The violent revolution which has taken place at Paris has overset all our hopes, and defeated all our reckonings. I consider it as the most unlucky event that could have happened. We were certainly very near obtaining the great object of our wishes, and I fear we are now more driven out to sea again than ever."* Mr. Pitt was inclined "to believe and hope that the party now predominant will think the enjoyment of their triumph more likely to be both complete and secure in peace than in war."† He was grievously mistaken. New plenipotentiaries were sent by the Directory to Lisle. They required that Great Britain should surrender all the conquests she had made, not only the colonies taken from France, but from her allies, without any equivalent; intimating that if this peremptory condition was not acceded to, Lord Malmesbury must depart in twenty-four hours. When Malmesbury said that he had no powers which would enable him to accede to such a proposal, he was insolently answered, "then go and fetch them." The embassy quitted Lisle on the 18th of September. Truly did Canning write to a friend, "It was not any question of terms, of giving up this, or retaining that. It was a settled determination to get rid of the chance of peace on the part of the three scoundrelly Directors that put an end to the negotiation."‡

During these conferences no one was more sanguine than Canning. In his position of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he laboured incessantly, in concert with Pitt and Malmesbury, to neutralize the opposition made by some members of the Cabinet to a pacific policy. His disappointment was proportionately bitter. He started the "Anti-Jacobin," the first number of which appeared on the 20th of November, 1797. William Gifford and John Hookham Frere were his principal coadjutors. It came, with new armoury, to fight the battle which Burke had fought for seven years. A pacification with France appearing hopeless, it came to denounce the principles and the policy of her government with a determined hatred. To make the literary eulogists of French triumphs odious, and the sentimental declaimers against social wrongs ridiculous, was to be accomplished by witty personalities, rather than by impassioned eloquence. Amidst much that is scurrilous and much that is dull, the "Anti-Jacobin" sent forth brilliant satire; not in the vain endeavour to "cut blocks with a razor," but to pierce through the sensitive skins of the poetical enthusiasts who still clung to their first hopes of a regenerated world that should rise out of the darkness of the French Revolution. The somewhat profane

* "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 406.

† *Ibid.*, p. 532.

‡ Malmesbury's "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 570.

parody of the *Benedicite*, with which this remarkable publication was wound up after seven months' existence, is a sort of catalogue of the public instructors that Canning and his friends had gibbeted, either in fear or in contempt. * It was awkward when the more illustrious of their victims became converts to Anti-Jacobinism, and had long to endure the reproach of being apostates from the cause of freedom. They were all huddled together,—the men of genius and the hack journalists; those whose names have lived, and those who are forgotten—in one common invocation to join in the praise of "the Sovereign Priest" amongst "the Anointed Five" of the Directory—"Lépaux, whom Atheists worship"—"Couriers and Stars,"—"Morning Chronicle and Morning Post,"—"five wandering Bards" led by "Coleridge and Southey"—"Priestley and Wakefield"—"Thelwall, and ye that lecture as ye go"—"each Jacobin, or fool, or knave"—

"All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lépaux."

* "Anti-Jacobin," vol. ii. p. 635.

CHAPTER V.

Preliminaries of Leoben.—Transfer of Venice to Austria.—Peace of Campo Formio.—Victory of Admiral Duncan off Camperdown.—Bonaparte arrives in Paris.—Is appointed to the command of the Army of England.—Preparations for invasion.—The scheme postponed.—An expedition to Egypt prepared at Toulon.—Nelson appointed to command a squadron in the Mediterranean.—The expedition sails.—Malta seized.—Bonaparte lands at Alexandria.—Nelson has returned to Naples.—Alexandria taken by assault.—Battle of the Pyramids.—The French at Cairo.—Nelson returns to Alexandria.—The Battle of the Nile.—Rejoicings in England, and new hopes.—An income tax first imposed.—Volunteers.—Ireland.

ENGLAND has to bear many unjust reproaches when her children are not "kind and natural." Byron reproaches his country with the humiliation of Venice :

" Thy lot
Is shameful to the nations,—most of a
Albion, to thee."

Albion in 1814 left Venice to the tender mercies of Austria ; but it was the French Republic that in 1794 betrayed the sister Republic into the hands of the Emperor, as the bribe to the preliminaries of Leoben and the peace of Campo Formio. The history of nations exhibits no example of greater baseness than this act of Bonaparte—for it was his sole act, contrary to the instructions of the Directory. By a treaty with the Democratic party in Venice made on the 16th of May, the French had abolished the ancient oligarchical government ; had filled the city with troops ; had exacted contributions in money, in ships, and in works of art. They carried off the famous horses of St. Mark, to be placed on the triumphal arch of the Tuileries. These were common proceedings. Bonaparte during the summer was negotiating with the cabinet of Vienna for exchanges of territories and for transfers of populations, in a spirit quite as despotic as that of the absolute governments which had partitioned Poland. He had stirred up the revolutionary party in the Venetian States to insurrection, on the assurance that he would establish a democratic Republic. The Doge, and the Council of Ten, and the Senate had fallen, to give place to an executive body chosen by the suffrages of the people. Venice, after these changes, believed that the Republic, as newly modelled, was under the protection of France, whose mission was

to bestow liberty upon the nations. On the 26th of May, Bonaparte wrote to the municipality of the city, "In every circumstance I shall do what lies in my power to give you proof of my desire to consolidate your liberties, and to see unhappy Italy at length assume the place to which it is entitled in the theatre of the world, free and independent of all strangers." Six weeks before this declaration he had agreed in the secret preliminaries of Leoben to cede Venice to the Emperor. After the Eighteenth Fructidor, Bonaparte was instructed by the Directory not to cede Venice to the Emperor; and Bonaparte returned for answer that if that was their resolve, peace was impracticable. He was determined that a peace should be made; and he gave very sufficient reasons for making it at any sacrifice of principle. The reasons were such as he repeated to the secretary of the French legation at Venice, after the peace had been concluded. "Never has France adopted the maximum of making war for the sake of other nations: I should like to see the principle of philosophy or morality which should command us to sacrifice forty thousand Frenchmen." He wished that the declaimers who raved about the establishment of republics everywhere, "would make a winter campaign." The Austrian Plenipotentiary, Cobentzel, with three assistant negotiators,—according to a story which is in agreement with Bonaparte's melodramatic propensities,—were terrified by a display of well-timed passion, into the terms proposed by the French. On the 16th of October a final conference took place at Udine. The four Austrian negotiators sat on one side of a long table; Bonaparte sat alone on the other side. They had agreed that France should have Flanders and the line of the Rhine; the islands of Corfu, Zante and Cephalonia, and the Venetian districts of Albania: that the Emperor should have Dalmatia, Istria, and the other Venetian territory as far as the Adige and the Po, with the city of Venice. Lombardy was to form part of the Cisalpine Republic, which Bonaparte had organized: and which was also to include the duchy of Reggio and other small Italian States. The great point in dispute was whether Mantua should belong to this Republic or to the Emperor. Cobentzel maintained, that as the Emperor had consented to give up Mayence, he ought to retain Mantua; and in a lengthened argument he hinted that a negotiator was forgetful of his duty when he sought to sacrifice the repose of his country to his military ambition. A costly tea service, presented to Cobentzel by the Empress Catharine, was upon a stand near Bonaparte. He took the tray in his hands, saying, "If to keep Mantua is your ultimatum, war is declared; but mind you, in three months I will

break your monarchy in pieces, as I now break this porcelain," dashing the service upon the floor. He was a great actor, and needed not the future lessons of Talma.* The peace of Campo Formio was concluded the next day. Amongst the reasons for peace with Austria which the conqueror of Italy assigned to the Directory was this,—“The war with England will open to us a new field for active operations more vast and splendid.” On the day when the signature of the treaty of Campo Formio was known at Paris, the Directory created an army to be called “The army of England,” and appointed Bonaparte to its command. In a Proclamation signed by Lépaux it was announced that “the army of England is about to dictate peace in London, and there, republicans, you shall find your auxiliaries. . . . Conducted by the hero who has so long led you in the path of victory, you will be followed by the applause of every just and virtuous mind.” Parliamentary reformers; artisans reduced to wretchedness by the war; Irish bearing the chain of a court fed by their blood—these, according to the Directory, were to fraternize with the hero of Italy. He had given the world a noble evidence of his aspirations for the liberty and happiness of revolutionized States, when he delivered Venice, bound hand and foot, to be trodden upon by Austria.

There was something of bravado in the threat of the Directory to make an immediate descent upon England or upon Ireland; for their means of invasion had been signally crippled by the great victory over the Dutch fleet, on the 11th of October, off Camperdown. Admiral Duncan had been half a century in the navy when he fought this battle. He had sustained the deep mortification of having been deserted by the greater portion of his fleet, and left in his own ship, the *Venerable*, in company only with the *Adamant*, to keep up the blockade of the Texel. By making repeated signals, as if to a fleet in the offing, he deceived the Dutch as to the real amount of his force. When the mutiny was suppressed, ships gradually joined him. But at the beginning of October, the *Venerable*, and other vessels which had suffered from heavy gales, and were in want of stores, put into Yarmouth Roads, leaving the Dutch to be watched by a small squadron of observation. The fleet had been busied for several days in victualling and refitting, when early in the morning of the 9th a lugger appeared at the back of Yarmouth sands and gave the signal for an enemy. Before noon Duncan was at sea with eleven sail of the line. He directed his

* Bourienne, the secretary of Bonaparte, denies the truth of this story. Thiers gives it without any qualification.

course straight across to his old station. He was joined by three ships ; and on the 11th he got sight of the squadron of observation, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward. In less than an hour he came up with the enemy. The land between Egmont and Camperdown was about nine miles to leeward. Duncan took the bold resolve to pass through the Dutch line, and thus to place himself between the enemy and their own shores, to which they were fast approaching. Soon after noon every ship of the British fleet had broken the enemy's line and was hotly engaged. The coast was covered for miles with thousands of spectators. Duncan's ship, the *Venerable*, was engaged for three hours with the *Vryheid*, the flag-ship of admiral De Winter. The brave Dutchman did not strike till all his masts had gone overboard and half his crew were killed or wounded. Admiral Onslow was engaged in a similar close fight with the Dutch vice-admiral, who did not yield till he was equally crippled. By four in the afternoon the victory was clearly decided. But during the fight the British squadron had drifted so near the land as to be only in five fathoms water. It required the greatest exertion to prevent the ships from getting into the shallows ; and this necessity favoured the escape of some of the Dutchmen. Eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates, were captured. The carnage on both sides was very great. The Dutch fired at the hulls of our ships, instead of at the masts and rigging, which was the practice of the French and Spaniards ; and this mode of assault involved a severe loss of our men. The prizes with difficulty reached the English shores, with tottering masts and hulls full of shot-holes. Duncan made sail to the *Nore* ; where the presence of a triumphant fleet excited feelings in many official visitors very different from those with which the mutinous fleet of the previous June had been regarded. Mr. Addington, the Speaker, went on board the *Venerable* ; conversed with De Winter and the other Dutch admiral who were prisoners ; admired the noble stature and manly bearing of Duncan ; and visited the wounded in their hammocks. "We hope, sir," said some of the brave-fellows to the Speaker, "we have now made atonement for our late offence." *

The conqueror of Italy arrived in Paris on the 5th of December. He had a difficult part to play. He despised the Directory, who were jealous and afraid of him. His policy was to be quiet. To make a dash at supreme power was as yet too hazardous. He was received with all the magnificence of those theatrical displays which had been so attractive during the horrors of the Revolution,

* "Life of Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 194.

when on the 10th of December he presented the treaty of Campo Formio to the Directors at their palace of the Luxembourg. His demeanour was modest and unassuming. Barras extolled him beyond all the heroes of the antique world; and invited him to proceed upon a new career of glory—to hoist the tri-coloured flag on the Tower of London. Bonaparte accepted the command of the army of England. The Directory were in earnest in their hostility to the persevering enemy whose desire for peace they had rudely repelled. To an absolute government, as that of the French Republic then was in reality, no measure, however injurious to its own subjects, stands in the way of its political calculations. English merchandize could not be kept out of France, however severe were the penalties against its introduction. On the 4th of January, throughout the whole French territory, domiciliary visits were made for the purpose of seizing the woven fabrics and the hardware that English industry could produce cheaply, and which no custom-house vigilance could keep out. Bonaparte made a few rapid visits to the ports bordering the British channel; saw their arsenals and their gun-boats; and appeared to take a great interest in the mighty preparations which the Directory believed would place England at their feet. Bonaparte took a more sober view of the difficulties of the enterprize. On his return from his journey to the coast, he said to Bourienne—"It would be too great a risk: I will not run it. I will not sport thus with the fate of France."

The winter passed away, the spring came on; and still the cry of invasion was echoed in every port from Antwerp to Toulon; and Frenchmen asked impatiently when the great attempt would be made. On the 20th of April a royal message was delivered to Parliament, that "from various advices received by his majesty it appears that the preparations for the embarkation of troops and warlike stores are carried on with considerable and increasing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed design of attempting the invasion of his majesty's dominions." On this occasion Sheridan expressed his own feelings, and the feelings of the country, in a burst of patriotism which soared far above party objects: "It is not glory the French seek for; they are already gorged with it: it is not territory they grasp at; they are already encumbered with the extent they have acquired. What, then, is their object? They come for what they really want: they come for ships, for commerce, for credit, and for capital. They come for the sinews, the bones, the marrow, the very heart's blood of Britain." Sheridan at the same time declared that his political enmity to his majesty's present ministers was irreconcilable; that

his attachment to his right honourable friend (Fox), and to his political principles, was unaltered and unalterable. Fox, some months previous, had seceded from Parliament. There was no general secession of the Whig party; but in a letter to lord Holland, Fox expressed his strong dislike to attend again himself.* In a subsequent letter he says, "A seceder I will be, till I see a very different state of things from the present; and indeed if they were to alter more materially than can be expected, it would be with more reluctance than I can describe, or than is perhaps reasonable, that I should return to politics."† As the head of a great party he had lost his power. Whether he was wise, or true to his duty as a patriot, to retire at a season of such danger to his pleasant studies at St. Anne's Hill, may be doubtful. It is delightful, however, to contemplate a great orator and a man of the world so easily surrendering the excitements of his former life; reading the Iliad; writing of Prior, and Ariosto, and Dryden, and La Fontaine; going through Lucretius regularly; and taking up Chaucer upon his nephew's suggestion. It is pleasant to see how literature can fill up an aching void, however created.

The "avowed design" of the invasion of our country was a feint. Bonaparte had persuaded the Directory to agree to an enterprize which, if successful, would be more permanently injurious to England than a landing in Kent and a march upon London, with the certainty that the country could not be held, and that not an invader would return to exhibit his booty. The vast preparations in the ports of the Mediterranean for a great enterprize were given out by the French government to be in connection with the armaments in the ports of the Channel. Large bodies of troops were collected at Toulon, at Genoa, at Ajaccio, at Civita Vecchia; and this army was called the left wing of the army of England. Bonaparte had with great difficulty persuaded the Directory to postpone their scheme for the invasion of the British islands, and to permit him to embark an army for Egypt, the possession of which country, he maintained, would open to France the commerce of the East, and prepare the way for the conquest of India. Having subdued Egypt, he would return before another winter to plant the tricolour on the Tower of London. In April, Bonaparte was appointed general-in-chief of the Army of the East. The secret had been well kept. The means of furnishing this armament had been supplied by the appropriation of three millions of treasure which had been seized at Berne, and by forced contributions levied at Genoa and at Rome. The French government, at the beginning of Janu-

* "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 144.

† *Ibid.*, p. 246.

ary, had stirred up the democratic party in some of the Swiss Cantons, and had sent their troops to attack those Cantons which resisted the demand of the fraternizing French republicans that the ancient constitution of the republic of Switzerland should be abolished, and a republic created after the new model. The internal dissensions in some of the Cantons favoured this attempt to introduce the theories of liberty and equality in this ancient stronghold of freedom. The principal object of the French commander was plunder. After a brave resistance on the part of the Bernese, Berne was entered by the French on the 5th of March. Bonaparte was very quickly in communication with the French commissioners, directing them how to forward the spoil of the Bernese treasury to Toulon. At Rome, which the French army had entered at the end of January, with a pre-concerted determination to overturn the papal government, the pillage, conducted under the orders of the superior officers, was more unsparing than that which followed the entrance of Alaric, when at the hour of midnight "the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Unlike the king of the Goths, Massena, who commanded the French, did not massacre the people; unlike Alaric also in this, that whilst the barbarian exhorted his troops "to respect the churches of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul as holy and inviolable sanctuaries,"* the French carried off the priestly vestments, the sacred vessels, and the famous altar-pieces of modern Rome, little of such spoils being reserved for public uses, but sold to the Jews who followed the camp. Some of the francs and piastres that the Jews paid for the supply of their melting-pots found their way to Napoleon at Toulon. A larger portion went into the bags of Massena and his rapacious staff.

The French fleet under admiral Brueys was in the harbour of Toulon, ready to sail upon its secret destination. Something different from the invasion of England was in contemplation; for on board the admiral's ship, *l'Orient*, were a hundred literary men and artists, mathematicians and naturalists, who were certainly not required to enlighten the French upon the native productions or the antiquities of the British isles. Bonaparte arrived at Toulon on the 9th of May, and issued one of his grandiloquent proclamations to his troops. The armament consisted of thirteen ships of the line, many frigates and corvettes, and four hundred transports. The army which it was to carry to some unknown shore consisted of forty thousand men. On the 19th of May this formidable expedition left the great French harbour of the Mediterranean. On

* See Gibbon, A. D. 410, chap. xxxi.

the day when Bonaparte arrived at Toulon, Nelson had sailed from Gibraltar, with three seventy-fours, four frigates, and a sloop, to watch the movements of the enemy. Since the most daring of British naval commanders had fought in the battle of St. Vincent, he had lost an arm in an unsuccessful attack upon the island of Teneriffe. For some time his spirit was depressed, and he thought that a left-handed admiral could never again be useful. He had lost also his right eye, and was severely wounded in his body. But he had not lost that indomitable spirit which rose superior to wounds and weakness of constitution. He rested some time at home; and then, early in 1798, sailed in the Vanguard to join the fleet under lord St. Vincent. The Admiralty had suggested, and lord St. Vincent had previously determined, that a detachment of the squadron blockading the Spanish fleet should sail to the Mediterranean, under the command of Nelson. The seniors of the fleet were offended at this preference of a junior officer; and men of routine at home shrugged their shoulders, and feared, with the cold lord Grenville, that Nelson "will do something *too* desperate." * He was not stinted in his means, being finally reinforced with ten of the best ships of St. Vincent's fleet.

The first operation of Bonaparte was the seizure of Malta. His fleet was in sight of the island on the 9th of June. He had other weapons than his cannon for the reduction of a place deemed impregnable. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem had held the real sovereignty of the island since 1530. These Knights of Malta, powerful at sea, had formed one of the bulwarks of Christendom against the Ottomans. They had gradually lost their warlike prowess, as well as their religious austerity; and Malta, protected by its fortifications, became the seat of luxury for this last of the monastic military orders, whose occupation was gone. Bonaparte had confiscated their property in Italy; and he had sent a skilful agent to the island to sow dissensions amongst the Knights, and thus to prepare the way for the fall of the community. There were many French Knights among them, to whom the principal military commands had been entrusted by the Grand Master, a weak German. Bonaparte, on the 9th of June, sent a demand to the Grand Master, that his whole fleet should be permitted to enter the great harbour for the purpose of taking in water. The reply was that, according to the rules of the Order, only two ships, or at most four, could be allowed to enter the port at one time. The answer was interpreted as equivalent to a declaration of hostility; and Bonaparte issued orders that the army should disembark the next morn-

* "Court, &c., of George III.," vol. ii. p. 406.

ing on the coasts of the island wherever a landing could be effected. The island was taken almost without opposition; the French Knights declaring that they would not fight against their countrymen. On the 13th of June, the French were put in possession of La Valletta and the surrounding forts. Bonaparte made all sorts of promises of compensation to the recreant Knights, which the Directory were not very careful to keep. He landed to examine his prize; when general Caffarelli, who accompanied him, said, "We are very lucky that there was somebody in the place to open the doors for us." Leaving a garrison to occupy the new possession, the French sailed away on the 20th, with all the gold and silver of the treasury, and all the plate of the churches and religious houses. "The essential point now," says Thiers, "was not to encounter the English fleet;" nevertheless, he adds, "nobody was afraid of the encounter." Nelson was at Naples on the day when Bonaparte quitted Malta. He immediately sailed. On the 22nd, at night, the two fleets crossed each other's track unperceived, between Cape Mesurata and the mouth of the Adriatic. The frigates of the British fleet had been separated from the main body, and thus Nelson had no certain intelligence. His sagacity made him conjecture that the destination of the armament was Egypt. He made the most direct course to Alexandria, which he reached on the 28th. No enemy was there, and no tidings could be obtained of them. On the morning of the 1st of July, admiral Brueys was off the same port, and learnt that Nelson had sailed away in search of him. Bonaparte demanded that he should be landed at some distance from Alexandria, for preparations appeared for the defence of the ancient city. As he and several thousand troops who followed him reached the shore in boats, a vessel appeared in sight, and the cry went forth that it was an English sail. "Fortune," he exclaimed, "dost thou abandon me? * Give me only five days!" A French frigate was the cause of the momentary alarm. Nelson had returned to Sicily.

The Sultan was at peace with France; a French minister was at Constantinople. Such trifling formalities in the laws of nations were little respected by the man who told his soldiers that "the genius of Liberty having rendered the Republic the arbiter of Europe, had assigned to her the same power over the seas and over the most distant nations." * Four thousand of the French army were landed, and marched in three columns to the attack of Alexandria. It was quickly taken by assault. Bonaparte announced that he came neither to ravage the country, nor to ques-

* Proclamation at Toulon.

tion the authority of the Grand Seigneur, but to put down the domination of the Mamlooks, who tyrannized over the people by the authority of the Beys. He proclaimed to the population of Egypt, in magnificent language that he caused to be translated into Arabic, that he came not to destroy their religion. We Frenchmen are true Mussulmans. Have not we destroyed the Pope, who called upon Europe to make war upon Mussulmans? Have not we destroyed the Knights of Malta, because these madmen believed that God had called them to make war upon Mussulmans? * Leaving a garrison of three thousand men in Alexandria, the main army commenced its march to Cairo. Bonaparte was anxious to arrive there before the periodical inundation of the Nile. The fleet of Brueys remained at anchor in the road of Aboukir. Bonaparte chose the shorter route to Cairo through the desert of Damanhour, leading thirty thousand men,—to each of whom he had promised to grant seven acres of fertile land in the conquered territories,—through plains of sand without a drop of water. They murmured, and almost mutinied, but they endured, and at length reached the banks of the Nile, at Rahmameh, where a flotilla, laden with provisions, baggage, and artillery, awaited them. The Mamlooks, with Mourad Bey at their head, were around the French. The invaders had to fight with enemies who came upon them in detachments; gave a fierce assault; and then fled. As they approached the great Pyramids of Jizeh, they found an enemy more formidable than these scattered bands. Mourad Bey was encamped with twelve thousand Mamlooks and eight thousand mounted Bedouins, on the west bank of the Nile, and opposite Cairo. The French looked upon the great entrepôt, where the soldiers expected to find the gorgeous palaces and the rich bazaars of which some had read in Galland's "Arabian Nights," whose tales they had recounted to their comrades on their dreary march under a burning sun. They had to sustain the attack of Mourad Bey and his Mamlooks, who came upon them with the fury of a tempest. In the East, Bonaparte was ever in his altitudes; and he now pointed to the Pyramids, and exclaimed to his soldiers, "Forty centuries look down upon you." The chief attack of the Mamlooks was upon a square which Desaix commanded. In spite of the desperate courage of this formidable cavalry, the steadiness of the disciplined soldiery of the army of Italy repelled every assault; and after a tremendous loss Mourad Bey retreated towards Upper Egypt. His intrenched camp was forced, amidst a fearful carnage. The conquerors had no difficulty in obtaining

* Thiers, livre xxxix.

possession of Cairo. Ibrahim Bey evacuated the city, which on the 25th of July Bonaparte entered. His policy now was to conciliate the people instead of oppressing them. He addressed himself to the principal scheiks, and obtained from them a declaration in favour of the French. It went forth with the same authority amongst the Mussulmans as a brief of the Pope addressed to Roman Catholics. In the grand mosque a litany was sung to the glory of "the Favourite of Victory, who at the head of the valiant of the West has destroyed the infantry and the horse of the Mamlooks." A few weeks later "the Favourite of Victory" was seated in the grand mosque at the Feast of the Prophets, sitting cross-legged as he repeated the words of the Koran, and edifying the sacred college by his piety.*

From the beginning to the end of July, Mr. Pitt was waiting with anxious expectation for news from the Mediterranean. During this suspense he wrote to the Speaker that he "could not be quite sure of keeping any engagement he might make." It was not till the 26th of September that the English government knew the actual result of the toils and disappointments to which Nelson had been subjected. When it was known in England that he had been to Egypt and had returned to Sicily, the journalists talked of naval mismanagement; and worn-out captains who were hanging about the Admiralty asking for employ marvelled at the rashness of lord St. Vincent in sending so young a commander upon so great an enterprize. The Neapolitan ministry, dreading to offend the French Directory, refused Nelson the supplies of provision and water which he required before he again started in pursuit of the fleet which "Cæsar and his fortune bare at once." Sir William Hamilton was our minister at Naples; his wife was the favourite of the queen of Naples, and one of the most attractive of the ladies of that luxurious court. Nelson had a slight acquaintance with lady Hamilton; and upon his representations of the urgent necessity for victualling his fleet, secret instructions were given that he should be supplied with all he required. In 1805, Nelson requested Mr. Rose to urge upon Mr. Pitt the claims of lady Hamilton upon the national gratitude, because "it was through her interposition exclusively he obtained provisions and water for the English ships at Syracuse, in the summer of 1798; by which he was enabled to return to Egypt in quest of the enemy's fleet;—to which, therefore, the success of his brilliant action of the Nile was owing, as he must otherwise have gone down to Gibraltar to refit, and the enemy would have escaped." †

* Thiers, livre xxxix. (August, 1798.)

† Rose—"Diaries," &c., vol. i. p. 254.

On the 25th of July Nelson sailed from Syracuse. It was three days before he gained any intelligence of the French fleet, and he then learned that they had been seen about four weeks before, steering to the S.E. from Candia. He was again convinced that their destination was Egypt; and he made all sail for Alexandria. On the 1st of August he beheld the tri-coloured flag flying upon its walls. His anxiety was at an end. For a week he had scarcely taken food or slept. The signal was made for the enemy's fleet; and he now ordered dinner to be served, and when his officers rose to prepare for battle, he exclaimed that before the morrow his fate would be a peerage or Westminster Abbey.

The fleet of admiral Brueys was at anchor in the bay Aboukir. The transports and other small vessels were within the harbour. Bonaparte told O'Meara that he had sent an officer from Cairo with peremptory orders that Brueys should enter the harbour, but that the officer was killed by the Arabs on the way.* Brueys had taken measures to ascertain the practicability of entering the harbour with his larger ships, and had found that the depth of water was insufficient. He was unwilling to sail away to Corfu—as Bonaparte affirmed that he had ordered him to do, if to enter the harbour were impracticable—until he knew that the army was securely established at Cairo. The French admiral moored his fleet in what he judged the best position; a position described by Nelson himself as “a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay (of shoals), flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars.”† The French ships were placed “at a distance from each other of about a hundred and sixty yards, with the van-ship close to a shoal in the north-west, and the whole of the line just outside a four-fathom sand-bank; so that an enemy, it was considered, could not turn either flank.”‡ Nelson, with the rapidity of genius, at once grasped his plan of attack. Where there was room for a French ship to swing, there was room for an English ship to anchor. He would place half his ships on the inner side of the French line, and half on the outer side. The number of ships in the two fleets was nearly equal, but four of the French were of larger size. At three o'clock in the afternoon the British squadron was approaching the bay, with a manifest intention of giving battle. Admiral Brueys had thought that the attack would be deferred to the next morning. Nelson had no intention of permitting the enemy to weigh anchor, and get to sea in the darkness. By six o'clock Nelson's

* “Voice from St. Helena,” vol. ii.; Diary, May 16. † “Gazette,” October 2.

‡ James—“Naval History,” vol. ii. p. 142.

line was formed, without any precise regard to the succession of the vessels according to established forms. The shoal at the western extremity of the bay was rounded by eleven of the British squadron. The Goliath led the way, and when her commander, Foley, reached the enemy's van, he steered between the outermost ship and the shoal. The Zealous (captain Hood) instantly followed. At twenty minutes past six the two van-ships of the French opened their fire upon these vessels, but they were soon disabled. Four other British ships also took their stations inside the French line. Nelson, in the Vanguard, followed by five of his seventy-fours, anchored on the outer side of the enemy. Nine of the French fleet were thus placed between the two fires of eleven of the British ships. The Leander had not been engaged, having been occupied in the endeavour to assist the Culloden, which, coming up after dark, ran aground.

Before the sun went down the shore was crowded with the people of the country gazing upon this terrible conflict. When darkness fell, the flashes of the guns faintly indicated the positions of the contending fleets. Each British ship was ordered to carry four lanterns at her mizzen-peak, and these were lighted at seven o'clock. Each ship also went into action with the white ensign of St. George, of which the red cross in the centre rendered it easily distinguishable in the darkest night at sea. But there was another illumination, more awful than the flashes of two thousand cannon, which was that night to strike unwonted dismay into the bravest of the combatants of either nation. Five of the French ships had surrendered. The Vanguard had been engaged with the Spartiate and the Aquilon. Her loss was severe. A splinter had struck Nelson on the head, cutting a large piece of the flesh and skin from the forehead, which fell over his remaining eye. He was carried down to the cockpit, and the effusion of blood being very great, his wound was held to be dangerous, if not mortal, by the anxious shipmates around him. He was carried where his men were also carried, without regard to rank, to be tended by the busy surgeons. These left their wounded to bestow their care on the first man of the fleet. "No," said Nelson, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Sidney, in the field of Zutphén, taking the cup of water from his lips to give to the dying soldier, with the memorable words, "This man's necessity is more than mine," was a parallel example of heroism. The admiral did wait his turn; and meanwhile, in the belief that his career was ended, called to his chaplain to deliver a last token of affection to his wife. The wound was found to be superficial. He was carried to his cabin, and left alone,

amidst the din of the battle. Suddenly the cry was heard that *l'Orient*, the French flag-ship of 120 guns, was on fire. Nelson groped his way to the deck, to the astonishment of the crew, who heard their beloved commander giving his orders that the boats should be lowered to proceed to the help of the burning vessel. The *Bellerophon* had been overpowered by the weight of metal of *l'Orient*, and had lost her masts. The *Swiftsure* had also been engaged with this formidable vessel. Both had maintained an unremitting fire upon the French flag-ship. Admiral Brueys had fallen, and had died the death of a brave man on his deck. The ship was in flames; at ten o'clock she blew up, the conflagration having lasted for nearly an hour. When the explosion came, there was an awful silence. For ten minutes not a gun was fired on either side. The instinct of self-preservation, as well as the sudden awe on this sublime event, produced this pause in the battle. Some of the French, endeavouring to get out of the vicinity of the burning wreck, had slipped their cables. The nearest of the English took every precaution to prevent the combustible materials doing them injury. The shock of the explosion shook the *Alexander*, *Swiftsure*, and *Orion* to their keelsons, and materially injured them. None of our ships, however, took fire. About seventy only of the crew of *l'Orient* were saved by the English boats. The battle was resumed by the French ship, the *Franklin*; and it went on, at intervals, till daybreak. The contest was sustained by four French line-of-battle ships, and four of the English. Finally, two of the French line-of-battle ships and two frigates escaped. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken, two were burned. Of the British about nine hundred men were killed and wounded. No accurate account was obtained of the French loss. The estimate which represented that loss at five thousand was evidently exaggerated. About three thousand French prisoners were sent on shore. Kleber, the French general, wrote to Napoleon, "The English have had the disinterestedness to restore everything to their prisoners."

After the victory of the Nile, Nelson returned to Naples. He required rest; and in the ease and luxury, the flattery and the honours, which there awaited him, he forgot his quiet home, and after a time was involved in public acts which reflect discredit upon his previous spotless name. At Palermo, lord Cochrane had opportunities of conversation with him. He says, "To one of his frequent injunctions, 'Never mind manœuvres, always go at them,' I subsequently had reason to consider myself indebted for successful attacks under apparently difficult circumstances." Cochrane considered Nelson "an embodiment of dashing courage, which

would not take much trouble to circumvent an enemy, but being confronted with one would regard victory so much a matter of course as hardly to deem the chance of defeat worth consideration."* This opinion is borne out by a letter which Nelson wrote to his old friend, admiral Locker, from Palermo:—"It is you who always said, 'Lay a Frenchman close and you will beat him;' and my only merit in my profession is being a good scholar."† Nelson was himself a master who made many good scholars.

M. Thiers, having described the great naval battle of Aboukir with tolerable fairness, admits that it was the most disastrous that the French navy had yet experienced—one from which the most fatal military consequences might be apprehended. The news of the disaster caused a momentary despair in the French army. Bonaparte received the intelligence with calmness. "Well," he exclaimed, "we must die here; or go forth, great, as were the ancients." He wrote to Kleber, "We must do great things;" and Kleber replied, "Yes, we must do great things: I prepare my faculties." It would have been fortunate for the fame of Bonaparte, if he had abstained from doing some of "the great things" which he accomplished whilst he remained in the East.

The victory of Nelson formed the great subject of congratulation in the royal speech, when the Session was opened on the 20th of November. "By this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance had fixed the attention of the world, and was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors." Out of this victory new hopes were to arise—vain hopes which statesmen formed in the enthusiasm of success: "The blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening, which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe." What the king said from his throne, men "in the secret" had previously whispered in confidence to their friends: "It seems quite certain," writes Mr. Addington, "that the war on the continent will be renewed; and I have no doubt that Prussia will concur in the prosecution of it. Lord Nelson has electrified Europe." Magnificent were the anticipations of the sanguine Speaker. The Swiss were to throw off their yoke; Prussia would keep France at bay on the Rhine. The emperor Paul would recover Mentz and Manheim. The Aus-

* Lord Dundonald—"Autobiography," vol. i. p. 88.

† "Plain Englishman," vol. iv. p. 563; a periodical work for popular instruction, conducted, in 1821, by the son of admiral Locker and by the author of this History.

trians, in conjunction with the king of Naples, would be sufficient for the deliverance of Italy. Holland, the Netherlands, Brabant, even France herself, would surely not remain inactive.* These prodigious anticipations lead one to remember a certain Arabian story of a man who, calculating in his day-dream the vast profits he was to acquire by turning again and again the capital he had expended upon articles of glass, kicked over the tray upon which his store was placed. The waking Alnaschar cried out and said, "All this is the result of my pride;" and he slapped his face and tore his clothes. A bitter reproach against England—in many respects an unjust reproach—had been embodied in the exaggerations of one who justified the extravagances of poetical imagery, as "the product of his own seething imagination, and therefore impregnated with that pleasurable exaltation which is experienced in all energetic exertion of intellectual power."† England at the end of 1796 was thus painted:—

"Abandoned of Heaven! mad avarice they guide,
At cowardly distance, yet kindling with pride,
Mid thy herds and thy corn-fields secure thou hast stood,
And joined the wild yelling of famine and blood."

The reproach was more pithily expressed by the French in ascribing every hostile movement of Europe to "the gold of Pitt." Five years of fatal experience had, in 1798, shown how hollow were the alliances that were bought. The system was to be renewed again. On the 29th of December, 1798, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Russia. Russia was, of course, to be subsidized. The vein of gold was far from being exhausted, however vigorously it had been worked. A new vein was now to be opened. On the 3rd of December Mr. Pitt gave an estimate of the amount of Supply required. The total was upwards of twenty-nine millions. The estimate for 1793 was sixteen millions. To meet this ever-increasing expenditure all sorts of devices of direct taxation had been resorted to—devices described by the marquis of Lansdowne as "irksome, petty, and unproductive exactions which fret and disturb men's minds."‡ Mr. Pitt now proposed, for the first time in the history of British finance, an Income-Tax. He estimated the total income of Great Britain at 102,000,000*l.*, which he proposed to tax, upon a graduated scale, at 10 per cent.; to commence with incomes above 60*l.* a-year, but in a reduced ratio from 60*l.* to 200*l.* He assumed that this tax would produce an

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 215.

† Coleridge—Apologetic Preface to "Fire, Famine, and Slaughter."

‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiii. col. 1538.

annual revenue of ten millions. In 1859-60, the Income-Tax was 9*d.* in the pound, which also produced very nearly ten millions. The great financial measure of the minister of 1798 was called by Mr. Tierney "indiscriminate rapine;" and he and others urged the objections which have been so often ineffectually urged, how ever impossible to be refuted. Mr. Tierney asked, "Does the minister mean to say, that a person possessing an income for life of a certain sum, and another person of the same income which he derives from the interest of his own capital, can equally bear the same taxes?" A more obvious objection was put by Mr. Hobhouse: "The man who had an income of 1000*l.* per annum arising from capital, and the man who gained the same annual sum by a profession or business, surely ought not to be assessed in the same degree."* In the House of Lords, the argument, which left out of view the pressure upon industry, was used by lord Holland,—that a direct tax of this nature would be oppressive to the landed interest. "Could their lordships look forward to the prospect of their posterity becoming titled beggars? Their property was easily known, and they could not, if they were inclined, evade the tax. The whole weight of the tax must fall on those who should not be able to escape—in fact, on land-owners—on those who had ostensible possessions."† The measure of an Income-Tax was passed without any division in either House.

In the royal speech of the 20th of November, there were two references to the internal condition of Great Britain and Ireland which are of more than temporary importance: "The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonstrations of zeal and spirit among all ranks of my subjects, have deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coasts of this kingdom." The "demonstrations of zeal and spirit" had chiefly reference to the formation of Volunteer corps throughout the country. How imperfectly the zeal of the people was then seconded by the aid of the government may be collected from a letter of lord Cornwallis, in May, 1793. He was then Master-General of the Ordnance: "The only means by which the innumerable local corps in all parts of the country can be armed, is by providing balls for fowling-pieces."‡

The other noticeable passage in the royal speech is this: "In Ireland the rebellion which they [the enemy] had instigated has been curbed and repressed; the troops which they landed for its support have been compelled to surrender; and the armaments

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. cols. 23 and 25.

† *Ibid.*, col. 185.

‡ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 337.

since destined for the same purpose have, by the vigilance and activity of my squadrons, been captured or dispersed." The policy of curbing and repressing rebellion was now to be associated with a higher ambition in the British government. The first proposal to the British Parliament of a legislative union with Ireland, was conveyed in a passage of the King's message on the 22nd of January, recommending to the "Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection, essential for their common security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire."

During the progress of our narrative, from the year 1795, we have deferred any detailed notice of the condition of Ireland. In the next Chapter we shall endeavour to present a connected view of the circumstances which preceded the Rebellion; of the progress of that calamitous struggle; and of its final issue in the measure which has been a never-ceasing source of bitterness to Irish factions, but of the benefits of which to both countries no wise or honest politician can now doubt.

CHAPTER VI.

Ireland.—Comparative tranquillity after 1783.—Recall of lord Fitzwilliam.—United Irishmen.—Irish Directory.—Commencement of the Rebellion.—Suppression of the Rebellion.—Marquis Cornwallis Lord-Lieutenant.—Landing of a French force under Humbert.—Surrender of the French.—Napper Tandy.—The Union proposed.—Desire of the government for the relief of the Catholics.—Debates on the Union in the British and Irish Parliaments.—Lord Castlereagh.—Corruption of the Irish Parliament.—Grattan returns to his seat in the Irish House of Commons.—Articles of the Union proposed.—Arguments for and against the Union.—The Union completed.

THE great legislative measures for the relief of Ireland, which were passed in the period from 1779 to 1783, were succeeded by an interval of comparative quiet.* The question of Parliamentary Reform was indeed agitated in 1784 and in 1790, but without any approach to success in the divisions of the Lords and Commons who sat at Dublin. The general evils of the Representation were similar in principle to those of England. "Of three hundred members," said Mr. Grattan, "above two hundred are returned by individuals; from forty to fifty are returned by ten persons; several of the boroughs have no resident elector at all; and, on the whole, two-thirds of the representatives in the House of Commons are returned by less than one hundred persons."† But previous to 1793 there was an especial evil in the Representation of Ireland. Three-fourths of the people were Roman Catholics, paying their proportion of taxes, without any share in the representation or any control of the expenditure. Roman Catholics were excluded from the Irish Parliament by an English Act of 1691, the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary. By the Act of the first year of George II. they were deprived of the right of voting at elections. In 1793 Roman Catholics were admitted, by an Act of the Irish Parliament, to the exercise of the elective franchise. That the agitation for the removal of other civil disabilities would cease was scarcely to be expected. In 1795 Mr. Fox wrote, "To suppose it possible that now that they are electors they will long submit to be ineligible to Parliament, appears to me to be absurd beyond measure."‡ There were other particulars in which Roman Catholics laboured under

* See *ante*, vol. vi. p. 272.

† Fox—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 100.

‡ Grattan's speech, Feb. 11, 1793.

serious disadvantages. The laws of exclusion from many offices in great part remained.

There was a partial change in the English cabinet in 1794, by the introduction of three important statesmen, who, formerly attached to the party of Mr. Fox, seceded from him on questions connected with the French Revolution.* Earl Fitzwilliam became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Before his actual appointment it was a complaint against him that "he has pledged himself too far to recede, with respect to a total new system both of men and measures."† Great is the consternation when lord Fitzwilliam enters upon his office. Loud is "the creaking which some of the old worm-eaten furniture makes at its removal."‡ Lord Fitzwilliam, who arrived in Dublin on the 4th of January, 1795, immediately displaced, with compensation, some of the holders of office who were the most hostile to the plan which he contemplated for the government of Ireland. He entered upon his functions in the belief that the ministry would impose no restrictions upon him in carrying forward a full measure of Catholic emancipation. On the 12th of February, Grattan obtained leave, in the Irish House of Commons, to bring in a bill for the repeal of all the remaining disqualifications of Catholics. A fortnight later, earl Fitzwilliam was recalled, and earl Camden appointed in his place. The moderate Catholics anticipated the most disastrous results from a measure so decided on the part of the British cabinet. Dr. Hussey, the friend and correspondent of Burke, wrote to him on the 26th of February:—"The disastrous news of earl Fitzwilliam's recall is come, and Ireland is now on the brink of a civil war."§ He adds, with a temper as admirable as it was rare, "Every man that has anything to lose, or who loves peace and quiet, must now exert himself for the salvation of the country, and to keep the turbulent in order."

Although disappointed in their hopes, the Catholics, as a body, were not those whose turbulence most required to be kept down. A most formidable association, under the denomination of United Irishmen, was now being organized. Burke describes them as "those who, without any regard to religion, club all kinds of discontents together, in order to produce all kinds of disorders."|| By the end of 1796, this organization was becoming truly dangerous. "Many thousands, I am assured," writes Dr. Hussey to Burke, "are weekly sworn through the country, in such a secret

* *Ante*, p. 53.

† Lord Grenville to Thomas Grenville—"Court and Cabinets," vol. iii. p. 314.

‡ Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 271—Letter to Dr. Hussey, Feb. 4, 1795.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 282.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 314.

manner and form as to evade all the law in those cases."* In connection with some of the leaders of the United Irishmen, the expedition to Bantry Bay, in December, 1796, was undertaken. Through 1797 the northern districts were in a disturbed state. Houses were broken into and arms seized by bands of nightly marauders. At funerals, and at gatherings for football and other games, large numbers collected and marched in military array. The government was alarmed; the passions of those who professed sentiments of loyalty were roused; severity and intimidation, the dangerous remedies for discontent, were alone resorted to; martial law took the place of civil justice. The administrators of martial law were undisciplined troops of yeomanry, headed by ignorant and reckless officers. They made the government odious by their cruel oppressions. The remedy for disturbance was the stimulant to insurrection. From the couch from which he never expected to rise, Burke dictated the great lesson of true statesmanship at such a crisis: "The first duty of a State is to provide for its own conservation. Until that point is secured, it can preserve and protect nothing else. But, if possible, it has greater interest in acting according to strict law than even the subject himself. For, if the people see that the law is violated to crush them, they will certainly despise the law. They, or their party, will be easily led to violate it, whenever they can, by all the means in their power. Except in cases of direct war, whenever government abandons law, it proclaims anarchy."†

In August, 1797, the military severities of the north of Ireland were discontinued. The disturbances had there ceased. The schemes of rebellion, to be seconded by the landing of a French army, received a great discomfiture by the victory of Duncan, off Camperdown. But the efforts of the United Irishmen contemplated a wider field than the province of Ulster. The executive power of this extensive organization was a Directory. Its five members were Arthur O'Connor, lord Edward Fitzgerald (brother to the duke of Leinster), Oliver Bond, a merchant, Dr. Mac Nevin, a Catholic gentleman, and Thomas Addis Emmett, a barrister. The plans of general insurrection were disclosed to the Irish government, and arrests of the Leinster delegates, and of Bond, Mac Nevin, and Emmett were effected in March, at the house of Bond, in Dublin. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was absent from the meeting. O'Connor and O'Coigley, a priest, were in England discussing plans of sedition with "The London Corresponding Society." They were arrested on a charge of high treason, and were tried at

* Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 372.

† *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 393.

Maidstone on the 21st of May, when O'Connor was acquitted, and O'Coigley was convicted, and was executed. The vacancies in the Irish Directory were filled up, and a general rising on the 23rd of May was determined upon. The government had, on the 30th of March, issued a declaration that a traitorous conspiracy had manifested itself in acts of open rebellion, and that orders had been issued to the officers commanding his majesty's forces to employ them, with the utmost vigour and decision, for the suppression of the conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels, by the most summary and effectual measures.

The agitations of Ireland had gradually proceeded to such an excess, on either side, that they had ceased to be matter of compromise or of argument. The Whig leaders in the Irish Parliament had adopted a measure which, however rightly intended, amounted to a declaration that the contest was to be decided by physical force. On the 15th of May, 1797, Mr. Ponsonby brought forward a motion for the fundamental reform of the representation, upon the principle that all disabilities on account of religion be for ever abolished; that the privilege of returning members in the present form should cease; and that every county should be divided into districts, each consisting of 6000 houses, and each returning two members to Parliament. The government held this maxim: "You must subdue before you reform." It was on this occasion that Mr. Grattan said, "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it. We deprecate yours; you will persevere. Having no hope left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not attend the House of Commons." The true leaders of the people had abdicated. They were left to be acted upon by those who would have handed over their country to the French Directory. The people, left to the guidance of frantic enthusiasts, were to be betrayed by spies, to be tortured, to be plundered and massacred by a native army, which, upon taking the field in February, 1798, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was declared by him to be "in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

Lord Edward Fitzgerald had remained concealed for two months. He might have escaped had he been less obstinate in his attempt to carry through the plan of a general insurrection. On the 19th of May, when a party of military surrounded the house in Dublin where he was hidden, and their officer exhibited the warrant for his arrest, he madly resisted; mortally wounded a magistrate who accompanied the soldier, and was himself shot by major

Sirr, the town-major of Dublin. Lord Edward died of his wounds on the 5th of June. In the meantime the insurrection broke out in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. A night attack on the city was projected by the United Irishmen. Two brothers, of the name of Sheares, and other chiefs, were arrested on the 23rd of May. A large number of insurgents were collecting on the north and south of the metropolis. An immediate attack was expected. The garrison and the yeomanry were under arms during that night, stationed in the cattle-market. The scene has been described with some humour: "All the barristers, attorneys, merchants, bankers, revenue-officers, shopkeepers, students of the university, doctors, apothecaries and corporators, of an immense metropolis, in red coats, with a sprinkling of parsons, all doubled up together amidst bullock-stalls and sheep-pens, awaiting, in profound darkness, for invisible executioners to dispatch them without mercy, was not a situation to engender much hilarity." Yet in this motley assemblage there was hilarity. "The danger was considered imminent; the defence impracticable, yet there was a cheerful, thoughtless jocular, with which the English nation, under grave circumstances, are totally unacquainted."* The rebels had learnt that the yeomanry of Dublin were ready to receive them, and had deferred their attack, after destroying the mail-coaches that were approaching the city. Skirmishes between bands of rebels and the soldiery were then taking place daily. Martial law was proclaimed. The insurrection appeared to be somewhat quelled, when it broke out with unexpected fury in the county of Wexford. It was headed by a fanatical priest, John Murphy, who, in the progress of his military career, had persuaded his followers that he was invulnerable. The rebels were generally successful when they fought in small bodies. There were great conflicts, which might be termed battles; but the system of these armed bands was little fitted for encounters with regular troops. They were in want of ammunition. Round stones and balls of hardened clay were the substitutes for bullets. They endeavoured to make their own gunpowder, which of course failed in explosive force. By a rapid onset they sometimes seized the cannon of the royal troops, which they contrived to fire with lighted wisps of straw. Armed with the pike, they were, nevertheless, very formidable. Had they submitted to any command, the rebellion might have had other results than a sanguinary struggle, in which either side was disgraced by a ferocity which had all the attributes of barbarism. They chose their sta-

* Sir Jonah Barrington—"Historic Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 258.

tions on hills with a commanding prospect. Here they slept in the open air, both sexes intermingled, for many women were amongst them. Their commissariat was of the rudest description. When they could seize a herd of bullocks, or a solitary cow, they cut the carcase to pieces, without removing the hide, and each cooked the mangled lumps of flesh after his own fashion. Weather of unusual warmth and dryness was favourable to this rude campaigning.*

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to enter into details of the lamentable conflicts of the rebellion that commenced on the 23rd of May, and was almost entirely suppressed by the end of June in the districts where it had most raged. Wexford surrendered to the insurgents on the 30th of May; but it was retaken by sir John Moore on the 21st of June. The principal battles were those of Arklow, Ross, and Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, which town had surrendered to the rebels. On the 21st of June general Lake attacked the main body of the rebels at Vinegar Hill; dispersed them; and they never again rallied. The desolation of the districts to which this rebellion was confined, and particularly that of the county of Wexford, was excessive. The sum demanded by the loyalists as compensation for the destruction of their property was nearly a million and a quarter, of which Wexford claimed one half. The massacres, the military executions, were frightful. No quarter was given to the rebels; and when the contest assumed the sanguinary character of a religious warfare, the cry of revenge on "the bloody Orange dogs" was the signal for excesses which can better be imagined than described.

Earl Camden had been recalled, to give place to marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed to the offices of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief. He arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June. He found that troops had been landed from England; and that general Lake's arrangements for attacking the rebels on the 21st had rendered it unnecessary that he himself should proceed immediately to join the army. One of his first acts was to interfere to prevent the rash and often unjust severities of inferior officers of the militia and yeomanry. He issued a positive order against the infliction of punishment, under any pretence whatever, not authorized by the order of a general officer, in pursuance of the sentence of a general Court-Martial.† This order was signed by viscount Castlereagh, who was then temporarily filling the office of Secretary. Cornwallis wrote to the duke of Portland, "It shall be

* Gordon—"History of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 443-445.

† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 355.

one of my very first objects to soften the ferocity of our troops, which I am afraid, in the Irish corps at least, is not confined to the private soldiers." * He further says, "I shall use my utmost endeavours to suppress the folly which has been too prevalent in this quarter, of substituting the word *Catholicism* instead of Jacobinism as the foundation of the present rebellion." In another letter about the same time, he writes, in the confidence of old intimacy, "The ardour of our friends, and their folly in endeavouring to make it a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops, who delight in murder, most powerfully counteract all plans of conciliation." It is to the Irish militia that he especially applies these bitter words—a body of men that he describes in his official despatches as "contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance is made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches, either with or without arms, come within their power." † They had encouragement from their superiors: "The principal persons of this country, and the members of both Houses of Parliament, are, in general, averse to all acts of clemency." Whilst himself advocating the most lenient measures, the Lord-Lieutenant writes—"Lord Castlereagh is a very able and good young man, and is of great use to me." The accusation so long repeated by party writers, that lord Castlereagh was the supporter of the system of repression by cruel and indiscriminate punishment, has about the same truth in it as another favourite assertion of Irish declaimers, that the rebellion was encouraged by Mr. Pitt, that he might have a plausible argument for the Union of the two nations. At the end of July the overt rebellion was almost at an end; but there was no law for town or country but martial law. "The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders which are still committed by the rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side. . . . The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood; and the conversation, even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., &c.; and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company." ‡ This is the evidence of the chief administrator of Ireland—a brave soldier and a sound statesman. It is the most impartial testimony that can be desired to show wherein the great *political* evil of Ireland consisted—"the narrow hard-heartedness of a monopoly," which had banished from the minds of the leading men of the nation, "habits of moderation,

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 357.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 399.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 371.

lenity, equity, and justice."* But political discontents, and religious animosities, kept alive by French influence, which was denominated Jacobinism, were scarcely sufficient to have caused the revolt of several hundred thousands of the peasantry, both Catholics and Protestants, had there not been a great *social* evil which made men ready to fight for some vague good which was to be effected under a new order of things. Of the proximate incitements to the Irish rebellion, some allege that Catholicism was the chief. Others attribute the outbreak to Jacobinism. But no writer of those days hints that *Landlordism* kept the bulk of the people in a worse than Egyptian bondage; held them in ignorance of the real sources of their misery; exacted from them the highest rent that could be obtained by the sub-division of the land; and by this multiplication of small holdings left them to multiply upon the barest amount of subsistence, and with a total absence of the ordinary decencies and comforts of the humblest life. When the bulk of the people are wholly wretched in their domestic condition—when the moral ties that unite master to servant, and landlord to tenant, rest no longer upon the principle of reciprocal need and reciprocal obligation, but upon enforced obedience and slavish use and wont, then allegiance to the state is very easily loosened, and men become rebels without knowing exactly for what object they rebel. The leaders are hanged; the multitudes are shot down; the clique that governs Ireland by "monopoly" makes way for imperial legislators; another generation comes, and civil disabilities are removed; but still disaffection is rampant. Political agitation throws its veil over the social evil; and only after the pressure of a terrible calamity is it discovered that just government cannot save a people from ruin, under a systematic violation of those economic laws through which the earth yields its abundance, and without which the rain cannot fertilize or the sun ripen.

The sound discretion which the government had evinced in placing the chief military command of Ireland in the hands of an experienced officer, was sufficiently manifested in a very dangerous crisis at the end of August. A French squadron of three frigates had sailed from Rochelle on the 4th. On the 22nd it had landed eleven hundred men in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo. Eleven hundred men formed a small force with which to venture upon invasion. The French Directory had purposed to send a second division of six thousand men, but some financial derangements prevented its embarkation; and Humbert, the general of the eleven hundred, was left without support.† He was

* Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 272.

† Thiers, livre xl.

prepared for the support of a disaffected population. He could scarcely have reckoned upon a further support in the cowardice of a large portion of a royal army—volunteers and militia—who fled before him without waiting to be assailed, and who never rested in their flight till they had put eighty miles between themselves and the enemy. General Hutchinson had assembled two or three thousand men at Castlebar. The French, with a large number of the country people, advanced to the attack; and “began a rapid charge with the bayonet in very loose order. At this moment the Galway volunteers, the Kilkenny and Longford militias, ran away.”* The writer of this account expresses his opinion that there was disaffection in the two militia regiments—that they were Catholics and sworn United Irishmen. The more rational solution of the conduct of these men is, that they were enervated by the licence of tyrannizing over defenceless people, when once brought to face a regular and determined foe. In their precipitate retreat the depredations they committed on the road exceeded all description; and they raised a spirit of discontent and disaffection which did not before exist in that part of the country.† Upon learning that the French had landed, lord Cornwallis immediately determined to take the command of the main army himself. Assembling troops of the line he made a rapid march from Dublin; but he so arranged his forces that he could cover the country, and afford an opportunity of rallying to any small bodies of soldiery that might be defeated. Humbert, after the affair of Castlebar, had moved into the heart of the country; and on the 8th of September had reached Ballynamuck, in the county of Longford. Here he was encountered by the troops under general Lake, and after an action of half an hour, the French surrendered at discretion. Bartholomew Teeling, formerly a member of the Irish Directory, but now aide-de-camp to Humbert, was amongst the prisoners. He said that “he conceived another column had attempted to sail, but had been prevented; that when they found themselves unsupported at Castlebar, they resolved to attempt something daring, and to march for Dublin upon speculation of insurrection.”‡ With an infatuation which no reverses could extinguish, the leaders of the United Irishmen who had as yet escaped the executioner, were urging the French government to new attempts which might keep up the hopes of the insurgents. On the sixteenth of September a

* Cornwallis—“Correspondence,” vol. ii. p. 393. Cooke to Wickham.

† Cornwallis—“Correspondence,” vol. ii. p. 396. Captain Taylor (secretary to Cornwallis) to Viscount Castlereagh.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 404.

French brig landed Napper Tandy and some men on the north-west coast of Donegal. He issued manifestoes; but found that he had arrived too late. On the 11th of October, the armament that was intended to co-operate with Humbert appeared off the coast of Donegal. It had sailed from Brest on the 17th of September; the squadron consisting of a seventy-four-gun ship, eight frigates, and two smaller vessels. Sir John Borlase Warren, with a superior force, had pursued the French, and after an engagement of three hours, in which the enemy fought with a desperate bravery, the ship of the line (the *Hoche*) and one frigate surrendered. The remaining frigates had made all sail to escape; but they were subsequently taken, with the exception of two. On board the *Hoche* was captured the famous Irish leader, Wolfe Tone. He was tried by court-martial in Dublin; was sentenced to death; cut his throat in prison; and died on the 19th of November.

The rebellion was at an end; but its termination brought no wisdom to those who believed that severity was the only mode of establishing obedience to authority. Lord Cornwallis speaks with honest indignation about the nonsensical clamour against his lenity. From England, lord Castlereagh had to learn that it was "the universal persuasion that lenient measures had been carried too far." Lord Castlereagh answered the reproach by stating that exclusive of all persons tried at the assizes, lord Cornwallis had decided personally upon 400 cases; that out of 131 condemned to death, 81 had been executed; and that 418 persons had been transported or banished, in pursuance of the sentences of courts-martial, since lord Cornwallis had arrived in Ireland.* On the 6th of October, an Act of General Pardon received the royal assent; its exceptions were very numerous. The exceptions were calculated to include nearly all the leaders who had taken an active part in the Rebellion; but the greater number of these obtained a conditional pardon, and their followers had little to apprehend from the terrors of the law. Some of those who had perished by the executioner were objects of commiseration. In several cases, as in that of the two brothers, Sheares, the determined traitor involved his weak disciple in his fate; and no pity was shown by the executive to the wretched man who said, when too late, "I will lie under any conditions the government may impose upon me. I will go to America if the government will allow me, or I will stay here and be the most zealous friend they have."† The

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 90.

† See a facsimile of the letter of Henry Sheares to Barrington, written a few hours before his execution. "Historic Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 266.

brothers died hand in hand; and some honest tears were shed for them. For the banished, too, there was deep feeling. Many a heart responded to the sympathy of Thomas Campbell, when, having met Anthony Maccan, one of the proscribed, at Altona, he wrote a lament for "The Exile of Erin" who still

"Sang the bold anthem of Erin go Bragh."

During the short period of this unhappy conflict, it is calculated that seventy thousand perished, either in the field, by military execution, or by popular vengeance. Of these it is held that fifty thousand were insurgents; and that twenty thousand were soldiers and loyalists. Of the miseries that resulted from the burning of houses; from flogging for the purpose of extorting confession; and from "free quarters, which comprehended universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country." *—who can form an estimate?

In the king's message to the British parliament on the 22nd of January, 1799, the proposed measure of the Union was first formally announced. † A similar announcement, though in less direct terms, was made by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish parliament, in the speech from the throne on the same 22d of January. The question was not hastily taken up by Mr. Pitt. It formed the constant subject of correspondence between the English ministry and lord Cornwallis. In September, 1798, whilst the Rebellion still demanded the utmost vigilance of the Lord-Lieutenant, he wrote to the prime-minister, "The principal people here are so frightened that they would, I believe, readily consent to a Union, but then it must be a Protestant Union." ‡ Cornwallis saw, from the determination of the leading persons in Ireland to resist the extension of its operation to the Catholics, that the measure would be incomplete. He determined, however, "not to submit to the insertion of any clause that shall make the exclusion of the Catholics a fundamental part of the Union." He was "convinced that until the Catholics are admitted into a general participation of rights (which when incorporated with the British government they cannot abuse), there will be no peace or safety in Ireland." § However Mr. Pitt and lord Cornwallis might be anxious to connect with the Union a great and final measure of relief to the Catholics, it is clear that no pledge was given on the part of the Irish government that disabilities for civil office on account of religion should then come to an end. Mr. Pitt, on the 17th of November—about

* Cornwallis to Ross—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 89.

† *Ante*, p. 107.

‡ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 416.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 417.

two months before he brought the proposed measures before the British parliament—wished that in Ireland “time should be given for communication to leading individuals, and for disposing the public mind.” In writing to the Lord-Lieutenant he says, “Mr. Elliott when he brought me your letter, stated very strongly all the arguments which he thought might induce us to admit the Catholics to parliament and office; but I confess he did not satisfy me of the practicability of such a measure at this time, or of the propriety of attempting it. With respect to a provision for the Catholic clergy, and some arrangement respecting tithes, I am happy to find a uniform opinion in favour of the proposal among all the Irish I have seen; and I am more and more convinced that those measures, with some effectual mode to enforce the residence of *all* ranks of the Protestant clergy, offer the best chance of gradually putting an end to the evils most felt in Ireland.”* Pitt doubted the practicability of Catholic emancipation by an Irish parliament. He feared the discontents of the Irish Protestants at such a measure. The principal Catholics themselves, as Cornwallis believed, did not wish the question of admitting Catholics to parliament to be agitated at that time. “They do not think the Irish parliament capable of entering into a cool and dispassionate consideration of their case. They trust that the United Parliament will, at a proper time, allow them every privilege that may be consistent with the Protestant establishment.”† After a little while the Lord-Lieutenant thought he had been too sanguine when he looked to the good inclinations of the Catholics. They made no violent opposition to the measure; some gave it a very cold support. But although no pledge was given by the government, the hopes which had been encouraged by the highest in office placed Mr. Pitt under a responsibility which he felt most deeply, when resistance to a measure without which the Union was a delusion arose out of the personal feelings of the sovereign. The history of the first thirty years of the nineteenth century offers a painful exhibition of the dangers and miseries that resulted from the obstinate though conscientious views of his duty entertained by George III. His example was pleaded by his successor, whose conscience was far from tender, and it always afforded a rallying point for the bigotry that called itself sound Protestantism. Mr. Pitt found himself powerless, not only to propose a general measure of Catholic relief, but even to deal as he wished with tithes and a provision for the Catholic clergy. The chief difficulty in carrying the Union in its incompleteness arose out of the necessity

* Cornwallis—“Correspondence,” vol. ii. p. 442.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 8.

of propitiating the placemen and boroughmongers, whose power and influence would be abridged by a measure which, in a great degree, would take what was called "the management of the country" out of their hands. To Mr. Pitt lord Cornwallis wrote, "That every man in this most corrupt country should consider the important question before us in no other point of view than as it may be likely to promote his own private objects of ambition or avarice, will not surprise you." *

The debates in the parliament sitting at Westminster, and in the parliament sitting at Dublin, on the question of a Legislative Union, continuing as they did through two sessions, are necessarily too diffusive to admit of any satisfactory abstract. The national character is strongly expressed in the mode in which the measure was discussed on either side of the water. In the British House of Commons, Mr. Pitt is the calm and dignified exponent of a statesman's policy. In the Irish House of Commons, Mr. Grattan is the glowing impersonation of a patriot's impulses. In the British parliament there is an almost unanimous opinion of the necessity of the proposed Union; and those who differ from the majority abstain from invective. In the Irish parliament the supporters and opposers are more evenly balanced; and the personal hostility is displayed, not only in the bitterest denunciations, but in actual or threatened appeals to the last and worst argument, the duellist's pistol. When the king's message of the 22d of January was taken into consideration by the Commons at Westminster, the Amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Sheridan, was negatived without a division. To the Address proposed in answer to the royal speech at Dublin, Mr. Ponsonby moved an Amendment, which was carried—after a debate which continued twenty-one hours—by a majority of five. It was to declare their intention of maintaining the right of the people of Ireland to a free and independent legislature, resident within the kingdom. This was decisive as to the immediate result in Ireland of the ministerial proposition. But Mr. Pitt was not to be deterred from advocating the measure in the assembly where he reigned paramount. On the 31st of January, the king's message was taken into further consideration. Mr. Pitt laid before the House the general nature and outline of the plan, which in his conscience he thought would tend in the strongest manner to insure the safety and happiness of both kingdoms. If the house should agree with him in opinion, he should propose, "that its determination should remain recorded as that by which the Parliament of Great Britain

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 8.

is ready to abide, leaving to the Legislature of Ireland to reject or to adopt it hereafter, upon a full consideration of the subject." * The Resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt were discussed in both Houses during nearly three months, and then finally agreed to. On the 26th of April both Houses attended the king with their joint Address; and his majesty expressed the greatest satisfaction; declaring his intention of embracing the first favourable opportunity of communicating to the parliament of Ireland, the propositions laid before him, as the basis of a settlement to be established by mutual consent, and founded on a sense of mutual interest and affection.

These were lofty words. The settlement "to be established by mutual consent" was really accomplished by a system of which the "mutual interest and affection" was described by lord Cornwallis in a letter of the 8th of June: "My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work; and am supported only by the reflection, that without a Union the British empire must be dissolved." † On the 29th of March, lord Cornwallis deprecated, in a letter to the duke of Portland, the introduction of the measure to the Irish Parliament until another session: "I am assured that the number of parliamentary converts is not by any means as yet so numerous as to render a second discussion safe." Lord Cornwallis had to work the system of "negotiating and jobbing," by promising an Irish Peerage, or a lift in that Peerage, or even an English Peerage, to a crowd of eager competitors for honours. The other specific for making converts was not yet in complete operation. Lord Castlereagh had the plan in his portfolio—borough proprietors to be compensated; the primary and secondary interests in counties to be compensated; fifty barristers in parliament, who always considered a seat as the road to preferment, to be compensated; the purchasers of seats to be compensated; individuals connected either by residence or property with Dublin, to be compensated. "Lord Castlereagh considered that 1,500,000*l.* would be required to effect all these compensations." ‡ The sum actually paid to the borough-mongers alone was 1,260,000*l.* Fifteen thousand pounds were allotted to each borough; and "was apportioned amongst the various patrons." The greater number of these dealers in mock-representation had only two boroughs each. Ten distinguished persons

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 256.

† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 102.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

had forty-five seats amongst them. Lord Downshire had seven seats; lord Ely had six seats. These patriotic noblemen were fit patients for the infallible remedy for the cure of tender consciences. In July, 1799, Cornwallis writes to Dundas, "The language which lord Downshire has held respecting the Union has done great mischief. There cannot be a stronger argument for the measure than the overgrown parliamentary power of five or six of our pampered boroughmongers, who are become most formidable to government by their long possession of the entire patronage of the Crown in their respective districts." There were a few Tritons of the minnows to be dealt with, as well as these monsters of the deep. Of lord Castlereagh, the noble author of "Sketches of Statesmen" says, "The complaints made of his Irish administration were well grounded, as regarded the corruption of the parliament by which he accomplished the Union, though he had certainly no direct hand in the bribery practised."* Not till cabinets have been unlocked after sixty years of secrecy, is it safe to assert of any politician that he had not sought the most direct course to his purpose, in the belief that the end would justify the means. On the 2nd of January, 1799, lord Castlereagh wrote to Mr. Wickham of the English Treasury, "Already we feel the want, and indeed the absolute necessity, of the *primum mobile*. We cannot give that activity to the press which is necessary. We have good materials amongst the young barristers, but we cannot expect them to waste their time and starve into the bargain." "5000*l.* in bank notes by the first messenger" was a moderate demand.† At the end of the year the duke of Portland was requested to assist in the same way, and to the same extent. "The advantages have been important."‡ The Irish Parliament met on the 15th of January, 1800. Something more direct than paying young barristers for leading articles had become necessary. Castlereagh, on the 27th of February, again calls upon the ministering angel of the Secret Service money to help him in his troubles: "I see no prospect of converts; the Opposition are steady to each other. I hope we shall be able to keep our friends true. A few votes might have a very injurious effect. We require *your assistance*, and you *must* be prepared to enable us to fulfil the expectations which it was impossible to avoid creating at the moment of difficulty."§ It had become a contest of bribery on both sides. There was an "Opposition stock-purse," as lord Castlereagh describes the fund against which he was to struggle with

* "Statesmen," &c., by lord Brougham, 2nd series, p. 124.

† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 27.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

the deeper purse at Whitehall. He writes to the duke of Portland in this critical time, "We have undoubted proofs, though not such as we can disclose, that they are enabled to offer as high as 5000*l.* for an individual vote, and I lament to state that there are individuals remaining amongst us that are likely to yield to this temptation." * But there were other modes, to which we have alluded, of strengthening the government than the coarse gratifications administered to those who had "an itching palm." During the administration of lord Cornwallis, twenty-nine Irish Peerages were created; of which seven only were unconnected with the question of Union. Six English Peerages were granted on account of Irish services; and there were nineteen promotions in the Irish Peerage, earned by similar assistance. †

At the opening of the Irish Parliament on the 15th of January, in the speech which the Lord-Lieutenant delivered from the throne, not a word was uttered on the subject of the Union. Lord Castlereagh stated that it was the intention of the government to make the Union the subject of a distinct communication to parliament. A vacancy had occurred for the close borough of Wicklow. On the day of the meeting of the Houses the writ was delivered to the Returning Officer, and Mr. Grattan was returned before midnight. An Amendment upon the Address had been debated through the night, and before it was concluded, at seven o'clock of the morning of the 16th, the new member for Wicklow, who was taken from a bed of sickness, was led into the House of Commons. Every member rose from his seat: Grattan was too feeble to stand. He delivered an oration that appeared like the prophetic utterance of a dying man, having asked permission to address the House without rising. It thus concluded: "The question is not now such as occupied you of old—not old Poynings, not speculation, not plunder, not an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a Reform bill—it is your being,—it is more—it is your life to come." The great orator produced no permanent effect. There was a majority of forty-two in favour of a Union, when the House divided at ten o'clock on that morning. On the 5th of February, lord Castlereagh read a message from the Lord-Lieutenant, communicating the Resolutions of the parliament of Great Britain in the previous year. The question was debated from four o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, to one o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th. During that time the streets of Dublin were the scene of a great riot, and the peace of the city was maintained only by troops of cavalry. The bitter personalities be-

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 182.

† See the list in Cornwallis's "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 318.

tween Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, and Mr. Grattan, gave rise to a duel, in which Mr. Corry was wounded. On the division of the 6th there was a majority of forty-three in favour of the Union.

The great question was virtually decided, as regarded the votes of the parliament of Ireland. In the parliament of Great Britain, Mr. Pitt, on the 2nd of April, laid on the table of the House of Commons, the joint Addresses to the king of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, with Resolutions containing the terms proposed by them for an entire Union of both kingdoms. In the House of Lords, a similar message was presented by lord Grenville. The first article of the proposed Union provided that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should, upon the 1st of January, 1801, be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The United Kingdom was to be represented in one and the same parliament. In the United Parliament there were to be twenty-eight temporal Peers, elected for life by the Irish Peerage; and four spiritual Peers, taking their places in rotation. There were to be one hundred members of the Lower House; each county returning two, as well as the cities of Dublin and Cork. The university returned one, and thirty-one boroughs each returned one. Of these boroughs twenty-three remained close boroughs, till the Reform Bill of 1831. Those of the borough patrons who could return one member to the Imperial Parliament had no compensation for losing the power of returning two members. The Churches of England and Ireland were to be united. The proportion of Revenue to be levied was fixed at fifteen for Great Britain, and two for Ireland, for the succeeding twenty years. Countervailing duties upon imports to each country were fixed by a minute tariff, but some commercial restrictions were to be removed, in the confidence that, with the kingdoms really and solidly united "to increase the commercial wealth of one country is not to diminish that of the other." On the 21st of April, when Mr. Pitt explained the details of the measure, Mr. Grey moved an Address to his majesty, "praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland on that measure can be ascertained." This motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and six. There were other debates in both Houses. On the 8th of May a joint Address of the Lords and Commons to the king was determined on, signifying their approbation of the Resolutions, and congratulating his majesty upon the near prospect of the accomplishment of a work which, as the common father of his people, he

had declared to be so near his heart. In the Irish parliament the subsequent proceedings gave occasion for brilliant displays of oratory. Grattan fought the battle to the last. Whatever we may now think of his prophecies of ruin to Ireland,—especially of those which are based upon antiquated notions of commercial protection—we cannot refuse our admiration of an eloquence inspired by real patriotism. On the motion of the 26th of May, that the Bill be committed, he thus concluded his speech: “Identification is a solid and imperial maxim, necessary for the preservation of freedom, necessary for that of empire; but, without union of hearts—with a separate government, and without a separate Parliament, identification is extinction, is dishonour, is conquest—not identification. Yet I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead—though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty:—

‘Thou art not conquer’d; beauty’s ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death’s pale flag is not advanced there.’

While a plank of the vessel sticks together, I will not leave her. Let the courtier present his flimsy sail, and carry the light bark of his faith with every new breath of wind—I will remain anchored here—with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom, faithful to her fall.”*

It is impossible not to feel a deep sympathy with the great assertors of Irish nationality at this eventful period—with such as Grattan, Ponsonby, Plunkett, Bushe. The patriotic party of Ireland had not seen half a century of parliamentary existence. It first successfully asserted itself in 1753. In thirty years after, it established the legislative independence of the country, under the leader who now declared himself “faithful to her fall.” But it is as impossible not to acknowledge that the Settlement of 1782 was a very imperfect measure. “It leaves,” said Mr. Pitt, “the two countries with separate and independent legislatures, connected only with this tie, that the third estate in both countries is the same—that the executive government is the same—that the crown exercises its power of assenting to Irish Acts of Parliament, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, and by the advice of British ministers.” Mr. Pitt then asked, whether this is a sufficient tie to unite the two countries in time of peace; whether in time of war it is sufficient to consolidate their strength against a common

* “Grattan’s Speeches,” vol. iv. p. 21.

enemy; to guard against local jealousies; to give to both nations an increase of strength and prosperity.† But the English minister gave very precise indications of more especial benefits which he anticipated from a Union, as regarded questions of contending sects or parties. "Until the kingdoms are united, any attempts to make regulations here for the internal state of Ireland must be a violation of her independence." He looked to the dangers of Ireland "in the hostile divisions of its sects; in the animosities existing between ancient settlers and original inhabitants; in the ignorance and want of civilization which marks that country more than almost any other country in Europe." He maintained that a complete Union was the only remedy: "Everyone, I say, who reflects upon these circumstances must agree with me in thinking, that there is no cure but in the formation of a general imperial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices and un-inflamed by the passions, of that distracted country." †

The Union Bill passed the Irish House of Commons at ten o'clock on the night of the 7th of June. Sir Jonah Barrington describes the scene with great pomp of words. Lord Castlereagh, "tame, cold-blooded," moving the third reading; the Speaker, Foster, "looking steadily around on the last agony of the expiring parliament;" putting the question "as many as are of opinion that this Bill do pass say Aye;" and then, "with an eye averted from the object which he hated," proclaiming, with a subdued voice, "the Ayes have it." "The fatal sentence was now pronounced—for an instant he stood statue-like, flung the Bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit." ‡ A more sober narrative relates that when the House adjourned, the Speaker walked to his own residence, followed by forty-one members, uncovered and in deep silence; bowed to the crowd before he entered his doors; and "then the whole assemblage dispersed, without uttering a word." § The Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland was completed in both parliaments; and the king, on closing the session at Westminster on the 29th of July, said, "This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign."

The halcyon time was far distant. Cornwallis saw the danger

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 263.

† *Ibid.* vol. xxxiv. cols. 263 and 270.

‡ "Historic Memoirs of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 369.

§ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 251.

that would infallibly attend a continued attempt to govern Ireland upon principles of exclusion: "This country could not be saved without the Union, but you must not take it for granted that it will be saved by it. Much care and management will be necessary; and if the British government place their confidence in an Irish faction, all will be ruined." *

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 249.

CHAPTER VII.

India.—Lord Mornington Governor-General.—Arthur Wellesley.—War with Tippoo.—Capture of Seringapatam.—Bonaparte in Egypt.—March to Syria.—Jaffa.—Siege of Acre.—Battle of Aboukir.—Bonaparte hears of the defeats of the French.—He leaves Egypt and arrives in Paris.—The French Directory.—Revolution of the Eighteenth Brumaire.—Overthrow of the Directory by Bonaparte.—British Expedition to Holland.—New Constitution in France.—Bonaparte First Consul.—The First Consul's letter to the King.—Lord Grenville's hostile answer.—High price of Corn in England.—Distress and Riots.—Injudicious attempts to regulate prices.—Bonaparte's civil administration.—He assumes the state of a sovereign.—Italy.—Bonaparte takes the command of the army.—The Campaign.—Battle of Marengo.—Campaign under Moreau in Germany.—Peace of Luneville.

BONAPARTE was shut up in Egypt. To conquer the country,—to establish a sovereignty that might ultimately make him the master of India,—was a project of romantic grandeur. But its immediate realization had become an impossibility. The battle of the Nile had dissipated some of these dreams. Nevertheless, on the 26th of January, 1799, Bonaparte addressed a letter from Cairo to Tippoo Sulthan: "You have been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of releasing and relieving you from the iron yoke of England." Within a few months from the date of this letter, Tippoo was slain in the defence of Seringapatam, and his kingdom of Mysore came to an end.

Sir John Shore, afterwards lord Teignmouth, succeeded earl Cornwallis in the government of India. During his administration the two sons of Tippoo, who had been taken as hostages for the due performance of their father's engagements, were given up, however doubtful might have been the continued amity of the Sulthan. In 1798, lord Teignmouth was succeeded by lord Mornington, afterwards created marquis Wellesley. At the head of the Indian government was now a man of splendid abilities, and of vigour of character well fitted for action in any great crisis. He had a sound adviser, not only in military affairs, but in political, in his younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, then in his thirtieth year, who held the rank of colonel. The "Supplementary Dispatches," edited by the present duke of Wellington, exhibit very strikingly how, at a very early period of his great career, the mind

of this remarkable man was formed to embrace the largest views with the closest attention to the most minute detail. From his arrival in India as the colonel of an infantry regiment in 1797, to his acceptance of a responsible command in 1799, we may trace the same qualities which, more than any other man, fitted him for an encounter with the genius of Bonaparte. Arthur Wellesley's regiment, the 33rd, formed part of an army assembled at Vellore, in November, 1798, under the command of general Harris. Lord Mornington had endeavoured, without effect, to detach Tippoo from the dangerous influence of the agents of the French government. The language of the Governor-General was conciliatory, but it was firm. His proposal to negotiate was met by evasions. Tippoo continued to rely upon the assistance of the French. "The providence of God, and the victorious arms of the British nation, frustrated his vain hopes, and checked the presumptuous career of the French in Egypt, at the moment when he anxiously expected their arrival on the coast of Malabar."* He rejected every pacific overture. General Harris accordingly entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, 1799. The ally of the English, the Nizam of the Deccan, sent a large contingent to join the army; and this force, to which the 33rd regiment was attached, was placed under the command of colonel Wellesley.

The novelty, no less than the magnitude, of these operations, appears to have impressed the young commander of the Nizam's army with a feeling of wonder which inexperience is not ashamed to display. The British grand army and the Nizam's army marched in two columns parallel to each other. "The march of these two armies was almost in the form of a square or oblong, of which the front and rear were formed of cavalry, and about two or three miles in extent; the right and left (owing to the immense space taken up in the column by field-pieces, drawn by bullocks), about six or seven miles. In this square went everything belonging to the army. . . . You will have some idea of what there was in that space when I state to you the number of bullocks that I know were in the public service." These he computes at sixty thousand. The Nizam's army had twenty-five thousand bullocks loaded with grain; besides elephants, camels, bullocks, carts, belonging to individuals, beyond all calculation. "You may have some idea of the thing when I tell you that, when all were together, there was a multitude in motion which covered eighteen square miles."† The Bombay army joined these two moving multitudes; and after sev-

* Declaration of the Governor-General in Council, 22nd February, 1799.

† "Supplementary Dispatches," vol. i. p. 240.

eral encounters with the forces of Tippoo, the united armies had taken up a position before Seringapatam. A series of successful attacks upon the enemy's posts enabled the breaching batteries to be erected at a short distance from the walls; and the breach was sufficiently complete for the city to be stormed on the 4th of May. It was in the possession of the besiegers within two hours. Tippoo was killed in one of the gateways. His body was found among five hundred others, piled in a very narrow compass. Colonel Wellesley's letter to the Governor-General is very characteristic. "It was impossible to expect that, after the labour which the troops had undergone in working up to this place, and the various successes they had had in six different affairs with Tippoo's troops, in all of which they had come to the bayonet with them, they should not have looked to the plunder of this place. Nothing therefore can have exceeded what was done on the night of the 4th. . . . I came in to take the command on the morning of the 5th; and, by the greatest exertion, by hanging, flogging, &c., &c., in the course of that day, I restored order among the troops, and I hope I have gained the confidence of the people."* Colonel Wellesley congratulates his brother "upon having brought the war to a most fortunate conclusion in the course of about two months, and of having destroyed the greatest enemy the British nation ever had in India, and one whose powers were most formidable." The territories of Tippoo were divided amongst the English, the Nizam, and a descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, who had been dispossessed by Hyder. Colonel Wellesley was appointed governor of Seringapatam; and, during several years, he was employed in the organization of the civil and military administration of Mysore.

When Bonaparte wrote to Tippoo at the end of January, 1799, the Porte had declared war against France. Jezzar, the pasha of Acre, had received orders from the sultan to commence hostilities against the French, and he had seized El Arish, on the borders of Egypt. The war against the invaders of the dominions of the sultan was to be carried on with vigour. An army was collecting in Syria; another army was to be landed at Alexandria; in the spring they were to operate in combination. Bonaparte resolved to anticipate these movements, by attacking the fortified places in Syria where troops and stores were being gathered together. He thought the reduction of these positions would be soon effected; that he should add the conquest of Syria to that of Egypt; become master of the Euphrates as he had become master of the

* "Supplementary Dispatches," vol. i. p. 212.

Nile; and then have all the communications with India open to him. On the 1st of February, his army, consisting of about thirteen thousand men, entered the Desert. He had mounted one of his regiments on fleet dromedaries, each dromedary carrying two men, seated back to back. The French on the march followed the course of the Mediterranean. El Arish surrendered to them on the 18th of February, and Gaza surrendered on the 25th. On the 3rd of March they had reached Jaffa, the ancient Joppa. This place was defended by a thick wall, flanked with towers; and contained a garrison of more than four thousand men. It was taken by assault; and for thirty hours was delivered over to pillage and massacre. Something followed, more horrible even than the ordinary atrocities of warfare. Several thousand of the garrison were prisoners. "Bonaparte," says Thiers, "decided upon a terrible measure, which is the sole cruel act of his life. Transported into a barbarous country, he had involuntarily adopted its measures. He caused these prisoners to pass under the edge of the sword."* The justification alleged is, that the French had no means of sending them to Egypt; that the army was itself in want of rations; and that to let them go free would be to increase the number of their foes. The decision was not taken upon the single authority of Bonaparte. It was debated for three days in councils of war; and then the prisoners were marched out from the camp in parties to the sand hills around Jaffa, and there put to death by volleys of musketry, or by the bayonet.

Before the French marched from Jaffa, the plague had made its appearance. Hospitals were established there; and the army moved forward to Acre. Jezzar had resisted the solicitations of the French to become their friend; and had determined to defend the strong place in which he was shut up. In the gulf of Acre was sir Sidney Smith, with two English ships of war. He had captured some vessels bringing along the coast from Egypt some of the heavy artillery of the French army; and these were landed for the defence of Acre. A French emigrant officer, colonel Philippeaux, who had been a fellow-student with Bonaparte in the military school, co-operated with sir Sidney Smith in this gallant defence. A small breach having been made, the French ventured upon an assault on the 25th of March. They were arrested by a counterscarp and a fosse. For two months was Acre vainly attempted to be taken. In April, an army from Damascus had crossed the Jordan for the relief of Acre. Kleber, with a small number of troops, first encountered this force of thirty thousand,

* "Révolution Française," livre xliii.

chiefly cavalry. He maintained his ground until the arrival of Bonaparte and Murat with effectual aid. The Mussulmans were completely routed on the plain of Esdraelon, between Mount Hermon and Mount Thabor. Bonaparte then hurried back to Acre. The English and Turks, during the temporary suspension of assaults, had constructed intrenchments outside the town. In the early part of May, the French repeatedly attacked these works, but without success. On the 7th of May, a Turkish fleet with reinforcements appeared in sight. The place must be stormed before the reinforcements could land. It was stormed on the 7th; it was stormed on the 8th; it was stormed on the 10th. Bonaparte was held at bay. On the 21st, the camp before Acre was broken up. On his return march to Egypt, from Cesarea to Jaffa, the whole country was set on fire. The Turks and Arabs hung on the French rear, and killed every straggler. The sick dropped on the burning sand, unable to keep up with their comrades. At Jaffa the army halted. What was to be done with the sick in the hospitals? Thiers gives one version of a story that brought as much odium upon Bonaparte as the massacre of the Turkish prisoners: "Bonaparte said to the physician Desgenettes, that it would be much more humane to administer some opium to them, than to leave them alive. The physician made this answer, 'My business is to cure and not to kill.' No opium was administered; and the fact only served for the propagation of an unworthy calumny, now destroyed."* A French historian, Poujoulat, who had travelled in Palestine, does not doubt that between three and four hundred sick and wounded were poisoned. Bonaparte himself denied to O'Meara the poisoning even of "a few *miserables*, who could not recover." But he added, "Not that I think it would have been a crime had opium been given to them; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue."†

Bonaparte returned to Cairo, assuming to himself all the honours of a conqueror. It is difficult to determine whether his proclamations to the people of Egypt, or his despatches to the French Directory, contain the greater number of lies and exaggerations in reference to this Syrian campaign. But the misfortunes of the siege of Acre were redeemed by a great victory, on the 25th of July, over a Turkish army which had landed at the peninsula of Aboukir. Bonaparte, upon the news of their landing, had made a rapid march from Cairo to Alexandria with ten thousand men; and the rout of the Turks, who fought most bravely, was complete.

* "Révolution Française," livre xliii.

† "Voice from St. Helena," vol. i. p. 332.

After the decisive battle of Aboukir, Bonaparte became restless. His communication with Europe had been cut off for nearly a year. It had been an eventful year. The French armies in Italy and in Germany had sustained great reverses, of which he was ignorant. He had in vain sent forth some brigs to detain merchant vessels, that he might obtain news from Europe. He then sent a flag of truce to the Turkish fleet, under the pretence of negotiating an exchange of prisoners, but with the real intent that some intelligence should be obtained. Sir Sidney Smith, says Thiers, learning that Bonaparte was ignorant of the disasters of France, "felt a malignant pleasure in sending to him a packet of all the journals." Bonaparte passed an entire night in devouring the information contained in these newspapers. He at once took his determination to embark secretly for Europe. Let us take a rapid glance at the various events that led this man of decision to resolve that "the time is out of joint," and that he alone was "born to set it right."

After the separate treaty of Campo Formio between Austria and France, a Congress assembled at Radstadt, to treat of the complex subject of a general peace, to include all the States of the German empire. Its sittings, which commenced in December, 1797, were continued through 1798. At the end of that year a treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Russia, against France, was agreed upon; and the emperor Francis and the emperor Paul were drawing together in a determination to unite their forces in a common endeavour to resist the growing power of the ambitious Republic. Naples and Sardinia had declared war against France. At the beginning of January, 1799, the king of Naples had fled from his capital to Palermo; the French general Championnet had entered the city; proclaimed the abolition of royalty; and the kingdom of Naples was henceforth to be the Parthenopeian Republic. A Russian army of sixty thousand men, commanded by Suwaroff, arrived in Moravia in December; and were welcomed by the emperor of Germany with unmistakeable demonstrations. The French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt demanded that the Diet of the Empire should oppose the entrance of the Russian army upon Germanic territory. The answer being unsatisfactory, Ehrenbreitstein, which had been long blockaded by the French, was besieged, and the fortress capitulated in January. The French were now masters of both banks of the Rhine. Jourdan crossed the river into Suabia; the Directory declared war against Austria; Jourdan advanced to the Danube; was encountered by the archduke Charles, and driven back over the Rhine in April. When Switzerland was invaded by the French in 1798, the Grisons stood aloof. They were now

assaulted by the French; but the Austrians came from the Tyrol to their aid, and drove the invaders from their territory. Switzerland now became the seat of war, and Massena stood upon the defensive at Zurich. At the close of March the Austrian and French armies were actively engaged in Italy. The French were driven beyond the Mincio. The ability of Moreau could not enable him to make a stand against the determination of the old Austrian general Melas. On the 18th of April, Suwaroff joined the Austrians with fifty thousand Russians, and this famous slaughterer of Turks and Poles took the command of the combined armies. The battle of Cassano, on the 27th of April, was decisive of the fate of the Cisalpine Republic. The battle of the Trebbia ensued, in which, after three days of desperate conflict, Suwaroff defeated Macdonald and Victor, who retreated over the Apennines. The attempted junction of the two armies of Italy resulted in the defeats of the two commanders, Moreau and Macdonald. In three months the great campaigns of Bonaparte thus appeared to have been productive only of fleeting triumphs. Royalty was restored at Naples by cardinal Ruffo, with English assistance; and, painful to record, the bad faith and miserable vengeance of the corrupt and despotic court upon the patriotic party found a supporter in the greatest of British admirals. Such was the posture of European affairs when George III. closed the Session of Parliament on the 12th of July, and said, "It is impossible to compare the events of the present year with the state and prospects of Europe at the distance of but a few months, without acknowledging, in humble thankfulness, the visible interposition of Divine Providence, in averting those dangers which so long threatened the overthrow of all the establishments of the civilized world." Such were the confident expectations of the parties to the Second Coalition against France, concluded on the 22nd of June, between Great Britain, the emperor of Germany, the emperor of Russia, some of the German minor States, Naples, Portugal, Turkey, and Barbary. France herself was exposed to a greater danger than that of external foes. Her executive government was weak and unpopular. The people were oppressed by taxes; and more oppressed by the Conscription, by which every Frenchman, from the age of twenty to forty-five, was liable to be chosen by lot for military service. Such was the news that sir Sidney Smith might have placed before Bonaparte on the banks of the Nile. The intelligence of the journals, it is believed, was confirmed by a private communication from his brothers Lucien and Joseph; which had reached him by a faithful messenger, in spite of the vigilance of the English cruisers.

On the 24th of August, Bonaparte embarked at Alexandria, accompanied by seven of his generals. Two frigates and two smaller vessels had been got ready, by his orders, for this perilous adventure. This was not, says Thiers, a desertion; "for he left a victorious army to brave dangers of every kind, and, most horrible of all, the danger of being carried in fetters to London." Bonaparte was himself very calm amidst these dangers. He possibly did not imagine that Pitt would carry him about in an iron cage, like another Bajazet, even if he were captured by an English fleet. It was the 9th of October when he landed at Fréjus. The people ought to have opposed his landing as a violation of the Quarantine laws, but they said, "Better the plague than the Austrians." The Austrians were close at hand. They occupied all the mountainous passes which separate France from Italy. After the great victory of the Austro-Russian army at Novi, in August—which victory was succeeded by other triumphs—the French were expelled from the land which Bonaparte had conquered and revolutionized. That he should have been received in Provence as the man whose advent would be the safety of France was a natural and reasonable confidence. On the 16th of October, Bonaparte was in Paris. From his old house in la rue Chantereine he proceeded immediately to the Luxembourg, the palace of the Directory. He told the members that having become apprised of the disasters of France he had come to defend the country. But he was to them an object of suspicion and of fear. Bernadotte, it is said, counselled the arrest of Bonaparte for desertion; and Barras replied, "We are not strong enough for that." The Directory consisted of Barras, Sièyes, Ducos, and two obscure republicans, Moulins and Gohièr. They were divided in their policy as to abiding by the existing Constitution, which some wished to modify and some to overturn. Bonaparte came as a new power to mould or to awe conflicting opinions, whether of the Directors or of the Legislative bodies, into a shape favourable to his own ambition. He attached himself to the party of Sièyes and Ducos. Barras preserved a sort of neutrality. Bonaparte had two able counsellors to assist him in any intrigue for the transfer of power to new hands—Talleyrand and Fouché. The majority of the Council of Five Hundred, with Bernadotte, were against any project for organic change. Three weeks of intrigue ended in placing France under a Dictatorship—three weeks of plots, which Bourienne, Bonaparte's secretary, says, "were accompanied by so much trickery, falsehood, and treachery, that for the honour of human nature it is desirable to hide them under a veil." The preparations of the conspirators were at length complete. The Coun-

cil of Ancients possessed an authority, under the Constitution, for determining the place of meeting of the Legislative body. A packed number assembled privately on the 9th of November (18th Brumaire), and decreed that the sitting should be held the following day at the palace of St. Cloud. Bonaparte was charged with the execution of this decree; and all the troops of the line and the National Guards were placed under his orders. He very quickly availed himself of his power, by stationing troops at the Tuileries, at the Luxembourg, at St. Cloud, under the command of his trusty generals; and by assigning to other chosen lieutenants positions where military force might put down all opposition that might be excited by those whose reign was coming to a close. Barras, Moulins, and Gohièr were left to their own reflections in the Luxembourg, whilst their servant was thus preparing to become their master. The Council of Five Hundred met on the 9th of November, only to hear the decree which suspended their sitting on that day, and which ordered their assembling on the next day at St. Cloud. At one o'clock on the afternoon of the 10th, the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred assembled, surrounded by troops. Bonaparte came in his carriage, with a numerous escort. Sièyes and Ducos were also there to confer with him. The Ancients were told that the Directors had resigned, and it was proposed to replace them according to the provisions of the Constitution. Barras had indeed resigned, by getting away from Paris in hot haste. Moulins and Gohièr were prisoners in the Luxembourg. It was a critical moment. Bonaparte came into the Assembly; and, according to the historical authorities of the Revolution, harangued with visible emotion but with great effect. The speeches which the historians put into his mouth differ very considerably; and well they may differ, says Bourienne, who was present, "for he made no speech, but delivered a series of rambling, unconnected sentences, and confused replies to the President's questions." Berthier and Bourienne were glad to get him away from the wearied and impatient Assembly. At the Council of Five Hundred, to which Bonaparte then repaired, there were fewer words but more action. He entered the wing of the palace where they were sitting, followed by grenadiers. Furious cries assailed him of "Down with the tyrant—Down with the dictator—Go out—Go out." His soldiers surrounded him as he made for the door. He mounted his horse when he escaped from what he represented as a danger to his person, and told his troops that an attempt had been made to assassinate him. "Vive Bonaparte" was the re-assuring cry. Within there was now a greater danger than the imaginary daggers of the

irritated members of the Five Hundred. His brother Lucien was the President, and he was called upon to declare Napoleon, "hors la loi"—those terrible words which had sent Robespierre and many another revolutionary tyrant to the scaffold. Lucien refused to put the question, and implored them to hear his brother. By direction of Napoleon grenadiers again entered the hall; seized Lucien, and carried him forth. The two mounted their horses; Lucien harangued the troops; told them that assassins were overwhelming the majority; that he and his brother would swear to be faithful to Liberty. The soldiers hesitated at the proposal to expel the Five Hundred from their hall; but Lucien exclaimed, "I swear that I will stab my own brother to the heart if he ever attempt anything against the liberties of France." Again the soldiers shouted "Vive Bonaparte." Murat and Leclerc then put themselves at the head of a battalion; led them to the door of the Assembly: drowned the outcries of the members by beat of drums; and cleared the hall by that irresistible power which Mirabeau declared should alone disperse the Tiers Etat—"We will only quit by the power of the bayonet."* Night came on. Lucien collected some thirty members of the Five Hundred, who passed decrees, in the name of that body, to the effect that the Directory existed no longer; that sixty persons were no longer representatives; and that a Provisional Executive Commission should be formed of three members, who should be styled Consuls—Sièyes, Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte being named to that office. The Council of Ancients concurred in the decrees. The three colleagues immediately took the oaths to be faithful to the sovereignty of the people, to the Republic, to Liberty and Equality, and to the representative system. The Republic on that night really came to an end.

Whilst these events were taking place in Paris; whilst the supreme power was passing into the hands of a great soldier,—a man of indomitable energy, gathering round him all the civil and military talent of his country, without respect to the claims of birth, and despising the routine which placed authority in the hands of the incapable—the British administration, rarely departing from its almost slavish dependence upon royal command or parliamentary influence, had sent a powerful force for the deliverance of Holland, organized upon the old principles of favouritism. Other men than equerries at Windsor anticipated the result; when "unformed regiments were hurried on immediate service;" and brigades were made up "for the amusement of young Princes and of foolish and

* *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 477.

inexperienced Generals." * The "young princes" likely to be employed were the dukes of York, Cumberland, and Gloucester. The duke of York was the only prince of the three who went to Holland for his "amusement." A British army was assembled on the coast of Kent. A general, neither foolish nor inexperienced, Sir Ralph Abercromby, sailed on the 12th of August, with a first detachment of twelve thousand men; and he was to be joined by a Russian contingent of seventeen thousand men, paid by England, for the conveyance of which force to Holland a squadron had been sent forth in July. All went well for a time. Abercromby effected a landing at the Helder, supported by a fire from the fleet; and the troops were all disembarked on the 27th, after a feeble resistance. The fort of the Helder, which commanded the entrance of the Texel, was taken possession of; and the English fleet entered, and summoned the Dutch fleet to surrender. There was no battle; for the Dutch seamen were in a state of insubordination, and thus eight sail of the line and seventeen frigates fell into our hands. The ships were sent to England, our sailors murmuring that they had not been taken as prizes in fair fight; and public opinion complaining that we had turned a mutiny to our own advantage when we had so recently been placed in extreme danger by a mutiny in our own fleet. Abercromby, with his small force, maintained a defensive position; and on the 10th of September repulsed a fierce attack of twenty-four thousand French and Dutch under general Vandamme. The Russian contingent, with an additional force of seven thousand British, now arrived. But there came with them a commander-in-chief who was to supersede Abercromby. The duke of York took the command of the united British and Russian army of thirty-six thousand men. This was indeed to make war upon a large scale, as far as numbers were concerned. The expedition to Holland was the greatest attempt of the British government since the beginning of the contest with France. One thing was wanted—a General fit to command. The duke of York was not without experience in military matters; he was personally brave; but what he had done before as the leader of an army was no warranty for his fitness for this high responsibility. On the 19th of September it was determined to attack the enemy in four columns, the ground being of a nature to prevent a concentrated operation. The Russian column under general Hermann was routed. On the centre and left, where the duke of York was present, general Dundas and general Pulteney were defeating the enemy. But the duke, hearing of the disaster of Hermann, instantly changed a plan which was

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 123.

leading to victory, and marched to the assistance of the broken Russians. The duke was himself then compelled to retreat; and the day presented the usual consequences of bravery without judgment. On the 2nd of October another battle was fought, in which the right and centre of the British and Russians were partially successful, but where the want of combination prevented any real advantage. Time was precious. The republicans were gathering in great force; and some strong place must be obtained, through the possession of which supplies from the interior of the country could alone be insured. The army could not remain to starve in the narrow corner on which they were encamped, amidst dykes and causeys, on swampy ground now saturated with autumnal rains. Haarlem must be taken. The French, posted on a narrow isthmus by which it was necessary to approach Haarlem, were ready to contest the passage. On the 6th of October a battle was fought during the whole day, with equal bravery and equal loss. But the duke of York was no nigher the possession of Haarlem. The French were reinforced; the duke of York retired. Dangers were thickening around him. His great army was reduced to twenty thousand men, by sickness as much as by battle. He had provision only for eleven days. He proposed a suspension of arms to general Brune, the French commander, preparatory to the evacuation of Holland by the British and Russians. The only point gained in this convention was that the Dutch fleet was to be retained. He bought the permission to go home in safety, upon the condition that eight thousand French and Dutch seamen, prisoners of war in England, should be given up to the French government. The troops quitted Holland on the 30th of November. Loud were the murmurs at home. The people were thankful that a navy remained to them in which command did not wholly go "by favour and affection." Some were glad that the ending of the expedition was no worse. "The armistice in Holland," wrote Cornwallis, "although it is not, perhaps, the most brilliant way of getting out of the scrape, has relieved my mind from much anxiety, and has insured to us some army, if we are not bent upon throwing it away." *

When Bonaparte and his two colleagues had taken possession of the Luxembourg on the 11th of November, he had no precedence. Each Consul was in his turn to act as president. There was much to be accomplished before Bonaparte could be installed in that almost absolute power to which all his movements were tending. A new Constitution was to be made. Commissions were appointed to square and dovetail the work into shape.

* "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 141.

Sièyes had his plan ready. The details were to be debated between the Consuls and the commissioners. The aptitude of Bonaparte for power; his sagacity; his quickness of observation,—turned every discussion to his own prospective advantage. By the 24th of December, the Constitution was completed and published. The Executive authority was to consist of three Consuls, Bonaparte being First Consul for ten years. This executive was to propose the laws. The Legislative authority was a Tribunal, to discuss the projects of laws, and approve or reject them; a Legislative body of three hundred members, to vote upon the laws proposed by the Tribunal, without the right of discussion; and a Senate of eighty members, who were to sit in secret. It was a mock Legislature, to strengthen the Executive. All these classes of legislators were to be paid. The three Consuls were to have an allowance, the first Consul receiving 500,000 francs a-year; each of the others three-tenths of that sum. Cambacérès and Lebrun were associated with Bonaparte in the consular office; but the real power was in his hands alone. The Constitution was accepted by the votes of the people, three millions having registered their approval. Their votes were doubtless influenced by the agents of the government. But it is clear that the people were tired of anarchy; had no confidence in a Directory and Councils of Ancients and Five Hundred; cared little about Liberty; and had a profound admiration for military glory.

When the British Parliament met on the 22nd of January, 1800, after an adjournment in October, a royal message was presented, the chief purport of which was to lay before the two Houses "copies of communications recently received from the enemy, and of the answers which have been returned thereto by his majesty's command." The communications "received from the enemy" were a brief note from Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, to lord Grenville, enclosing a letter from the First Consul to the King of Great Britain and Ireland. This letter, dated 5th Nivose,* is too interesting, as well as too laconic, to be abridged:

"Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

"The war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

* December 25th, according to the translation laid before Parliament; the 26th according to Thiers.

"How can the most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?"

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

"Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

"France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world."

Lord Grenville wrote on the 4th of January to Talleyrand, saying that his majesty, "seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states," had directed him to return an official answer, which he enclosed. This answer breathed no spirit but that of determined hostility. Recapitulating the charges so often made against France, that she desired "the extermination of all established governments"—that "the most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression"—his majesty could not "place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions." He required to be convinced "that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France." The conviction of such a change could only result from experience. "The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad." Nevertheless, his "majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government." As there existed "no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed,—no reasonable ground to judge of its stability," to persevere in "a just and defensive war" was the only course which his majesty could at present pursue.

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It was eighteen days after this answer was written that the correspondence was laid before Parliament. The letter of Bonaparte, and the answer, were, however, no secret. On the 1st of January, Grenville sent a copy of the letter to his brother, as "a curiosity"—"I need not tell you that we shall say, no." On the 3rd, he describes his answer, of which, he says, we have not hands enough to make sufficient copies. On the 16th he writes, "His Corsican Majesty's letters will be out on Monday."* It is not difficult to see that a haughty contempt for the attainment of almost regal power by a plebeian, was at the root of that fierce indignation which the British government had never evinced when they twice negotiated for peace with the Directory. It is difficult to understand how Pitt could have sanctioned such a letter as Grenville's. Yet on the 4th he wrote to Addington, "We have felt no difficulty in declining all negotiation under the present circumstances; and have drawn our answer as a sort of manifesto both for France and England, bringing forward the topics which seem most likely to promote the cause of royalty, in preference to this new, and certainly not less absolute government."† Lord Grenville found in Talleyrand one who saw the weak points of the "manifesto" at a glance, and exposed them with an irresistible logic. In his rejoinder of the 14th of January there is this passage: "The First Consul of the French Republic would not doubt that his Britannic Majesty recognized the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown. But he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the minister of his Britannic Majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are not less injurious to the French nation, and to its government, than it would be to England and to his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it." Statesmen thinking and acting with Mr. Pitt could not approve of lord Grenville's letter. It is "too caustic and opprobrious," said Addington—"it has not quite enough of the character of moderation," ‡ Wilberforce writes, "I must say I was shocked at lord Grenville's letter; for though our

* "Court and Cabinets, &c." vol. iii. pp. 4, 5, 6.

† "Life of Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 249.

‡ "Life," vol. i. p. 243—Letter of January 9.

government might feel adverse to any measure which might appear to give the stamp of our authority to Bonaparte's new dignity; yet I must say that, unless they have some better reason than I fear they possess for believing that he is likely to be hurled from his throne, it seems a desperate game to play—to offend, and insult, and thereby irritate, this vain man beyond the hope of forgiveness.* Cornwallis, six months after, designated Grenville's letter as "haughty and most unwise."—"The unprovoked insolence of lord Grenville's letter has placed us in a state of such embarrassment, that I must confess I have hardly a hope that we can extricate ourselves."† Bonaparte had written a conciliatory letter to the emperor of Austria, which also had been treated with contempt. The consequence was, Marengo. The correspondence with France again roused Fox into political activity. He wrote in January, "My letters tell me what I can scarce credit, that the ministers have given a flat refusal to the great Consul's proposition to treat. Surely they must be quite mad."‡ Fox again appeared in his place in Parliament; made one of his greatest speeches, which was a reply to an equally grand oratorical display by Pitt; and was in a minority of 64 to 265. In the House of Lords, Grenville delivered a speech of remarkable ability, but tending, even more than his letter, to make the quarrel with France a personal quarrel with Bonaparte. In the third year of the Republic, said the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he imposed upon the French people, by the mouth of the cannon, that very constitution which he has now destroyed by the point of the bayonet. Treaties made and broken, with Sardinia, with Tuscany, with the petty States of Italy, were ratified and annulled by Bonaparte. Venice, Rome, Genoa, Switzerland, were examples of his perfidy. He pointed to Egypt to exhibit his falsehoods, his blasphemies, his hypocrisies, his multiplied violations of all religious and moral ties. "Having, therefore, such bases for us to form a correct opinion of his policy, can it be thought inconsistent to believe that he has no intention of fulfilling his engagements."§ We can scarcely object to Thiers, when he says, "the English ministers, especially lord Grenville, employed, with regard to the First Consul, language the most offensive. They had not otherwise treated Robespierre."|| We look back upon the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, and

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 354—Letter of January 7.

† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 270—277.

‡ "Correspondence of Fox," vol. iii. p. 174.

§ See "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv.

|| "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tom. i. livre ii.

see much to prove the ambition, the bad faith, and the insolence of Bonaparte. But we cannot deny that the affronts of the ministry of Pitt and Grenville were sufficient to stir within him an unextinguishable hatred of England.

The time was not opportune for rejecting overtures of peace. In the minds of the people "peace" was always associated with "plenty." Scarcity and even famine were regarded, and not unjustly so, as consequences of war. The people of these islands were, throughout the year 1800, and partly in 1801, on the brink of famine. There had been a bad harvest in 1795, when Burke published his "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity." In a few pointed sentences he expressed the great economic truth which agitators conceal and pseudo-philanthropists despise: "Labour is a commodity like every other, and rises or falls according to the demand. . . . Wages have been twice raised in my time, and they bear a full proportion, or even a greater than formerly, to the medium of provision during the last bad cycle of twenty years. If we were wildly to attempt to force them beyond it, the stone which we had forced up the hill would only fall back upon them in a diminished demand; or, what indeed is the far lesser evil, an aggravated price of all the provisions which are the result of their manual toil." In saying that the squires of Norfolk had dined when they gave it as their opinion that the rate of wages ought to rise and fall with the market of provisions, he laughed at a theory which the squires of many a county would soon reduce to very efficient practice. The Berkshire justices and "other discreet persons," decided, in 1795, that when the gallon loaf of 8lbs. 11ozs. should cost 1s., then every man should receive in wages, or in allowance from the poor-rates, 3s. weekly, and 1s. 6d. for the support of every other of his family; and in proportion as the price of bread rises and falls, 3d. to the man, and 1d. to every other of the family, on every penny which the loaf rises above a shilling. This Berkshire bread-scale was almost universally adopted in the agricultural counties; and thus, as the price of the loaf of bread continued to rise almost invariably from 1795 to 1800, the allowances from the rates were an encouragement to consume as much in a season of scarcity as in a season of abundance. Deficient harvests raised the price of wheat to 134s. a quarter in 1800, and to 156s. a quarter in the spring of 1801. The danger had become imminent, at the time when the conclusion of a peace offered by France might have opened our ports to importations which would have fed that large body of the artisan class that were not fed, without stint, by the operation of a bread-scale. In February, 1800, palliatives were resorted to. The

sale of bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours was prohibited. The people were exhorted to economy by proclamation. Brown bread was to be eaten instead of white. Noble lords resolved to discourage the use of pastry in their families. At the end of November, the prospect became more alarming. Importation was encouraged by excessive bounties. Great Britain did not grow enough corn, even in average years, for the subsistence of the people. The price of corn was always subject to extreme fluctuations. The whole tendency of the financial operations of the government was to raise prices to an unnatural height. The government, when the evil reached its culminating point at the end of 1800 and the beginning of 1801, was powerless, except to bring in a Brown Bread Bill. They did something more. They again suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, for the people were rioting. Pitt clearly saw the social danger to which these riots would lead: "Unless the magistrates and gentlemen are firm in discountenancing and resisting all arbitrary reductions of price, and regulations of the mode of dealing, great mischief must follow."* Romilly saw the same mischief as the consequence of the economic ignorance: "Never, to be sure, were there such temptations held out to riot and insurrection as the resolutions which, in consequence of the late riots, have been entered into in different parts of the country respecting the price of provisions. . . I cannot find that the least attempt has been anywhere made to undeceive the people; but, on the contrary, an opinion the most repugnant to common sense;—that is, that provisions of all kinds bear a higher price than the persons who deal in them can well afford to sell them at,—is, without the least inquiry upon the subject, everywhere acted upon as an established truth."† The author of this History has a distinct recollection of his alarm, when, a child of nine years old, he saw a mob parading the streets of Windsor; breaking the windows of the bakers; and going forth in a body with the intention of burning a neighbouring mill. The military were called out. The mayor and aldermen sat on a Friday night in solemn deliberation on the imperative necessity of quieting the people by making provisions cheaper. There were difficulties in the way of this magnanimous resolve as regarded bread and meat. The worshipful body compromised the matter by solemnly proclaiming that when the butter-women brought their butter to market on the Saturday morning, they should not presume to ask more than a shilling a pound, under penalty of confiscation. In the spring of 1801 the

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 262.

† Romilly—"Memoirs," letter cxviii.

high prices reached their maximum. On the 5th of March, the price of the quartern loaf was 1s. 10½d. A good harvest came to ease the sufferings of the people ; and in the middle of October the price of the quartern loaf had fallen to 11¼d. In 1801 the Poor Rates had risen to a sum exceeding four millions sterling, with a population of nine millions. The provision for the poor had doubled since 1783. How much temporary mischief was averted, and how much permanent evil was created, by the system of multiplying paupers by paying wages out of rates, is not necessary here to consider.

Montholon, in his history of Napoleon at St. Helena, represents him as saying that when he made overtures of peace to England he " had need of war ; " that Mr. Pitt's answer was impatiently expected. " When it arrived it filled me with a secret satisfaction ; his answer could not have been more favourable." Bonaparte had, nevertheless, victories of peace to achieve as well as victories of war. He probably only wanted a breathing-time when he proposed to negotiate,—a truce rather than a lasting pacification. Nevertheless, the satisfaction which he derived from the rejection of his proposals is not a tribute to the soundness of the policy of the British cabinet. Bonaparte was thus enabled to persuade the French that his personal ambition was not the motive for a continuance of a war which brought so many sufferings to the great body of the people. Their desire for glory was at that time greatly diminished by their greater desire for rest under a settled government. By the vigour of his administrative genius he soon brought the civil institutions of France into working order. The Treasury of the Directory had depended upon forced loans, confiscations, and plunder of foreign countries. Bonaparte enforced a regular system of direct taxation, and compelled the functionaries to keep correct accounts. He established the system of prefectures—that system of departmental administration which, with little variation during sixty years, has always been an efficient support of every government, whether its objects were beneficent or despotic. He re-modelled the judicial system. He did many wise and good things which France would probably not so readily have received from any other authority than that of an incipient despotism. He did not hesitate to show the direction which his government was prepared to take for its conservation. He propitiated the Clergy ; he organized a Police as one of the chief instruments of repressing new tendencies to Revolution ; he destroyed that liberty of the Press which had kept the people in a ferment since 1789. " Every journal," said a decree of the Consul, " shall be immediately sup-

pressed which shall insert any articles contrary to the respect due to the social pact, to the sovereignty of the people, and to the glory of the armies ; or which shall publish invectives against the government and the nations which are friends or allies of the Republic, even if those articles should be taken from foreign journals." He had given to the Consul Cambacérès the control over the judicial system; and to the Consul Lebrun the administration of the finances. He retained, as his own especial charge, the departments of War, Marine, Interior, Foreign Affairs and Police. Never was there a more efficient machinery, not only for extinguishing Jacobinism, but for taking away even the semblance of liberty from a nation that did not understand it—a nation "indocile by temperament, yet accepting the arbitrary and even the violent rule of a sovereign more readily than the free and regular government of the chief citizen."*

The pacification of La Vendée was completed by the end of January, without any sanguinary struggle. The insurgents were won to submission by moderation, instead of being trodden into despair as they had been by the severities of the old republican authorities. Suwaroff had gone home after having been kept at bay in Switzerland; and the mad emperor Paul was won over by the courteous policy of the First Consul. Bonaparte had now only two enemies to contend with,—Great Britain and Austria. But these were by far his most powerful enemies. He must break up their alliance by some signal triumphs in Italy and Germany before he could be safe in his sovereign rule. To contend with Great Britain at sea would have been a vain ambition. He was now established in regal state at the Tuileries. He was surrounded by a Court, as glittering in dress, and almost as rigid in ceremonial as that of the dukes and marquises at Versailles. He would have his own dukes and princes in good time. Meanwhile his fascinating wife would gather around her the fashion of Paris, as fashion then existed there. There were beautiful women, victorious generals, and submissive ambassadors, in those saloons; and there was no limit to the cost of the most luxurious display. Madame de Staël has described these first days of the Consulate: "I saw the First Consul enter the palace built by kings; and although Bonaparte was yet far from the magnificence he has since developed, one beheld already in all who surrounded him an anxiety to do him homage after an oriental fashion, which would persuade him that to govern the world was a very easy thing. . . In ascending the staircase in the midst of the crowd who pressed around

* De Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution," book ii. chap. xx.

him, his eyes would rest neither upon one object nor upon any person in particular. There was always something of the vague and careless in his physiognomy, and his looks only expressed what was always suitable to his character to show,—indifference to fortune and contempt for men.* Madame de Staël had a hatred of Bonaparte; but she is perhaps not wholly unjust, when she says, “He has in his whole nature a foundation of vulgarity that even the gigantic reach of his ambition cannot always hide.” From the luxurious grandeur of the Tuileries, from the flatteries of his sycophants, from his earnest work as chief magistrate, he resolved to depart for a season—to make an effort in his own person to recover the ground which had been lost in Italy. It was an infraction of the Constitution that the First Consul should command an army on a foreign soil. He did not stand upon such nice points of observance. But he would conceal his plans; and find safety in a new career of irresponsible glory.

There was an army of reserve formed at Dijon, to review which army Bonaparte ostensibly left Paris on the 6th of May. He inspected the troops, and quitted Dijon on the 7th. On the 8th he was at Geneva. He had deputed one of his generals to inspect the pass of the Great St. Bernard. “Can we pass?” said Bonaparte. “With great difficulty,” replied the general. “Then let us set out,” said the man who would have banished the word ‘impossible’ from his vocabulary. The Austrian general, Melas, with the main body of the army, was in the territory of Genoa. The object of Bonaparte was to seize Milan, and place himself between the Austrian army and the emperor’s dominions. Thirty-five thousand men, under general Lannes, went forward to cross the Great St. Bernard. The cannon were dismounted at the foot of the mountain, and dragged over on sledges and hollow trunks of trees. Lannes, and Berthier with another division, had crossed the mountain on the 16th. Bonaparte followed them from Lausanne on the 17th, with a young Swiss for his guide. The famous picture by David represents the hero of a melo-drama in the grandest of “poses.” Bonaparte went over the Alps like a very ordinary traveller, without danger, and suffering no privation. His army had difficulty enough with their munitions of war. He had not, like Cæsar, to fight many battles in these mountain passes. He only met with a slight resistance at Bard,—a fort which commanded the narrow pass in the valley below Aosta. Other divisions of the French army had crossed by the St. Gothard, the Simplon, Mont Genève, Mont Cénis, and the Little St. Bernard. Sixty or

* “*Sur la Révolution Française*,” tom. ii.

seventy thousand enemies were on the Italian side of the Alps without the knowledge of the Austrians. On the 30th of May Bonaparte was in Milan, having entered the city without opposition. The Austrian commander-in-chief, Melas, an aged man of large experiences and of well-trying bravery, was at Nice, from which he had driven the French under Suchet. He rapidly marched to encounter Bonaparte, whose advanced guard was on the Po. He was between Melas and another Austrian army at Mantua, on the Adda, and in the Tyrol. His situation was hazardous. If he lost a battle he could only retreat over the Alps by the passes he had crossed. Melas concentrated his forces at Alessandria. Bonaparte marched to meet him; crossed the Po at Piacenza; and took up his position in the plain of Marengo. On the 14th of June, Melas came out of Alessandria, and attacked the French. For some time he appeared to be winning a great victory. He had beaten the division of Victor, had driven Lannes back, and worn out with fatigue had gone back to Alessandria, leaving the triumph to be completed by general Zach. Desaix, who had very recently returned from Egypt, was ordered by Bonaparte to lead up a division to engage the advancing Austrians. Desaix turned the tide of battle, and was himself killed. The whole Austrian army now gave way: Marengo was won. The next day Melas asked for an armistice. By the convention of Alessandria, the Austrians lost all that they had gained in 1798 and 1799. They evacuated Italy as far as the Mincio, and gave up Genoa, and all the strong places in Piedmont and the Milanais. On the 2nd of July, Bonaparte was again in Paris. During his absence, various parties of republicans and royalists were formed against him, who might have shaken his power had his bold plan of a campaign been a failure. Marengo seated him firmly in the curule chair, which was to be exchanged for a throne.

The campaign of Moreau, who entered Germany at the head of a hundred thousand men, was a series of victories, until an armistice was concluded on the 15th of July. Hostilities were suspended whilst negotiations for peace were proceeding at Luneville. The preliminaries were signed on the 28th of July. But the emperor had entered into an engagement with Great Britain, that no peace should be concluded by either power which did not comprehend the two Allies. His resolution was fortified by a new loan. The emperor refused to ratify the preliminaries which had been agreed to at Luneville. Meanwhile, Malta, which had been blockaded for two years by the English fleet, surrendered to the British troops in September. Hostilities were revived in

Germany on the 29th of November. The archduke John, who had taken the command of the Austrian army, crossed the Inn with a hundred thousand men, to attack Moreau, whose troops were concentrated near the village of Hohenlinden, about twenty miles from Munich. The forest of Hohenlinden lay between the imperial army and the position which Moreau had taken up. It could only be reached by two great roads through the forest of thick pine trees, and by cross roads rendered almost impassable by the snows and storms of a winter that had now set in. To describe this great battle on the difficult ground between the Iser and the Inn is a task for voluminous historians. The general reader will derive more vivid impressions from the spirited poem of Campbell than from all the exactness of strategic details. He will call to mind the picture of the evening, when "all bloodless lay th' untrodden snow,"—of the beat of drum "at dead of night,"—of the morning when the level sun scarce "can pierce the war-clouds rolling dun,"—of the deepening contest between "furious Frank and fiery Hun;"—

"Few, few shall part where many meet:
The snow shall be their winding sheet."

On that 3rd of December, the victory of Moreau was decisive. The French lost four thousand men; the Imperialists lost a far greater number, besides fifteen thousand prisoners and all their artillery. Moreau pursued the archduke John, and was on the road to Vienna. The archduke proposed an armistice, which was concluded on the 26th of December, the emperor engaging to negotiate separately for peace. Great Britain had released him from his pledge. The peace of Luneville was completed on the 9th of February, 1801.*

* See the Chronological Table of Treaties at the end of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

Commencement of the nineteenth century.—Parliament opened.—The king's opposition to concessions to the Catholics of Ireland.—Mr. Pitt resigns in consequence.—Mr. Addington prime minister.—The king again becomes insane.—The northern powers form a treaty of Armed Neutrality.—Expedition against Denmark.—The naval battle of Copenhagen.—Nelson's victory.—An armistice concluded.—Assassination of the emperor Paul.—Expedition to Egypt.—Battle of Alexandria and death of Abercromby.—The French evacuate Egypt.—Preliminaries of peace with France.—Negotiations of lord Cornwallis at Amiens.—Diplomatic disputes and difficulties.—The peace of Amiens concluded.

Chronological Table of Treaties.

Population of Great Britain, 1801.

A NEW CENTURY! The commencements of another Year, of another Decade, of another Century, are rarely marked by any corresponding changes in the affairs of nations; but they are suggestive of comparisons with other similar eras. At the commencement of the eighteenth century it has been estimated, upon the imperfect data of the Registers of Births and Burials, that England and Wales contained a Population of about five million and a half. At the commencement of the nineteenth century a Census of the people had been taken, and it was found that England and Wales contained about nine millions. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, William III., from his death-bed, recommended the completion of a firm and entire Union between England and Scotland; and within seven years the Act of Union was passed. At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was perfected; and on the 22nd of January, 1801, the first Session of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom commenced by the election of the Speaker. At the commencement of the eighteenth century William III. accomplished the Grand Alliance of the powers of Europe against the ambitious designs of the despotic head of the French Monarchy. At the commencement of the nineteenth century George III. was the sole sovereign of Europe who had not succumbed to the military despotism of the French Republic. The two centuries seem separated by a vast chasm. History bridges over the gulf; and, rightly considered, shows how one series of events is essentially connected with a preceding series—how great moral

causes are steadily moulding the future of mankind, whilst the reign of violence and injustice endures but for a season.

The Session was opened on the 2nd of February by a Speech from the throne. The king expressed his satisfaction at availing himself of the advice and assistance of the Parliament of the United Kingdom at a crisis so important. "This memorable era, distinguished by the accomplishments of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire;"—"this happy Union, which by the blessing of Providence has now been effected;"—such were the vague congratulations in which the intentions of the Government towards Ireland were studiously veiled. Mr. Grey said, "I should indeed have augured more favourably of that Union, had I found that the Speech from the throne contained a recommendation (as it was reported it would do) to consider of taking off those disabilities to which the Catholics of Ireland are subject." What was then impossible to be explained is now matter of historical record. On the 1st of February Mr. Pitt wrote to the king a letter expressive of his regret, knowing his majesty's sentiments on that subject, to find himself under the absolute necessity of submitting to him that he felt a strong opinion, in concurrence with a majority of the Cabinet, that it would be expedient to repeal the laws which excluded Dissenters from offices. Mr. Pitt added, that he would endeavour, as far as could depend upon him, to keep the matter from being agitated, or to effect the postponement of the measure, provided his majesty would endeavour to avoid expressing his opinion so as to influence others in their conduct.* On the 2nd of February, the king replied to Mr. Pitt, stating his determined resolution not to acquiesce in an alteration of the laws respecting Catholics and Dissenters, conceiving himself bound by his coronation oath to support those laws. The king added that, as he had never been in the habit of concealing his sentiments on important occasions, he would enter into no engagement to act otherwise now; still trusting, however, that Mr. Pitt would not leave him while he lived.† The king, before he received the letter of Mr. Pitt, was perfectly aware that the matter had been discussed in the cabinet several months previous. It was an opportunity for intriguing statesmen to violate the confidence reposed in them as members of the government, and to enrol themselves amongst that dangerous body which stood between a Prime Minister and his constitutional responsibility, under the title of "the king's friends." Lord Loughborough, the Chancellor, was of this number. On the 13th of December, he placed in the king's

* Rose—"Diaries and Correspondence," vol. i. p. 288.

† *Ibid.*, p. 289.

hands an elaborate argument in opposition to "the very able paper on the question of admitting Catholics to a full participation of all the privileges of subjects." * Lord Loughborough refers to "the very able paper" as "the paper of lord C." (Castlereagh.) There was a confederate with the wily Chancellor, according to the well-founded belief of that time. "We learn," says the biographer of lord Sidmouth, "from published records, that he (Loughborough), in conjunction with lord Auckland, first made his majesty acquainted with the intentions of the Cabinet respecting the Roman Catholics, through the archbishop of Canterbury." The king afterwards made no secret of his opinions: "At the levee on Wednesday, the 28th of January, his majesty said to Dundas, 'What is this that this young lord has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head?' . . . 'I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure. The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of.' 'You'll find,' said Dundas, 'among those who are friendly to that measure, some you never supposed your enemies.'" † It appears from the diary of lord Colchester (Abbot), that he was informed by the Speaker that "on Thursday last (January 29) the king had come to an explanation with his ministers, who had pledged themselves, without his participation, for granting to the Irish Catholics a free admission to all offices and seats in Parliament; and for repealing the Test Act, &c.; and some project upon Tithes that they had persisted in, and he had peremptorily refused to agree, saying that it was a question not of choice but of duty, and that he was bound by his coronation of oath. That on Friday evening he had sent for the Speaker, and desired him to undertake the conduct of affairs." ‡ Dundas had gone to the king on the 1st of February, and had explained to him that on the view of the coronation oath taken by the majority of the Cabinet, they held that it referred to the executive action of the sovereign, and

* See "The Lord Chancellor's Reflections on the Proposal from Ireland," endorsed by the king as received on the 14th of December, in the Appendix to Life of Sidmouth, vol. i.

† Wilberforce's "Diary,"—Life, vol. iii, p. 7.

‡ "Diary of lord Colchester," vol. i. p. 222. We quote this passage literally, even to the punctuation, from the recently published Diary of lord Colchester. The passage is quoted from the MS. Diary in Dr. Pellet's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," but with an important variation. There it is printed thus: "for granting to the Irish Catholics a free admission to all offices, and to seats in parliament, and for repealing the Test Act, and some project upon tithes; that they had persisted, and the king had peremptorily refused to agree." (Vol. i. p. 311.) This is very different from "some project upon tithes that they had persisted in." If Mr. Abbot's Diary is accurately edited by his son, lord Colchester, the ministers only "persisted in" some project for tithes,—a project which Mr. Pitt had advocated in the parliamentary discussions upon the Union. (See "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 272.)

not to his legislative action. The king exclaimed, "None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas." On the 3rd of February, Mr. Pitt replied to the letter of the king, urging the impossibility of his continuing in his majesty's service, knowing that his majesty would influence the conduct of others on the Catholic question; and he requested the king to make an arrangement as soon as he conveniently could, assuring his majesty that he would give his best assistance to the new government. The king replied that he would endeavour to make a new arrangement as soon as possible. * We have seen that his majesty had taken the Speaker into his confidence from the first. The king's request to him that he would "open Mr. Pitt's eyes on the danger arising from agitating this improper question," had been made in vain.† On the 5th of February, Mr. Addington had accepted the charge of forming a new administration. He did this "with the concurrence of Mr. Pitt, who wished all his private and personal friends to remain in office."‡ "I am convinced," says Rose, "that there was from the beginning an eagerness in Mr. A. to catch at the situation." On the 8th of February, Mr. Canning told lord Malmesbury that Pitt had pressed him to remain in, but that his mind was made up to retire. "He confessed he had been one of those who had strongly advised Pitt not to yield, on this occasion, in the closet. That for several years (three years back) so many concessions (as he called them) had been made, and so many important measures overruled, from the king's opposition to them, that government had been weakened exceedingly; and if on this particular occasion a stand was not made, Pitt would retain only a nominal power, while the real one would pass into the hands of those who influenced the king's mind and opinion out of sight."§ The experience of forty years had not taught the king to avoid the first great error of his reign. There was one man, whose active participation in the accomplishment of the Union, and his sound knowledge of the condition of Ireland, enabled him clearly to see the danger that would arise from the king's narrow and egotistical view of one of the greatest questions of philosophical statesmanship. He writes, on the 17th of February, "after having, as I thought, nearly accomplished the settlement of this devoted country in peace and tranquillity, and rendered Ireland a powerful bulwark for the security of Britain, an unexpected blast from St. James's has overset me, and has added grievously to the perils which have of late surrounded us, and threatened to overwhelm us." ||

* Rose—vol. i. p. 290.

† Rose—vol. i. p. 292.

|| Cornwallis—"Correspondence." vol. iii. p. 338.

† "Life of Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 286.

§ Malmesbury—"Diaries," vol. iv. p. 4.

It was as late as the 14th of March that the king received from Mr. Pitt the resignation of his office, and that Mr. Addington received the seals as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. There had been an interregnum. The king had again become insane. On the 17th of February, rumour said that the king had got a bad cold. On the 19th, he could not be disturbed. On the 22nd he was getting worse—"Fatal consequences," says Malmesbury, "of Pitt's hasty resignation." On that day the prince of Wales said to Calonne, "Do you know that my father is as mad as ever?" *—The old intrigues in expectation of a Regency were renewed. The prince was again ready to grasp "the likeness of a kingly crown." But on the 7th of March the king was "recovered in mind as well as in body;" and the people made the most earnest demonstrations of their joy and their attachment to their old sovereign. The people were not very far advanced in political intelligence. They could scarcely look at a state question except through the medium of their passions and prejudices; and the king had therefore their hearty sympathies in refusing to concur in a measure of justice to those whose very names stirred up the bitter animosities of past generations, to be reproduced, not in cruel penal statutes, but in a denial of equal rights to their fellow subjects. The king directed Dr. Willis to announce his recovery to Pitt, Addington, Loughborough, and Eldon. To Pitt, he directed Willis to write, or say, thus:—"Tell him, I am now quite well, quite recovered from my illness, but what has he not to answer for who is the cause of my having been ill at all?" Pitt, says Malmesbury, in his answer "by Willis," which answer "was most dutiful, humble, and contrite, said he would give up the Catholic question." †

The new ministry was in office. Mr. Addington had succeeded Mr. Pitt as Premier; lord Eldon had succeeded lord Loughborough as Chancellor. Loughborough had gained nothing by his intrigues, except the privilege of flattering the king in his casual visits to Windsor. Lord Grenville was replaced as Foreign Secretary by lord Hawkesbury; Mr. Dundas, Secretary of State, made way for lord Hobart; Mr. Windham, Secretary of War, was superseded by Mr. Yorke. Canning promised Pitt that he would not laugh at the Speaker's appointment to the Treasury. The substitution of respectable mediocrities in the great offices held by Grenville, Dundas, and Windham, was not likely to bring his sarcastic powers more under the control of his prudence.

In the royal Speech at the opening of the Session, on the 2nd

* Malmesbury—vol. iv. p. 21.

† *Ibid.*, p. 34.

of February, it was announced that the court of Petersburg had concluded a Convention with the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, for establishing a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights and hostile to the interests of this country. The king, therefore, had taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy. On the previous 16th of December, a Treaty of Armed Neutrality had been ratified between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, upon the principle that neutral flags protect neutral bottoms. To the remonstrances of the British Government, the emperor Paul answered by causing an embargo to be laid on all British vessels in his ports. On the 14th of January, a proclamation was issued by Great Britain, authorizing reprisals, and laying an embargo on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels. In a treaty of amity and commerce made in September, 1800, between France and the United States of America, it was stipulated that the flag should protect the cargo. The previous conduct of France to America had been grounded upon the most arbitrary assertion of the old maritime law of Europe. England had relaxed the strictness of the right of search and of blockade, in some exceptional instances. France had now a direct interest in encouraging the Northern powers in an armed resistance to that system of maritime law which England generally upheld; for the navies of France had been swept from the seas, and she could only obtain articles "contraband of war" through the ships of the Northern powers and other maritime neutrals, such as Prussia. Hostilities against these powers was a measure of national safety. An expedition to the Baltic had been planned and organized before the resignation of the Pitt ministry. Another expedition, whose destination was Egypt, had also been planned upon a magnificent scale—that of the united action of a body of troops under general Abercromby; of a detachment from India; and of an armament promised by the Grand Seignior. During the ministerial crisis of suspense, and after the change of government, there was no relaxation in the progress of these warlike demonstrations. On the 10th of December Abercromby had sailed from Malta in a fleet which carried seventeen thousand British troops; and had arrived in the Levant in the beginning of February, where he found that the success of his operations must depend upon himself alone. On the 12th of March, a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, with frigates and smaller vessels, left Yarmouth roads for the Baltic, under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, with lord Nelson as vice-admiral. Both these expeditions were successful; and their success gave eclat to the early days of the

Addington administration—although the honour, whatever it might be, of their conception, rested with the predecessors of "*my own* Chancellor of the Exchequer," as the king rejoiced to call his new minister.

On the 21st of March the English fleet was in the Kattegat. Mr. Vansittart, who had come with the expedition as an envoy, had gone to Copenhagen in a frigate, with a flag of truce, to see if war could be averted by negotiation. He brought back an answer of defiance on the 23rd. The question then arose, whether Copenhagen should be attacked by the fleet proceeding by the passage of the Belt, or by the passage of the Sound. Nelson was impatient of delay, and said to the admiral, "Let it be by the Sound, or by the Belt, or any way, so that we lose not an hour." The Danes had been working most assiduously at their defence, whilst Vansittart was negotiating and Parker was hesitating. M. Thiers suggests that the admiral was chosen because he was old and experienced, and knew how to conduct himself under difficult circumstances; that the vice-admiral was placed at his side, in case it were necessary to fight, for that Nelson was only fit to fight.* The issue of this great contest will shew us what Nelson was fit for. Orders were at last given to pass the Sound, as soon as the wind would permit. At day-break on the 30th the signal for sailing was given. In order of battle, Nelson leading the van, the fleet prepared to force the passage to the Baltic between the coast of Denmark and the coast of Sweden—the famous passage where every ship, from a far-gone time, had been compelled to lower her top-sails and pay toll at Elsinore. The Danish side of the passage was guarded by Cronenburg Castle. On the Swedish side, at Helsenburg, separated in this, the narrowest part, by a distance of about three miles, there were no defences capable of resistance. The British fleet kept within a mile of the Swedish shore, and the guns of Cronenburg Castle were harmless. The whole fleet anchored at noon above the island of Huën, about fifteen miles from Copenhagen. The defences were surveyed, and being found very formidable, a council of war was held in the evening. Nelson opposed all arguments for delay, and offered to conduct the attack with ten sail of the line, and all the smaller vessels. Parker assigned him twelve sail of the line. But there were other perils than that of the fire of the enemy. The approach to Copenhagen was by an intricate and dangerous channel; and the Danes had removed or misplaced the buoys. Nelson, on the night of the 30th, proceeded himself in his boat to survey and re-

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," livre ix.

buoy the outer channel. He was then meditating an attack from the eastward. This plan was changed; and on the morning of the 1st of April, the fleet took up another position off the north-western extremity of the Middle Ground, a shoal which extends along the whole sea-front of Copenhagen, leaving an intervening channel about three-quarters of a mile wide. Close to the city the Danes had moved their ships. They had six sail of the line and eleven floating batteries, besides small vessels. Their line of defence nearest the town was flanked by two formidable works called the Crown Batteries. In the forenoon of the 1st, Nelson again reconnoitred the Danish position; and upon his return gave the signal to weigh. At about eight o'clock the ships dropped anchor, having coasted along the edge of the Middle Ground. Their anchorage was distant about two miles from the southernmost ship of the Danish line. Captain Hardy was employed in soundings, far into the night. When he reported that there was sufficient depth of water; there was no more sleep for the impatient vice-admiral. He was at work till morning with his clerks, preparing his orders for this day's terrible duty.

"It was ten of April morn by the chime:
As they drifted on their path
There was silence deep as death;
And the boldest held his breath,
For a time."*

Well might the bravest have some doubts. The pilots had been ordered on board Nelson's ship. They were mostly mates of vessels in the Baltic trade. Their indecision perplexed and irritated the vice-admiral. He said afterwards, that heaven only knew what he must have suffered: if any merit attached to him, it was for combating the dangers of the shallows in defiance of these pilots, who only wanted to keep their own heads clear of shot. The Edgar led the way. "The Agamemnon could not whether the shoal of the Middle, and was obliged to anchor. . . The Bellona and Russell grounded. . . These accidents prevented the extension of the line by the three ships."† The mistakes of the pilots led to the disasters of the Bellona and Russell; for they had said that the water shoaled on the larboard shore. Nelson came next to these ships, in the Elephant. He repaired the error, and led all the vessels astern of him safely on the starboard side.‡ Captain Fremantle followed him in the Ganges. This officer says, "I drop-

* Campbell—"Battle of the Baltic." † Nelson's Dispatch—"London Gazette."

‡ See, for these nautical details, Jamas's "Naval History," which is more accurate in these matters than Southey's "Life of Nelson."

ped my anchor in the spot lord Nelson desired me from the gangway of the Elephant. In passing the line, my master was killed, and my pilot had his arm shot off, so that I was obliged to carry the ship in myself, and I had full employment on my hands." * By half-past eleven the action had become general. Nine ships of the line only could take part in it. The diminution of Nelson's available force by one fourth caused those who were in the action to suffer more from the enemy's ships and batteries. Captain Riou, with six frigates and sloops, was to assist in the attack of the ships at the mouth of the harbour. "These accidents," writes Nelson, "threw the gallant and good captain Riou under a very heavy fire: the consequence has been the death of captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops." † Admiral Parker, when the cannonade had lasted three hours, seeing how little progress to the scene of action had been made by three ships which he had sent as a reinforcement, gave the signal for discontinuing the engagement. That signal was No. 39. Nelson continued to walk the deck, without appearing to notice the signal. "Shall I repeat it?" said the signal-lieutenant. "No. Acknowledge it." He turned to the captain: "You know, Foley, I have only one eye. I can't see it," putting his glass to his blind eye. ‡ "Nail my signal for close action to the mast," cried Nelson. Poor Riou saw the admiral's signal, and was killed as he hauled off from the tremendous fire to which he was exposed. About two the firing ceased along nearly the whole of the Danish line. But the vessels that had struck their flags fired on the boats that went to take possession of them. Fremantle says, "When the ships abreast of the Elephant and Ganges were completely silenced, lord Nelson desired me to go to him. He was in his cabin, talking to some Danish officers out of the ships captured, saying how anxious he was to meet the Russians, and wished it had been them, instead of Danes we had engaged. At this time he put into my hand a letter, which he meant immediately to send to the Crown Prince of Denmark in a flag of truce." It was the famous letter which he would not seal with a wafer, calling for wax and a candle, saying, "This is no time to appear hurried and informal:" "Vice-Admiral lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covers her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave men who have so

* Letter, dated April 4th, in "Court and Cabinets," &c. vol. iii. p. 151.

† Dispatch.

‡ Southey—"Life of Nelson."

nobly defended them." Fremantle says, "At this time he was aware that our ships were cut to pieces, and it would be difficult to get them out. A Danish superior officer appeared in about half an hour with a note from the Crown Prince, desiring to know the particular object of sending the flag of truce. Nelson wrote that his object was humanity; that he consented that hostilities should cease; that he would take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes as he should think fit; concluding with saying that he should consider this the greatest victory he had ever gained, if it should effect a reconciliation between his own sovereign and the king of Denmark. The firing having ceased entirely, Nelson lost not a moment in endeavouring to get out of his dangerous position amongst the shoals. "We cut our cables and ran out," writes Fremantle. "The ships were so crippled they would not steer. The Elephant and Defiance both ran on shore. We ran on shore, and the Monarch." There were six sail of the line and a frigate fast on shore before the batteries ceased firing. Nelson left the Elephant, and went to his admiral in the London, following the Danish adjutant-general, who had gone to the flag-ship to negotiate for terms. It was agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities for four-and-twenty hours. During the night the boats of sir Hyde Parker's division were employed in getting the grounded ships afloat, and in bringing out the prizes.

This great battle was fought on Good Friday. The next day Nelson went on shore, as arranged, for an interview with the Crown Prince. The accounts of Nelson's reception by the Danish people, on his way to the palace, differ. "There were neither murmurs nor acclamations," says Southey. Nelson himself told Fremantle that "he was hailed with cheers by the multitude, who came to receive him at the water-side." Some consider the cheers as a tribute to Nelson's humanity in sparing the conquered in the prizes, when he might have destroyed them. Fremantle attributes the popular feeling to distaste of the quarrel with England: "The populace are much in our favour, and the merchants already feel the total want of commerce." After a negotiation which lasted five days, an armistice for fourteen weeks was agreed upon. The Danish government wanted an armistice for a shorter period, for Nelson said plainly that he required a long term that he might act against the Russian fleet. He finally prevailed. The Danish prisoners and the wounded were sent on shore; to be credited to the account of Great Britain in the event of renewed hostilities. The prizes, with the exception of one sixty-four, were

burned. The stores found in the captured vessels enabled our fleet to be refitted. Nelson went off to the Baltic to look for the Russians; but a sudden event had changed the temper of the Court of St. Petersburg. The emperor Paul had been assassinated.

The czar of Russia was of a violent nature bordering on insanity, if he were not really mad. From being one of the fiercest haters of the French Revolution he had suddenly become an idolator of Bonaparte. Russia had sent her armies under Suwaroff to fight in the cause of the Allied powers in 1799. In 1800 Paul declared war against England, and burnt her merchant vessels. The suspension of the interchange of Russian products with British manufactures was fatal to the interests of the Russian proprietors of the soil. When they remonstrated, Paul threatened them with Siberia. Exile after exile was hurried away; the prisons were filled; executions were frequent; till the greatest and most powerful of the aristocracy began to think that their own safety could only be secured by the one terrible defence of enslaved populations against the caprices of their tyrants. His ministers, his wife, his children, were not safe from his fury. The palace in which he lived was guarded as a fortress. On the night of the 23d of March, the conspirators, by virtue of their military rank, obtained admission; and the czar was murdered in his bed-room. Bonaparte had the almost incredible meanness to promulgate in the *Moniteur* that the English government was to be suspected of this crime. The death of Paul destroyed one of his projects for the ruin of England. It broke up the adhesion of Russia to the Northern Treaty of Armed Neutrality; Sweden made no hostile demonstrations; and the armistice with Denmark was followed up by a general Convention in which all the disputes were adjusted.

The French army in Egypt, when left by Bonaparte under the command of Kléber, had contended with very partial success against the Turks, under the command of the Grand Vizier, assisted by an English fleet commanded by sir Sidney Smith. The Allies recovered the fortress of El Arish; and Kléber, left with a force which he felt to be unequal to the retention of the country, agreed to evacuate Egypt, by a treaty signed at El Arish in January, 1800. One of the conditions was that the French troops should return without molestation to Europe. The British government refuse to ratify the treaty; and Kléber renewed the war with increased vigour. He achieved victories over the troops of the Grand Seignor, which appeared to give the French secure possession of the country which they now expected that they should

colonize. On the 14th of June, 1800, this most able of the French generals was assassinated at Cairo by a fanatic; and the command fell to general Menou. The expedition under general Abercromby was undertaken through the vigorous determination of Mr. Pitt to make one strenuous effort for the expulsion of the French. On the 2d of March, the English fleet anchored in the bay of Aboukir—the scene of Nelson's great victory. Beneath the waters of that bay the hulk of L'Orient lay engulfed, and was touched by the cable of a ship of that armament that now came to finish the work of the 1st of August. It was two o'clock on the morning of the 8th of March before a debarkation could be attempted. Five thousand five hundred troops first left their transports, and proceeded in a hundred and fifty boats towards the castle of Aboukir and the sand-hills where the French were posted. The sailors steadily rowed on; the soldiers sat unmoved; whilst showers of ball fell amongst them and all around them. The loss was considerable; but on went this first division in unbroken array. The shore was reached almost simultaneously by all the boats; the men jumped out into the surf, and were quickly charging up the sand-hills. A second party landed in the same style; and then a third. Bertrand, a French general at St. Helena, said that the landing of the first division was like a movement on the opera stage—in five or six minutes five thousand five hundred men stood in battle array.* The French retired; but our gallant fellows had five hundred killed or wounded. During the day Abercromby completed the landing of the remaining divisions of his army. But it was not so easy to land the cannon and stores. It was necessary also to invest the castle of Aboukir. It was the 12th before the British general advanced. On the 13th a severe action took place, in which our loss was considerable. On the 19th the main armies of the two nations were in strong positions near Alexandria. Their numbers were nearly equal. Early in the morning of the 21st the French infantry under Lanusse commenced an attack on the British lines. Lanusse was driven back, and was killed. Another column came up to renew the attack; and now the French cavalry, with Menou at their head, made a desperate charge. The famous 42nd Highlanders bore the brunt of this conflict. Various were the changes of fortune through this fight, which began at day break and lasted till ten of the forenoon. At length Menou retreated. Early in the day Abercromby received a wound which proved mortal. When the French cavalry charged he galloped to the spot; was unhorsed; but with his own hand the gallant soldier, who had seen sixty-two

* Quoted by Alison from Las Cases.

years, disarmed the enemy who had wounded him. He again mounted his horse, and concealed his hurt from his faithful soldiers. When the action was over, he fainted from loss of blood; was conveyed to the admiral's ship; and lingered till the 28th.

The battle of Alexandria first destroyed the belief that the British land forces were unequal to a struggle with the troops that Bonaparte had led to many a victory. The French were no longer "the Invincibles." The army of Abercromby had lost its veteran leader; but the command did not fall into the hands of one destitute of vigour. General Hutchinson was reinforced; the Turks under the Grand Vizier again advanced through the desert to encounter the enemy that had so severely handled them in the previous year. They were assisted by experienced English officers. On the 20th of May, Hutchinson, on the left bank of the Nile, invested Cairo, which had been strongly fortified by Kléber and Menou. The Grand Vizier was in force on the opposite bank. The Indian army under General Baird was daily expected to arrive from Bombay. Belliard, who commanded at Cairo, proposed to capitulate, and it was at once agreed to accept the same conditions as those of the rejected treaty of El Arish—that the French troops should be conveyed home, with their arms, baggage, and ten pieces of artillery. Many of the objects of Egyptian art collected by the French were to be surrendered.* Menou, who was at Alexandria, refused at first to accept the conditions for himself, but he yielded to the presence of a British force on the 27th of August. In that autumn Egypt was cleared of the French, and was restored to the dominion of the Sultan.

At the period when the Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers was broken up, chiefly by our naval preponderance, and the first successes of the British arms in Egypt had given the people some confidence in our generals and soldiers, there were negotiations for peace with France proceeding in London with great secrecy. M. Otto, a French Protestant, of some experience in diplomacy, had been in London since 1799. In August, 1800, during the suspension of arms between Austria and France, the First Consul gave to "Citizen Otto, commissary of the government for the exchange of French prisoners in England, power to propose, consent to, and sign a general armistice" between the French Republic and Great Britain. The papers which related to this negotiation, which had reference also to a negotiation for

* The Rosetta stone, and the sarcophagus of Alexander, now in the British Museum, were amongst these ancient monuments, many of which the French were ultimately allowed to take with them.

peace, were laid before Parliament. The negotiation was broken off; and M. Otto had little reason to think that his peace-making services would be again required, when France had compelled the peace of Luneville, and Bonaparte was proclaiming his intention immediately to invade England. Mr. Pitt, had he remained in power, would probably have rejected any pacific overtures made to Great Britain, when she stood alone in her resistance to the government whose territory was now only bounded by the Rhine; which dominated over Italy; to which Holland and Spain were vassals. Having prepared for one great effort in the Baltic and in Egypt, Pitt would have waited the result in the attitude of majestic pride. Could he have made the Union with Ireland a real Union, he would still have defied France, and even Europe prostrate before her. To the weak government of Addington, M. Otto could apply with more hope of success. He was in indirect communication with the first minister in May; his visits to Lord Hawkesbury were frequent during the summer. In August, Bonaparte, either in bravado, or with a real purpose, was threatening invasion. The French armies were, for the most part, at home, eager for employment. It was determined to invade England, not with a hundred thousand men carried over in transports, conveyed by a powerful fleet. That dream was at an end. The hundred thousand men were to come over in a flotilla of gun-brigs, or rafts—flat vessels of about 200 tons, armed each with four or eight heavy guns. Such a flotilla was collected at Boulogne. Nelson was sent in August to attack this flotilla—to cut it out of the harbour. He failed. In the middle of September the best informed men did not think that there would be any suspension of hostilities. "I confess," wrote Cornwallis, who commanded the forces on the Eastern coast, "that I see no prospect of peace, or of anything good." At this moment Bonaparte was pressing on the negotiations for peace. "The first consul," says Thiers, "in seeing what were the first acts of Menou, had judged the campaign lost, and he was desirous, before the dénouement that he foretold, to have a treaty signed at London. The English minister," Thiers adds, "incapable of seeing beforehand, as Bonaparte had seen, the result of events, feared some vigorous blow from the French army in Egypt, so renowned for its valour." * The Preliminary Articles of Peace between the United Kingdom and the French Republic were signed at London, on the first of October, by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. Hostilities were to cease as soon as the preliminaries should be signed and ratified, which ratification was to take

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," livre xi.

place within fifteen days. Immediately after their ratification plenipotentiaries were to be named on each side, who should repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a Definitive Treaty of Peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

The burst of popular enthusiasm at the news of Peace was, naturally, somewhat extravagant. General Lauriston arrived in London with the ratification on the 10th of October. When he was proceeding, with M. Otto to Whitehall, the populace took the horses from the carriage, dragged it to Downing Street, and into the Park to the garden entrance to the Admiralty. There stood lord St. Vincent, who thus addressed the mob :—"Gentlemen! gentlemen! (three huzzas) let me request you to be as orderly as possible, and if you are determined to drag the gentleman, accompanied by M. Otto, I request you to be careful and not overturn the carriage." * The mob cheered, and dragged the Frenchmen home. There were illuminations in London for two nights. The rejoicings throughout the country were equally demonstrative of natural gladness that the war was at an end, no matter how. Wilberforce was at Bath, and writes in his Diary, "the people intoxicated with joy here, and everywhere." The king was not pleased with the peace. He wrote to lord Eldon on the 28th of October, approving of the election of an alderman of London, for he was a loyal subject and dilligent magistrate. "Such men are peculiarly suited for the present year, when, by the embarrassed situation from the trial of peace with a turbulent and revolutionary republic, every attention of the police must be exerted to avoid the dangers and difficulties that may otherwise ensue." † The king talked more wisely to lord Malmesbury in November. "Do you know what I call the Peace?—an experimental Peace, for it is nothing else. But it was unavoidable." ‡ "During October," says Malmesbury, "I observed that the people's joy, which was immoderate at first, abated; and that the more thinking and wiser part of the community began to demur as to all the certain advantages that must follow peace." The veteran negotiator did not much care whether the terms were better or worse than those which he had proposed at Lisl . Had peace, he thought, been made at Lisle, France would have been under a moderate government, desirous to consolidate the power she had attained. "The government of France, whilst Bonaparte remains as First Consul, is like that of Persia under Kouli Khan; it knows no bounds, either moral or civil—is ruled by no principles; and to

* "Annual Register," 1801, p. 33.

† Twiss—"Life of Eldon," vol. i. p. 398.

‡ Malmesbury—"Diaries," vol. iv. p. 65.

pretend to say that Bonaparte's ambition is circumscribed, or that, with the means of doing everything, he will do nothing, is talking criminal nonsense." * It was not very long before all England came to lord Malmesbury's opinion. The terms of the Preliminaries were discussed in Parliament. We shall briefly notice the final terms of the Definitive Treaty. In the debates in November, Sheridan best expressed the common feeling of the nation: "This is a peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of." Fox did not express the common feeling of the nation when he wrote: "Bonaparte's triumph is now complete indeed, and since there is to be no political liberty in the world, I really believe he is the fittest person to be master." †

The marquis Cornwallis was appointed as plenipotentiary to conduct the negotiations at Amiens. A more subtle diplomatist might have been chosen, but it would have been difficult to have found one more honest. He arrived in Paris on the 7th of November. On the 10th he had an audience of Bonaparte. The First Consul was gracious; inquired after the health of the king; and "spoke of the British nation in terms of great respect, intimating that as long as we remained friends there would be no interruption to the peace of Europe." Bonaparte might have thought the millennium was at hand when Cornwallis thus addressed him: "I told him that the horrors which succeeded the Revolution had created a general alarm; that all the neighbouring-nations dreaded the contagion; that when, for the happiness of mankind, and of France in particular, he was called to fill his present station, we knew him only as a hero and a conqueror; but the good order and tranquillity which the country now enjoyed, made us respect him as a statesman and a legislator, and had removed our apprehensions of having connection and intercourse with France." ‡ Cornwallis fancied that he might have had frequent interviews with the First Consul, and that they could have got through the business without diplomatic delays. He soon found that he was not likely to have any such confidential communications. They had another interview; and then Cornwallis went to Amiens, to negotiate with Joseph Bonaparte, who was described by his brother as "a just and fair man." Our ambassador felt that in his two conversations with the First Consul, he spoke in the tone of a king—"(*Il parle en roi*)"—"I would rather give up; it is hard upon me; I will take care of the Stadtholder." § Bonaparte was indeed as absolute as any king.

* Malmesbury,—"Diaries," vol. iv. p. 63.

† Correspondence of Fox, vol. iii. p. 543. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 390. § *Ibid.*, p. 406.

Lord Broome, (the son of Cornwallis,) who accompanied him, writes: "I believe Windham would find it difficult to discover any Jacobin principle in the constitution, which is certainly the most despotic that ever existed in any country."* It would be idle for us to attempt to unravel the tangled web of the four months' diplomacy at Amiens. New demands were set up by the French, although they had originally professed to adhere to the preliminary treaty. At the end of January, Cornwallis has lost confidence in the negotiations terminating happily. "What can be expected from a nation naturally overbearing and insolent, when all the powers of Europe are prostrating themselves at its feet, and supplicating for forgiveness and future favour, except one little island, which, by land, at least, is reduced to a strict and at best a very inconvenient defensive?"† In January, Bonaparte had gone to Lyons, and had there accepted, from the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic, the Presidency of those States—in other words, the sovereignty. Hawkesbury wrote to complain to Cornwallis of "the inordinate ambition, the gross breach of faith, and the inclination to insult Europe, manifested by the First Consul on this occasion." Nevertheless, said our Foreign Secretary, "the Government here are desirous of avoiding to take notice of these proceedings, and are sincerely desirous to conclude the peace, if it can be obtained on terms consistent with our honour"‡ The Definitive Treaty was signed on the 27th of March, without any material variation from the Preliminaries. The question of Malta, upon which the war was ostensibly renewed, was left in a very ambiguous position. By the Preliminary Treaty, it was stipulated that Malta should be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. "For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the Definitive Treaty." This was a constant subject of contention at Amiens. The knights of Malta were in truth a nullity. The guarantee was to be given for a scattered and bankrupt body, with a traitor as their nominal head, who had betrayed the island to the French. The end was a compromise, sure to produce a quarrel. There was no ambiguity about Great Britain surrendering all the conquests she had made in the war, except Ceylon, taken from the Dutch, and Trinidad, taken from the Spaniards. The French were to evacuate Naples and the Papal States. Egypt was to be re-

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 410.

† *Ibid.*, p. 489.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

stored to the Sultan. The Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was to be recognized. The integrity of Portugal was guaranteed. The French retained all that they had acquired in Europe by the war. The Balance of Power, the orthodox creed of a century, had received many rude assaults; it had now become "a creed outworn."

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from volume vi. page 598.)

- 1787 August 18: the Turks declare war against Russia.
- 1788 February 10: the Emperor of Germany joined Russia against Turkey.
- 1788 September 25: the King of France convened the States-General to assemble in January, 1789.
- 1790 September 27: the preliminary treaty ratified with Spain, relative to Nootka Sound; definitive treaty signed on the 28th October.
- 1791 July 20: *convention of Pilnitz*, between the Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia.
- 1792 April 20: the French National Assembly declared war against the Emperor of Germany.
- 1792 June 26: the *first coalition* against France took place, and the King of Prussia issued his manifesto.
- 1792 September 16: war declared against Sardinia by the French National Assembly.
- 1793 February 1: France declared war against Great Britain and Holland.
- 1793 February 9: the Duke of Tuscany acknowledged the French Republic.
- 1793 May 25: Spain engaged to assist Great Britain.
- 1793 September 3: the King of Naples declared war against the French Republic.
- 1793 Great Britain concluded treaties, July 14, with Prussia; August 30, with Austria; and September 26, with Portugal.
- 1795 February 15: the first pacification between the National Assembly of France and the Vendéans, concluded.
- 1795 February 18: a defensive alliance entered into with Russia, by Great Britain.
- 1795 April 5: *peace of Basle*, between the King of Prussia and the French Republic.
- 1795 May 16: treaty of alliance signed at Paris, between France and the United Provinces, against England. Dutch Flanders ceded to France.
- 1795 July 22: peace ratified at Basle between France and Spain. Spanish St. Domingo ceded to France.
- 1795 November 25: the *partition of Poland* took place between Russia, Austria and Prussia.
- 1796 May 15: *treaty of Paris*, between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia, the latter ceding Savoy, Nice, the territory of Tende, and Beuil, and granting a free passage for troops through his states.
- 1796 August 5: the *treaty of Berlin* ratified between Prussia and France, whereby the neutrality of the north of Germany was guaranteed.
- 1796 August 19: an *alliance offensive and defensive* concluded at *St. Ildefonso*, between France and Spain.
- 1796 October 6: war declared by Spain against Great Britain.
- 1797 February 19: *treaty of Tolentino*, between the French Republic and the Pope.
- 1797 April 18: preliminaries of the *peace of Leoben* signed between Austria and France.
- 1797 October 17: *Treaty of Campo Formio*, between France and Austria, the latter power yielding the Low Countries and the Ionian Islands to France; and Milan, Mantua, and Modena, to the Cisalpine republic; Venice assigned to the Emperor.

- 1797 December 9: *congress of Radstadt* commenced its labours to treat concerning a general peace with the Germanic powers.
- 1798 Switzerland invaded by the French.
- 1798 September 12: war declared against France by the Porte, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the latter power, Russia, and Great Britain.
- 1798 October 3: Naples and Sardinia commence hostilities against France.
- 1798 December 29: a treaty of alliance and subsidies, agreed upon between Great Britain and Russia, against France.
- 1799 June 22: the *second coalition* against France, by Great Britain, the Emperors of Germany and Russia, part of the German Empire, the Kings of Naples and Portugal, Turkey, and the Barbary States. Conference of Radstadt broken up.
- 1800 June 20: a treaty of subsidies ratified at Vienna, between Austria and England, stipulating that the war should be vigorously prosecuted against France, and that neither of the contracting powers should enter into a separate peace.
- 1800 December 16: a *treaty of armed neutrality ratified*, between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, at Petersburg, in order to cause their flags to be respected by the belligerent powers.
- 1801 February 9: *peace of Luneville*, between the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany, confirming the cessions made by the treaty of Campo Formio, stipulating that the Rhine, to the Dutch territories, should form the boundary of France, and recognizing the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics.
- 1801 March 3: war declared by Spain against Portugal.
- 1801 March 21: a treaty signed at Madrid between France and Spain, whereby the estates of Parma were yielded to France, who in return ceded Tuscany to the Prince of Parma, with the title of King of Etruria.
- 1801 March 28: a treaty of peace between France and the King of Naples, signed at Florence, by which France acquired the Isles of Elba, Piombino, and Presides.
- 1801 June 17: a treaty concluded between Great Britain and Russia at Petersburg.
- 1801 July 25: the *Concordat* between Bonaparte and Pius VII., signed at Paris.
- 1801 August 8: a treaty of peace concluded between Spain and Portugal.
- 1801 September 29: a treaty of peace signed at Madrid, between France and Portugal.
- 1801 October 1: preliminary articles of peace between France and England, signed at London by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto.
- 1801 October 8: a treaty of peace ratified at Paris between the Emperor of Russia and the French government.
- 1802 March 25: *peace of Amiens* between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland.
- 1802 June 25: definitive treaty between France and the Ottoman Porte.

POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.	ESTIMATE, 1700.	ESTIMATE, 1750.	CENSUS. 1801.
Bedford	48,500	53,900	65,500
Berks	74,700	92,700	112,800
Buckingham	80,500	99,700	114,000
Cambridge	76,000	72,000	92,300
Chester	107,000	131,600	198,100
Cornwall	105,800	135,000	194,500
Cumberland	62,300	86,900	121,100
Derby	93,800	109,500	166,500
Devon	248,200	272,200	354,000
Dorset	90,000	96,100	119,100
Durham	95,500	135,000	165,700
Essex	157,300	167,800	234,000
Gloucester	155,200	207,800	259,100
Hereford	60,900	74,100	92,100
Hertford	70,500	86,500	100,800
Huntingdon	34,700	32,500	38,500
Kent	153,800	190,000	317,800
Lancaster	166,200	297,400	695,100
Leicester	80,000	95,000	134,400
Lincoln	180,000	160,200	215,500
Middlesex	624,200	644,500	845,400
Monmouth	39,700	40,600	47,100
Norfolk	210,200	215,100	282,400
Northampton	119,500	123,300	136,100
Northumberland	118,000	141,700	167,300
Nottingham	65,200	77,000	105,000
Oxford	79,000	92,400	113,200
Rutland	16,600	13,100	16,900
Salop (Shrop.)	104,500	130,300	172,200
Somerset	195,900	224,500	282,800
Hampshire	118,700	137,500	226,900
Stafford	117,200	160,000	247,100
Suffolk	154,700	156,500	217,400
Surrey	154,900	207,100	278,000
Sussex	91,400	107,400	164,600
Warwick	96,600	104,000	215,100
Westmoreland	28,600	36,300	43,000
Wiltshire	153,900	168,400	191,200
Worcester	88,200	108,000	143,900
York (East Riding)	96,200	85,500	144,000
York (North Riding)	93,600	117,200	160,500
York (West Riding)	239,700	361,500	582,700
England	5,103,500	6,017,700	8,609,000
Wales	366,500	449,300	559,000
Scotland	5,475,000	6,467,000	9,168,000
Total, Great Britain			1,652,400

COUNTIES OF WALES.	1801.
Angeley	35,000
Brecon	32,700
Cardigan	44,100
Carmarthen	69,600
Carmarvon	43,000
Denbigh	62,400
Flint	41,000
Glamorgan	74,000
Merioneth	30,500
Montgomery	49,300
Pembroke	58,200
Radnor	19,700
Total	559,000

SHIRES OF SCOTLAND.	1801
Aberdeen	127,200
Argyll	74,300
Ayr	87,100
Banff	37,000
Berwick	31,600
Bute	12,200
Caitness	23,400
Cathnahan	11,200
Dumbarton	21,400
Dumfries	56,400
Edinburgh	127,100
Elgin	27,600
Fife	96,900
Forfar	102,400
Haddington	31,000
Inverness	76,800
Kincardine	27,200
Kinross	6,900
Kirkcaldbright	30,200
Laonar	151,600
Linlithgow	18,400
Nairn	8,500
Orkney & Shetland	48,400
Peebles	9,000
Perth	130,600
Renfrew	80,700
Ross and Cromarty	57,200
Roxburgh	34,800
Selkirk	5,200
Stirling	52,500
Sutherland	23,900
Wigtown	23,700
Total	1,652,400

* The numbers of the Army, Navy, &c., are added in these enumerations to the numbers of the Resident Population.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Peace a precarious armistice.—Demands of Bonaparte.—English in France.—French encroachments.—The king's allusion to them in his Speech.—French expedition to St. Domingo.—Toussaint L'Ouverture.—Mr. Addington's policy.—Bonaparte and lord Whitworth.—Trial of Peltier.—Speech of Mackintosh.—Despard's conspiracy.—Militia called out.—Violence of Bonaparte towards the British ambassador.—Malta.—War declared.—Negotiations for Mr. Pitt's return to power.—Detention in France of English travellers.—Great Britain roused.—Preparations for invasion.—Emmett's insurrection.—Rapid enrolment of Volunteers.—Bonaparte at Boulogne.—Pitt at Walmer.—The Volunteers reviewed.—Weakness of the Addington ministry.—The king's illness.—Negotiations for a change of ministry.—Pitt presses for an administration on a broad basis.—His failure.—Pitt prime minister.—Conspiracy against the First Consul.—Murder of the Duc d'Enghien.

LET us compare the opinions of two historians on the likelihood of the duration of peace. "The treaty of Amiens had scarcely been signed, when the restless ambition and the insupportable insolence of the First Consul convinced the great body of the English people that the peace, so eagerly welcomed, was only a precarious armistice."* We turn from the view of Macaulay to that of Thiers: "The treaty of Amiens had been signed only a few months, and their joy at the peace had a little cooled amongst the English, when there remained before their eyes, as if it were a bright and troublesome light, the grandeur of France, unhappily too little disguised in the person of the First Consul. Some civilities to Mr. Fox, on his visit to Paris, did not prevent their seeing that the First Consul had the attitude of master, not only in the affairs of France, but in the affairs of Europe. His language, full of genius and ambition, offended the pride of the English; his devouring activity disturbed their repose."† What the English historian calls "insupportable insolence," the French historian describes as "language full of genius and ambition."‡ Two months only had passed since the conclusion of peace, when M. Otto said that if paragraphs against Bonaparte continued to appear in the English papers, there would be "war to the death."§ The casual conversations of M. Otto soon took the form of positive demands on the part of the First Consul. They were these: To put a stop to offensive publi-

* Macaulay—"Biographies," Pitt, p. 217.

† Thiers—"Le Consulat et l'Empire," tom. xvii. p. 845. 1860.

‡ "Life of Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 153.

cations; to send away certain disaffected persons and transport others; to require the princes of the house of Bourbon, resident in England, to repair to Warsaw; to expel all French emigrants who may wear decorations belonging to the ancient government of France. M. Otto was told by lord Hawkesbury that "no representation of a foreign power would ever induce government to violate those rights on which the liberties of the people of this country are founded: "that if emigrants did not break the laws they could not be molested; that the law admitted no previous restraints upon publications; and that the law alone was the only protection which the government itself possessed or required against libels. Words incomprehensible to despotism! "Alas," says M. Thiers, "the First Consul descended from his glorious height to listen to pamphleteers, and to deliver himself to transports as violent as they were unworthy of him. To outrage him, the wise, the victorious, what an unpardonable crime! Torrents of blood must flow, because pamphleteers, always assailing their own government, had insulted a stranger—a great man, without doubt, but a man, after all, and the chief of a rival nation." *

The Session of Parliament was closed on the 28th of June, and the Parliament was dissolved on the following day. Mr. Speaker Abbot, in addressing the king, said, "We now indulge the flattering hope that we may cultivate the arts of peace." The country generally did not indulge that hope. The people began "at last to apprehend that neither credit, satisfaction, nor even security, had been attained by the treaty of Amiens."† Yet there was a feeling amongst the higher and richer classes more intense than dread of the ambition, or indignation at the arrogance, of Bonaparte:

"Is it a reed that's shaken by the wind,
Or what is it that ye go forth to see?
Lords, lawyers, statesmen, squires of low degree,
Men known, and men unknown; sick, lame, and blind,
Post forward all, like creatures of one kind,
With first-fruit offerings crowd to bend the knee
In France, before the new-born majesty."‡

Much of the rush to France was a natural curiosity. Certainly amongst many there were higher motives in the desire to look upon a country in which ten years had produced such marvellous changes, than a slavish admiration of irresponsible power. And yet Romilly, who was in Paris in September, had a kindred feeling with the poet who had seen France,

"When faith was pledged to new-born Liberty."

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† Malmesbury—"Diary," May to October, 1802. ‡ Wordsworth—Sonnet, 1802.

CHAPTER IX.

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"Talleyrand sent me word, by Charles Fox, that I might be presented to-day (Anniversary of the Republic) to the First Consul, together with Erskine, at his levee at the Tuileries. I had been disgusted at the eagerness with which the English crowded to do homage at the new court of a usurper and a tyrant, and I made an excuse." Bonaparte had then become Consul for life, with power to choose his successor. "A more absolute despotism," says Romilly, "than that which now exists here, France never experienced." The police was never so vigilant; there was no freedom of discussion; the press was never so restrained; all English newspapers were prohibited; spies were in every society; all this machinery of despotism was carried on in the name of liberty and equality. The despotism was endured and even coveted, for it "is a sort of paradise, compared with the agitation, the perpetual alarm, the scenes of infamy and bloodshed which accompanied the pretended liberties of France." *

When the Session of the new Parliament was opened on the 23rd of November, there was something ominous in the King's Speech. In his intercourse with foreign powers he had been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace; but it was nevertheless impossible to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states are connected with our own. "I cannot, therefore," continued the king, "be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength." During the progress of the negotiations at Amiens, Bonaparte had become the Dictator of the Cisalpine Republic. After the conclusion of the peace, the First Consul, to use the sugared words of M. Thiers, "exercising in Switzerland his beneficent dictation, sent an army to Berne." The government of Mr. Addington made a mild remonstrance, which was answered by Bonaparte asserting that the king of England "had no right to complain of the conduct, or to interfere with the proceedings, of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens." † In September, Piedmont was formally annexed to the French territory. The First Consul had stipulated with the Batavian Republic, that he would withdraw the French auxiliary troops on the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty. At the end of October the British minister at the Hague reported that 11,000 French soldiers were halted on the Dutch frontiers, and that their pay and maintenance was demanded from the Batavian

* Romilly—"Diary," October, 1802.

† Declaration of the British Government, 18th May, 1803.

government. It was time that the recommendation in the king's speech should be attended to—that the means of security for preserving peace should be adopted. These means were represented by a vote for 129,000 land forces, and 50,000 seamen and marines. The necessity for an additional military establishment was supported by the statement that France had a total regular force of 427,000 men, and altogether had at command 929,000 men.* The vote for additional seamen was urged as an imperious necessity, required on account of "a large armament being fitted out in the ports of a rival nation." Mr. Windham said of the French, "their temple of liberty is transformed into the temple of Mars."† In the debates on these estimates Mr. Fox held that, "with regard to the views of Bonaparte, he saw no reason why, having gained great military glory, his ambition might not now induce him to turn his attention to the improvement of the commerce of his country." Previous to the debate on the Army Estimates, Fox wrote to Sheridan, "I am very much against your abusing Bonaparte, because I am sure it is impolitic both for the country and ourselves. But,—as you please; only, for God's sake, Peace."‡

There is an entry in Mr. Wilberforce's Diary of the 3rd of February, 1803, which has reference to an unreported debate of that day, when Parliament re-assembled after the recess: "House of Commons. Busy about our helping Bonaparte with ships for St. Domingo." The help was given by British merchants, who had agreed to let out their ships to the French to carry over troops and stores to that island, which was struggling for the freedom of the blacks. Addington was cool about this transaction, and half defended it. Pitt reprobated what Wilberforce describes as a monstrous crime. Whilst the negotiations at Amiens were proceeding, the French government was preparing an expedition upon the largest scale for the destruction of the government in St. Domingo, where, after a long struggle, the military genius and the political sagacity of Toussaint L'Ouverture had succeeded in establishing the civil and military dominion of free negroes, of which government he was the undisputed head.§ The English ministry made some remonstrance against the formidable outfit of the French expedition; but, the First Consul said that "we were materially interested in the reduction of Toussaint's power, who would otherwise establish in the West Indies a piratical state."||

* Debate on the Army Estimates, December 8th.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxvi. col. 1096.

‡ Moore—"Life of Sheridan," p. 599—quarto ed.

§ See *ante*, vol. vi. p. 577.

|| "Corwallis Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 400.

The French republican government had in 1794 issued a proclamation emancipating the slaves. Toussaint became from that time a supporter of France, and in 1796 was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo. He manifested his confidence in the French by sending his children to be educated in Paris. By the time Bonaparte had assumed the reins of power, Toussaint had reduced St. Domingo to a condition of tranquillity; and had exercised a strict but just sway, which allowed the agriculture and commerce of the great island to attain some degree of their ancient prosperity. In 1801, the leading chiefs, in a Constitution which they formed, appointed Toussaint President and Governor for life. He apprised Bonaparte of his new dignity in a letter beginning, "The first of Blacks to the first of Whites." This was probably held an assumption not to be endured. The expedition was instantly prepared; and a fleet of nearly a hundred and forty vessels, with twenty-one thousand troops, sailed on the 14th of December, 1801. When this great force appeared off the island, Toussaint was disheartened. He nevertheless resisted for some time, until some of his generals were won over by the generals of Bonaparte, on receiving promises of honours and rewards. Toussaint resisted; because he knew that the object of the French was to re-establish slavery, as they had done in Guadaloupe. He was finally compelled to submit; but he refused to accept any authority at the hands of those who brought fetters for his African brethren. He retired to his farm in the mountains, where he remained for two months. But, being invited to a conference with the French generals, he left his retreat, was arrested, and with his wife and children was taken on board a vessel of war and carried to Brest. He was finally immured in the castle of Joux, near Besançon; was subjected to the most frightful severities; and died there on the 27th of April, 1803.* The death of Toussaint produced a deep impression in England. The abolition of the Slave Trade had been agitated in every recent session of Parliament, and the fate of the heroic negro was ever in men's minds when they thought of the wrongs of his race. In his treatment, in the name of Liberty and Equality, they saw that magnanimity formed no portion of the nature of the First Consul.

Since the conclusion of the peace, Mr. Addington had endured a good deal of reproach as a man incompetent to direct the affairs of the country at a crisis of great difficulty and danger. He was held to be too timid in his dealings with France. On the 19th of

* For an interesting description of this prison, see Miss Martineau's "The Hour and the Man," vol. iii. p. 258.

February, he told lord Malmesbury that his maxim was "to resist or bear all clamour and invective at home till such time as France (and he ever foresaw it must happen) had filled the measure of her folly, and had put herself completely in the wrong." * That time the minister thought had arrived. Bonaparte had published in the "Moniteur" of the 30th of January, a Report of Colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent by him to explore Egypt and Syria. This Report stated that with a few thousand men France might easily reconquer Egypt; that the people were in love with the French and hated the English; and that the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands were ready to declare for the French. Adding on told Malmesbury that the Cabinet, in consequence of this Report, had directed lord Whitworth, our ambassador, to declare that the First Consul's views on Egypt were now made manifest; that his intention of annulling the Republic of the Seven Islands was also demonstrated; that every part of the Report betrayed views of hostile aggrandizement, as regarded Great Britain; and that until a full and unequivocal explanation was given, the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Amiens respecting Malta could not be expected. This dispatch to lord Whitworth went on the 7th. On the 24th the ambassador sent an account of what had taken place at the Tuileries on the morning of the 18th. Bonaparte harangued him for two hours, lord Whitworth in vain trying to put in a word:—Every wind that blew from Dover brought additional instances of our personal dislike to him; there were two French newspapers paid by us to abuse him; had we treated him with confidence and attention he was ready to have joined with us in governing the world, which, with his army and our fleet, might certainly be done; that he now saw plainly that the two countries must ever be at enmity, if not at war; that the mode in which we had taken up the affair of his officer in Egypt was injurious and unwarrantable; that he had rather see us in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than in possession of Malta; that he would not provoke war, but that he had an army of 400,000 men, with which he would attack us at home, command the expedition himself, run all risks, and sacrifice army after army till he succeeded. Lord Whitworth replied with calmness; noticing that the acquisitions which France had made since the peace, and those she evidently had in contemplation to make, rendered it impossible for England to remain quiet. "What," said Bonaparte, "you mean France has got Piedmont, and part of Switzerland—*deux misérables bagatelles*."

Within a day or two of this memorable interview, another

* Malmesbury—"Diaries," &c., vol. iv. p. 243.

cause of offence was blown by the winds over the Straits of Dover. One of the French papers published in London, *L'Ambigu*, conducted by M. Peltier, a royalist emigrant, contained many bitter reproaches and insinuations against Bonaparte. The First Consul had demanded, as we have seen, that a vigour beyond the law should be exercised with regard to journals; he required that Peltier should be banished, but he was told that the law alone could give him redress. He then demanded the prosecution of Peltier by the attorney-general for "a libel on a friendly government." This was putting his complaint upon a right issue. Mr. Perceval opened the case for the crown; Mr. Mackintosh defended Peltier. The jury returned a verdict for the crown, and so far Bonaparte had every reason to be satisfied with the impartiality of the English laws. But Peltier published a report of the trial, with a full translation of the speech of Mackintosh, which, re-translated into other languages—and amongst the translators was Madame de Stael—was circulated throughout Europe, with the exception, no doubt, of France. The triumph of the First Consul in the verdict of an English jury must have been a small compensation for the surpassing eloquence of an English advocate. The triumph of Bonaparte was nothing to the triumph of dispassionate Englishmen in the assertion of the majesty of the law under which they lived. Their feelings would go with the great advocate. Their judgments would go with the verdict against an unscrupulous writer, who had hinted at assassination as a remedy for the evils of tyranny. It was difficult to come to a sound conclusion, under the power of such eloquence. "Gentlemen," said Mackintosh to the jury, "the real prosecutor in this case is the master of the greatest empire the civilized world ever saw. The defendant is a defenceless, proscribed exile. . . . I am to consider this as the first of a long series of conflicts between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press remaining in Europe." It is impossible to give a notion of the grandeur of the speech of Mackintosh. On the Stock Exchange of London, it was thought that the acquittal of Peltier would be considered in France as tantamount to a declaration of war. The eloquence poured forth in his defence was in reality the manifesto of a nation, and not the formal declaration of war by a government. When all freedom of opinion had been trampled down in France, let us consider what must have been the effect in England of such words as these: "One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society; where he can boldly pub-

lish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen, and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British Empire." Having proceeded to describe "circumstances in the history of this country which have induced our ancestors at all times to handle, with more than ordinary tenderness, that branch of the liberty of discussion which is applied to the conduct of foreign states," the orator indirectly, but not the less distinctly, pointed to the attitude of France at the moment in which he was speaking: "When vast projects of aggrandizement are manifested, when schemes of criminal ambition are carried into effect, the day of battle is fast approaching for England. Her free government cannot engage in dangerous wars, without the hearty and affectionate support of her people. A state thus situated cannot, without the utmost peril, silence those public discussions which are to point the popular indignation against those who must soon be enemies. In domestic dissensions, it may sometimes be the supposed interest of government to overawe the press. But it never can be even their apparent interest when the danger is purely foreign. A king of England who, in such circumstances, should conspire against the free press of this country, would undermine the foundations of his own throne; he would silence the trumpet which is to call his people round his standard."

Whilst the trial of Peltier was proceeding in the Court of King's Bench on the 21st of February, a fearful tragedy was enacted at the new gaol in the Borough. Colonel Despard and six accomplices were executed for high treason. This was no case of constructive treason. Edward Marcus Despard, a native of Ireland, had served in our army with a bravery and good conduct to which Lord Nelson bore testimony on his trial. Towards the close of the war he had preferred some claim against government which was not attended to; had become irritated; and had so conducted himself as to be arrested, and confined in Coldbath Fields prison, until he was released by the expiration of the Act for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus. Maddened into wild prospects of revenge, this fierce enthusiast engaged privates of the Guards, and some of the humblest workmen, in a conspiracy which he said was to have the most extensive ramifications, for killing the king; for attacking the Tower; for taking possession of the Bank, the public offices, and the Houses of Parliament. During the trial it was distinctly ascertained that there was no foreign instigation to

this wild plot; and that the obscure actors, who met in low public houses, had no correspondence in any other part of the United Kingdom. The madman had seduced ignorant men to believe in him; and he and they suffered the penalty of the highest crime known to the law.

On the 8th of March, a Royal Message was delivered to Parliament, for calling out the Militia, "in consequence of the preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, whilst important discussions are subsisting between his Majesty and the French government." On the 14th lord Whitworth sent a remarkable dispatch to lord Hawkesbury, the official publication of which in May had been anticipated by the details of all the journals of Europe, except those of France. At the Court of the Tuileries on Sunday, the 13th of March, an extraordinary scene between Bonaparte and the British ambassador took place, in the presence of two hundred persons, including the foreign ministers. Whilst the ambassadors were waiting for their audience, we are informed by M. Thiers, "the First Consul was with Madame Bonaparte in her apartment, playing with the infant who was then intended to be his heir, the newly-born son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense de Beauharnais."* The name of lord Whitworth was announced, continues Thiers. "It produced upon the First Consul a visible impression. He left the child; took abruptly the hand of Madame Bonaparte; rushed through the door which opened in the saloon of reception; passed before the foreign ministers who pressed around him, and went straight to lord Whitworth." Then came a series of rapid interrogations and reproaches: Have you any news from England?—So you are determined to go to war!—No; said the ambassador, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.—You wish then for war? Lord Whitworth goes on to relate that Bonaparte "then proceeded to count Marcow and the chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me and said to them—The English wish for war, but if they are the first to draw the sword I shall be the last to sheathe it. They respect not treaties; henceforth we must cover them with black crape. He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me. He began again:—Why armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a ship of the line in the ports of France. But if you desire to arm, I also will arm; if you will fight, I will fight. You

* Louis and Hortense (the daughter of Josephine by her first husband) were married in 1802. The infant was their first son. Louis Napoleon, emperor of the French, was the third son.

may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." We wish neither the one nor the other, said the calm ambassador. We wish to live in a good understanding with France. "Respect treaties, then," said Bonaparte. "Woe to those who respect not treaties. There were two months more of diplomacy, but this scene at the Tuileries was the beginning of the end. "The first Consul from that day swore to perish or to punish England. Fatal oath!"* The first orders that bore upon his design to cross the strait between Dover and Calais, and to carry into England one of the armies that had conquered Europe, date from the day when he first heard of the Message to Parliament of the king of England.† If the First Consul had been patient, if he had insisted with firmness, but with gentleness, upon the evacuation of Malta, the excuses for the non-performance of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens would have been soon given up by the feeble minister of Great Britain. So thinks M. Thiers.‡ This result is not very probable. The French historian holds that the English were altogether wrong, for their ambition with regard to Malta, so slightly covered by dissimulation, had become a real scandal. The First Consul, he says, ought to have wholly left them in the wrong, instead of making his bursts of anger resound from one end of the world to the other.§ France demanded a literal fulfilment of the treaty; that the island should be surrendered to the Knights of Malta. France and Spain had sequestered the possessions of the Knights. "We bound ourselves to surrender it to a known Order, clothed with certain powers, and capable of exerting themselves in consequence of certain revenues. We found no such Order. The men indeed and the name we found."|| This is the ostensible defence of the conduct of England as regards its morality. The truth is, we had possession of Malta, and we had learnt its value, through its sagacious governor, sir Alexander Ball. The First Consul had pursued a system of aggression after we had signed away this key of the Mediterranean, which France desired to be in the hands of those who could not keep it. Malta, in itself, was not worth a war; but on the eve of a war which most men saw would be inevitable, it would have been very chivalrous to have evacuated Malta, but it may be questioned whether in that case the ministry of Mr. Adington would not have been laughed at by Bonaparte and Talleyrand for their weakness. The impolicy of the evacuation of Malta is the real defence for its retention. And thus we went to war, after a

* Thiers—"Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xvii. p. 317 (Paris, 1860).

† *Ibid.*, tome iv. p. 315 (Paris, 1845).

‡ *Ibid.*, tome xvii. p. 847.

§ *Ibid.*, tome iv. p. 314.

|| Coleridge—"Friend," Essay vi.

peace which had lasted one year and six weeks. On the 18th May, the Declaration of War, and the various documents by which the final measure was to be supported, were laid upon the tables of the two Houses of Parliament.

It is scarcely necessary that we should enter into any minute details of the negotiations for the return of Mr. Pitt to power, in conjunction with Mr. Addington—a negotiation which had been going on during the months of March and April. There are various accounts of these negotiations, but it appears clearly that an overture to Pitt was made to him from Addington, through lord Melville; and that it was proposed to Pitt that he should name some one to be First Lord of the Treasury, not receiving that situation himself, but taking the office of Secretary of State, Addington being the other Secretary.* Wilberforce tells the story of the mission of Dundas with a variation: "After dinner and port wine, he began cautiously to open his proposals. But he saw it would not do, and stopped abruptly. 'Really,' said Pitt, with a sly severity, and it was almost the only sharp thing I ever heard him say of any friend, 'I had not the curiosity to ask what I was to be.'"† Pitt was then offered the Treasury, on condition that there should be no extensive changes in other offices. Pitt stipulated that Melville, Spencer, Grenville, and Windham should be of the Cabinet; that there must be a general sweep; and that the change must be made with the king's desire. Addington demurred.‡ The king's "own Chancellor" saw his majesty, on the 20th of April, and "told the story in his own way, as the king expressed resentment against Pitt, talked of his putting the Crown in commission, and that he carried his plan of removal so extremely far and so high, that it might reach *him*."§ Pitt would not come into office upon Addington's propositions. But he was tired, and so were his friends, of bolstering up a feeble government. The admirers of Pitt felt that a great crisis was at hand; and Canning, on a subsequent occasion, expressed what he and others had long suppressed or conveyed only in sarcastic allusions: "Away with the cant of 'Measures, not men;' the idle supposition that it is the harness and not the horses that draw the chariot along. . . . What is the nature of the times in which we live? Look at France, and see what we have to cope with, and consider what has made her what she is—a Man." Addington remained in power during another year.

* Rose—"Diaries and Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 31.

† Wilberforce—"Life," vol. iii. p. 219.

‡ See Lord Colchester's "Diary," p. 414 to 417. § Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 190.

On the 23rd of May there was unusual excitement with reference to the proceedings of the House of Commons. The king's Message was to be taken into consideration. The Strangers' Gallery was filled at an early hour; and the Reporters for the Journals, then, and long afterwards, obliged to struggle for their places, were shut out. We have thus lost irrecoverably the oration of Pitt, who had been for some time absent from parliament. It is universally represented to have been one of his greatest efforts. The finest speech, says Malmesbury, he ever made—strong in support of war, but silent as to ministers. His very finest, according to Romilly: "His influence and authority in the House of Commons, shown upon the debate I have just mentioned, and still more on the day when Fox moved that the House should recommend the Crown to accept the mediation of Russia, exceed all belief." * Fox said of Pitt's speech "that if Demosthenes had been present, he must have admired and might have envied." † But neither Pitt nor Fox pressed for the retirement of ministers. They did not vote for the condemnatory resolutions that were proposed, and Addington had therefore a large majority. Whoever was minister at that crisis, and would carry on the war vigorously, would have the support of the country. Bonaparte, in addition to his manifestations of bitter hostility against the British government, had committed an outrage upon British subjects which roused the national feeling. Two French vessels had been captured under English letters of marque. The First Consul, under the pretence that it was contrary to the law of nations to make captures at sea before a general declaration of war, arrested ten thousand English travellers in France. The plea was a false one. The vessels were taken on the 20th of May, at which time war had been openly announced by the departure of the ambassadors of either country. He detained the English visitors in captivity till his abdication in 1814 restored most of them to their homes. "If," writes Romilly, "it had been Bonaparte's object to give strength to the British ministry, and to make the war universally popular in England, he could not have devised a better expedient." In a frenzy of passion he sent for Junot, the governor of Paris, and ordered him to take measures that all the English should be seized—the Temple, the Force, the Abbaye, (prisons) would hold them. Junot remonstrated; but he told him, with an oath, that he would show him and his other generals that he would make himself obeyed. ‡

And now there was only one mind in Great Britain. "The

* Letter cxx.

† Horner—"Memoirs," vol. i. p. 221.

‡ "Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantes."

land bristled." The spirit that was raised in France by the duke of Brunswick was raised in England by Bonaparte. The pressure of taxation, the desire for a reformed House of Commons, the remembrances of despotic acts of the government, the sympathy with republican France—all was forgotten, in the one absorbing impulse for the defence of the soil. Throughout the land went the eloquent Declaration of "the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London," agreed to at the Royal Exchange amidst the cheers of five thousand of the most eminent citizens of the greatest commercial community of the world. The Declaration was written by Macintosh. The pledge of London became the common pledge of every town and city of the provinces. "We deem it our duty solemnly to bind ourselves to each other, and to our countrymen, in the most sacred manner, that we will employ all our exertions to rouse the spirit and to assist the resources of the kingdom; that we will be ready with our services of every sort, and on every occasion, in its defence; and that we will rather perish together, than live to see the honour of the British name tarnished, or that noble inheritance of greatness, glory, and liberty destroyed, which has descended to us from our forefathers, and which we are determined to transmit to our posterity."* To the "English commercial aristocracy, more active than the old aristocracy of the nobility." M. Thiers attributes the war. They were afraid, he says, of the competition with which they were menaced by the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Genoese flags; "the mercantile interest (*haut commerce*) of London became hostile."† The merchants must have kept very bad accounts, and have made very unsound calculations, to have feared the competition of France and her dependencies, when their flags could traverse the seas uninterrupted by war. In 1801, before the peace of Amiens, the official value of our Exports was thirty-seven millions; in 1802, a year of uninterrupted peace, they had risen to forty-one millions; in 1803, when the peace was broken, they fell to thirty-one millions.

It had become a sort of popular tradition in France that an army might be transported from Calais to Dover in flat-bottomed boats. France, by a common movement of its departments and its towns, offered flat-bottomed boats to the government. These boats were, when unladen, to draw only three or four feet of water. Built in the interior, on the banks of the Gironde, the Loire, the Seine, the Somme, the Oise, the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, they were to descend these rivers to their mouths, and, creeping along the

* "Annual Register," 1803, p. 412.

† "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome iv. p. 311.

shores, to be united in the ports of La Manche. There they were to take on board a hundred and fifty thousand men, ten thousand horses, and four hundred pieces of ordnance.* Lord Dundonald says that Bonaparte had become aware that any number of French gun-boats could sail along their own coasts, under the protection of the numerous batteries ; and although it has been the custom to deride this armament, he sees no cause to doubt that it might have been successful, sooner or later.† To cross the Channel with an army, to terminate in London the rivalry of two nations, was the prodigious enterprise to which Bonaparte applied his faculties during three successive years. "So filled was he with hope that he rested, calm, confident, happy even, in preparation for an attempt which would conduct him either to be the master of the world, or to be engulfed, himself, his army, his glory, at the bottom of the ocean." ‡

On the 23rd of June, the First Consul, accompanied by Madame Bonaparte, set out to visit the coasts of the Channel from the Seine to the Scheldt. He demanded from the minister of the public treasure the diamonds of the crown, to form ornaments for his wife. He would show himself in the splendour of regality, "in all but name a king." In the autumn of 1803 his plans of invasion were becoming mature. He would attack the United Kingdom on several points at once. A portion of his army should invade Ireland from Brest. There were Irish fugitives in France with whom the First Consul negotiated. He would send an expedition of eighteen thousand men with an ample supply of arms, if they would furnish twenty thousand insurgents. Of course the fugitives were ready to promise, and to stipulate that France should not make peace with England without the independence of Ireland being a condition. The issue of the Irish insurrection of the 23rd of July abated nothing of these sanguine hopes. Robert Emmett, who with his elder brother had been implicated in the Rebellion, had returned to Ireland in 1802. By the death of his father he had obtained 3000*l.*, a sum which he employed in organizing a new rebellion. The peace was not at end when young Emmett began to swear in conspirators. On the 23rd of July—the government being aware that mischief was brooding—the insurrection broke out in Dublin. It was marked by an act of peculiar atrocity—the murder of the venerable lord Kilwarden, the Lord Chief Justice, a man of the most upright and amiable character, who came amongst an armed mob, in his carriage, accompanied by his daughter. The

* See Thiers, tome iv. pp. 352-3.

† "Autobiography of a Seaman," vol. i. p. 167.

‡ Thiers, tome iv. p. 368.

nephew of lord Kilwarden was also murdered. The daughter escaped. The insurrection, if so it can be called, was put down in a few hours. Robert Emmett fled, with some of his misguided companions, to the Wicklow mountains; returned to take leave of the daughter of Curran, the great advocate, whose affections he had clandestinely obtained; was tried, and was executed with others whose names are forgotten. The romance of his love appears to have saved the memory of the chief conspirator from oblivion. The young men and maidens of this age ask who he was, when they hear the well-known lament of—

“Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade.”

Emmett was a rash enthusiast, who stirred up a hopeless conspiracy, with no support except amongst the dregs of the populace. He was a Protestant, and his revolt had no reference to the disregarded claims of the majority of the Irish people. He desired to see Ireland an independent Republic; and he depended for assistance upon that man who had trodden the liberties of republican France under the hoof of an armed despotism.

On the 17th of June, Charles Yorke, the Secretary at War, proposed that an Army of Reserve of 50,000 men should be immediately raised. Mr. Windham maintained that this was a mere addition to the militia, with all the evils of that system, one of which evils was the privilege of exemption from personal service of the man chosen by ballot who could provide a substitute. A militia could never be equal to a regular army. He preferred what he called “a Vendean rising *en masse*.” On the 18th of July, a more extensive measure was proposed by the Secretary at War: that an enrolment should be made of all men in every parish between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five. These were divided into four classes, and according to their ages and family condition, as indicated by the class, they were to be called out and exercised, arms being provided for them. Mr. Windham thought that powers such as those proposed by the bill should be vested in the executive government, but that government should not be in haste to make use of them, till it should be seen what might be hoped from exertions purely voluntary. Fox took the course which was at once the most practical and the most patriotic. He wished that there were no compulsory provisions in the bill, of the principles of which he approved. Go round from house to house and ask who would be willing to serve their country in the hour of danger; there would not be five refusals in five hundred; and let those who agree to serve be immediately called forth to be instructed. “I am

attempting to give you soldiers, but armed citizens; men whose bosoms glow with the love of their country and their connexions, and who, in defence of them, would be as ready to fight an enemy as the best disciplined soldiers in the world." * Addington said that sixty thousand volunteers had already offered. When, on the 10th of August, Sheridan proposed a vote of thanks to the Volunteers, it was stated that three hundred thousand had been enrolled. At the commencement of the next Session, a Return was made of such corps as had been accepted and placed on the Establishment, and the number enrolled was 379,943. †

There was a prorogation of Parliament for about three months. That interval of legislation was one of the most stirring periods of Britain's history. There are a hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen encamped at Boulogne and its neighbourhood. The First Consul passes much of his time amidst these troops. He puts them through exercises on land and on water. He gallops along the sands. He traverses the sea margin in a small boat. He writes to Cambacérès, "I have passed three days in the midst of the camp and the port. From the heights of Ambleteuse I have seen the coast of England as one sees Calvary ‡ from the Tuileries. One can distinguish the houses and objects in motion. It is a ditch that will be leapt over, when we shall have the boldness to make the attempt." § He would make the attempt in the autumn; then he would wait till the beginning of winter; then he would wait till February; he would wait till a fleet with twenty thousand more men had arrived from the Texel, and eighteen thousand in a fleet from Brest. Meanwhile, according to M. Thiers, although thirty thousand Frenchmen would not have caused the English to fear, a hundred and fifty thousand, led by general Bonaparte, produced a shiver of terror in every class of the nation. || Let us see how they shivered.

At Walmer Castle, near Deal, in September, October, and November, was residing William Pitt. How is the man engaged who for seventeen years had been prime minister of his country? On the 9th of August, Wilberforce wrote,—“Pitt is about to take the command of three thousand volunteers, as Lord Warden. I am uneasy at it. He does not engage on equal or common terms; and his spirit will lead him to be foremost in the battle.” ¶ On the 8th of September Pitt writes to Rose, that he could not go far

* “Parliamentary History,” vol. xxxvi. col. 1646.

† See Table at the end of this Chapter.

‡ An artificial hill near Paris; also called Mount Valerien.

§ Thiers, tome iv. p. 493.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¶ “Life,” vol. iii. p. 113.

from his post, "though we have certainly no immediate indication of any intention from the other side of the water to give us employment." In October he thinks that some attempt will be made soon. "In this situation I am likely to have my time very completely occupied by the various concerns of my regiment and my district." At the beginning of December he will be so constantly occupied all next week in going round to his different battalions that it would be impossible for him to think of going to town.* How Bonaparte would have laughed could he have seen from those heights of Ambleuse the tall gaunt figure of the statesman whom he most hated and dreaded, dressed in regimental scarlet, and giving the command to a few companies of awkward volunteers. He would have laughed with that full measure of contempt with which a great captain always regards unprofessional soldiers. He would have sneered with the pride of a despot at the spirit of a constitutional government which had called up the power of a people, "for freedom combating," to meet "the power of armies." The great ex-minister doing the duties of a simple citizen, amidst the changes of a limited monarchy, was the embodiment of the principle of duty, as opposed to the principle of personal ambition, which knew no law but the will of the strongest. What Pitt was doing as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was being done by every Lord-Lieutenant of England and of Scotland. Nearly four hundred thousand men, providing their own clothing, receiving no pay, having no privilege but what they considered an exemption from being balloted for the militia, sprang up at a word. "An imposing force," says M. Thiers, "if it had been organized." It was partially organized in a few months; and it had this specialty in its organization, that it was not a mere military machine, but a congregation of citizens, "united as one individual soul," each of whom would fight to the death as long as there was a Frenchman in arms on the soil. Minister or mechanic, lawyer or labourer, peer or peasant, all were inspired by one spirit. The king on Windsor Terrace, calls to the band to play "Britons, strike home." The ploughman whistles "Rule Britannia," as he cleaves his furrow. The Dumfries weaver sings at his loom "Scots, wha ha' wi' Wallace bled." The drum is heard in every village. The musket-shot strikes the target on many a common. There are not muskets at first for all; and the pike is a temporary weapon. A fast-day is appointed on the 19th of October, and the churches from Land's-End to John O'Groats are filled with young and old, who feel that it is a solemn time, and that their defenders, who are worshipping with them in serried

* See Rose—"Diaries," &c., vol. ii. pp. 69-73.

rank, must look to the Highest for the victory. On the 26th of October the king reviews the Volunteers of London in Hyde Park—twelve thousand four hundred. On the 28th, the king reviews fourteen thousand six hundred of the Volunteers of Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark. They come "from shop and palace, cot and hall." This "general agitation of all classes," says the considerate M. Thiers, "This call of mechanics from their workshops, of merchants from their business, of rich lords from their luxuries," was "a punishment for the conduct of the British government." If prolonged, this agitation would become "an immense evil, and a source of great danger for public order." It was the great principle by which public order was preserved. At a Cabinet Council, ministers hesitated about allowing volunteer regiments. "Do as you please," said Eldon, "but if these men do not volunteer for you, they will against you."* Extreme Toryism drew a line of demarcation between "you," the government, and "they," the people. It trusted in suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act and in *ex-officio* informations. It was slow to trust in the people. At a later period Eldon thought that the Volunteers saved the country." They saved their own hearths, and, in doing so, they saved the throne and the woolstack.

The king opened the Session on the 22nd of November. The well-worn congratulations were used upon the acquisition of the West Indian Islands;—acquisitions which Windham described as objects of no importance, when compared with the immense projects of the enemy. During six months of that Session, night after night was spent in reprobation, or in defence, of the Volunteer system. They would never be fit to act in the field; they cost too much; they ought to be disbanded; a great army of regulars should be created; an armed peasantry would be a better force. Pitt stood up steadily for supporting and encouraging the Volunteers. He truly said that ministers had rather retarded and enfeebled the volunteer system, than contributed anything to its force and efficiency. Whilst they gave a pompous detail of the force of the country, they should have recollected that it proceeded from the resources and spirit of the nation, and not from their energy and wisdom. "Whatever the spirit and zeal of a free and brave people may have been, under the sense of danger, ought fairly to be separated from the tardiness, langour, and imbecility of ministers, in every thing of which they have assumed the direction."† The want of

* Twiss—"Life of Eldon," vol. i. p. 416.

† Hansard, vol. ii. col. 270. ("The Parliamentary History," from which we have quoted up to the First Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom, was superseded by "The Parliamentary Debates," now commonly quoted as Hansard.)

arms was a formidable obstacle to the efficiency of the Volunteers. The great mechanical resources of Britain were then very imperfectly developed. Abbot writes in his Diary of the 30th of December, 1803, "The supply of muskets slow. London supplies not more than 500 per week. None come from Birmingham." A wonderful vigour was infused into the government in March. They set up works at the Tower "for stocking and fitting muskets." In April they were able to stock 350 in one week. "2000 firelocks, condemned as useless, are now refitting by these means,"* At this period Malmesbury wrote in his Diary, "The strongest proof of Bonaparte's inability to invade us is his not attempting it at such a moment." The veteran diplomatist was not looking to the want of arms, or to the deficiencies in the Naval Administration, which Pitt had attacked. The ships of England were wearing away with unprecedented rapidity, and no efforts had been made to build new ships. Lord Malmesbury was looking to courts and cabinets rather than to fleets and armies. He trembled at the uncertain state of political parties—their agitations and intrigues. It was clear that the ministry of Addington must fall. It was also clear that the almost unanimous voice of the nation called for Pitt to take the helm. But with whom should he unite himself? Circumstances, then unhappily of no unusual occurrence, had suspended the decision of this question for three months.

On the 12th of February the king's mind was again affected. He had been previously ill of rheumatic gout. His mental attack appears to have been less violent than on previous occasions; but he remained incapable of transacting business in public till the 23rd of April; and it was the 10th of June before it was thought fit to remove the medical control which was essential to his complete recovery. The ministers in March and April constantly maintained that the interference of Parliament was unnecessary. The Chancellor submitted bills to the king, and received his sign-manual. The mere formal acts of sovereignty were performed by him. The grave responsibility which the ministers took upon themselves was repeatedly animadverted upon in Parliament.† But there was one member of the Cabinet who laid himself open to a more serious charge. Mr. Pitt, on the 22nd of April, had written a letter to the king, stating that he could not, consistent with a sense of duty, forbear any longer a direct opposi-

* Colchester—"Diary," vol. i. p. 495.

† The constitutional question of the regal incapacity under such circumstances is fully set forth in the third chapter of Mr. Erskine May's "Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III." (1861.)

tion to the measures of administration. "From the 22nd of April to May the 2nd, there were frequent communications *verbally* between the king and Mr. Pitt through the Chancellor, which led to Mr. Pitt writing a letter to his lordship to be communicated to his majesty; having, during that intercourse, been encouraged to submit his thoughts to the king respecting a new administration, at the head of which he should be." This is Mr. Rose's account.* Lord Eldon is accused by the biographer of Mr. Addington of having betrayed his political chief; and lord Campbell thinks the charge is completely established.† We leave the consideration of his question of personal character to the minute historians. It is sufficient for us to select the more important circumstances of this negotiation. The letter from Mr. Pitt to the Chancellor, which was submitted to the king on the 2nd of May, stated "how desirable it would be, in the present circumstances of this country and of Europe, that an administration should be formed on a broad basis, combining the best talents and the great weight of property of the country; and with that view earnestly recommended including lord Grenville and his friends, and Mr. Fox and his friends."‡ Mr. Rose, who was in the confidence of Mr. Pitt, wrote to the Chancellor on the 4th, urging the same course. Lord Eldon immediately answered, "that he thought the advice to form an administration on the basis alluded to would be the very worst that could be given; adding terms of the highest reprobation, and in a style of acrimony."§ On the 6th, the king wrote to Mr. Pitt. His majesty required of him, before he would consent that he should form an administration, that he would *never* agitate or support Catholic Emancipation or the Repeal of the Test Act; his majesty disapproved of the conduct of lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas when they went out of office; he hoped in a new administration Mr. Pitt would include as many of his majesty's present servants as possible; to the admission of Mr. Fox in the administration the king expressed an absolute negative.|| In the autumn of that year the king told Mr. Rose, "that he had taken a positive determination not to admit Mr. Fox into his counsels, even at the hazard of a civil war."¶ Bonaparte was at the gates; and the king would risk something far higher than his Crown,—the lives of his people, the independence of his country,—for a miserable personal pique, which he was compelled to lay aside two years afterwards. In an evil hour Pitt complied with the will of his obstinate sovereign. The Grenvilles refused to take office without Fox. Pitt had stated in

* "Diary," vol. ii. p. 113.

† "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. cxcviii.

‡ Rose, vol. ii. p. 114.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

his letter of the 2nd of May that he would not agitate for Catholic Emancipation during the king's lifetime; but he contrived to evade giving the monstrous pledge required by the king, that he would *never* support the claims of the Catholics or the Repeal of the Test Act. In an evil hour Pitt accepted the post of prime minister, under the limitations prescribed by the king. On the 10th of May, Addington resigned.* Grenville, on the 8th, had written to Pitt, on the part of himself and the other members of the Opposition, declining his offers: "We rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to a system of government, which is to be formed at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion."† On the 18th of May, William Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, took the oaths and his seat in the House of Commons upon his re-election for the University of Cambridge. On the 18th of May, the Senate of France, by their decree, declared Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French.

The indiscretion, to use no harsher term, of the Addington Ministry had contributed towards placing Bonaparte on the throne. Lord Malmesbury thus writes in his Diary:—"In the beginning of February, the measures concerted by Pichegru, Moreau, &c., were confided to me. They were represented as *immanquable*. The idea was the restoration of the monarchy under a Bourbon prince. Their plans were extensive, and, as they thought, well and secretly arranged." It is not likely that what Lord Malmesbury knew was concealed from the leading members of the Administration. He adds, that "whenever the events became certain, and the moment arrived that a more conspicuous character was necessary, Lord Hertford was to appear in the double character of making peace and restoring the old dynasty." Lord Hertford—the second marquis—was not a very "conspicuous character" in 1804, although he figured in the court scandals of 1814. Nevertheless the lord of Ragley might have been considered by the French emigrants as the noblest representative of the British aristocracy; and the French Bonapartists might have regarded him as impersonating the British monarchy. Pichegru went to Paris in January, where Georges Cadoudal, one of the insurgents in Brittany, had also ar-

* See "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. i. p. 508. "He told us he had resigned, and should pack up his *awls*." The transcriber, or the printer, of his Diary, must imagine that Addington in the humility of the moment thought with the citizen in Julius Cæsar—"Truly, sir, in respect of a fine workman, I am but, as you would say, a cobbler—all that I live by is with the awl."

† "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. iii. p. 352.

rived. On the 17th of February, the Minister of Justice made a Report to the First Consul, of the discovery of a conspiracy. It begins thus:—"New plots have been hatched by England." It concludes by saying, "England had no hopes of accomplishing her design but by the assassination of the First Consul." The Report implicates Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau—with others designated as brigands. Georges and Pichegru, after some time had elapsed, were apprehended. Georges was executed; Pichegru was found strangled in prison; and Moreau was exiled. The conspirators denied that the assassination of Bonaparte was any part of their plot. Although it is perfectly clear that no idea of assassination could ever have been contemplated by the most violent of English statesmen, the complicity of the Ministry with the scheme of overturning the consular government, and restoring the monarchy, was reasonably inferred by the discovery of a clandestine correspondence between Mr. Drake, our Minister at Bavaria, and some disaffected persons in France, which correspondence was carried on by a spy, who betrayed Drake to the French government. Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoy at Wurtemberg, was also involved in these intrigues. Official notes passed between Talleyrand and lord Hawkesbury upon the conduct of these envoys; and in answer to the remonstrances of the French government, our Secretary for Foreign Affairs maintained, that "a minister in a foreign country is obliged, by the nature of his office, and the duties of his situation, to abstain from all communication with the disaffected of the country where he is accredited, as well as from every act injurious to the interests of that country; but he is not subject to the same restraints with respect to countries with which his sovereign is at war."* This is very doubtful morality. When lord Hawkesbury said that "belligerent powers have an acknowledged right to avail themselves of all discontents that may exist in countries with which they may be at war," he did not very logically close his argument by reproaching the French for their encouragement of Irish rebels. The murder of the duc d'Enghien, the only son of the duc de Bourbon, and grandson of the prince de Condé, quickly followed the discovery of what French writers call the Anglo-Bourbon conspiracy. He was residing in the State of Baden; was carried off to France by a troop of horse which had crossed the Rhine in the night; was conducted to Paris on the 20th of March, heavily fettered; was hurried to the Castle of Vincennes, and was subjected the same night to an examination by a military commission, who sentenced him to death. He was shot before

* State Papers—"Annual Register," 1804, p. 602.

dawn, in the ditch of the castle, by the light of torches. His murder produced a profound sensation throughout all civilized countries. Thiers has a few epigrammatic sentences on the conduct of Bonaparte in this hateful transaction. "The sage Consul had suddenly become a madman. He was the injured man who breathes only vengeance ; he was the victorious man voluntarily braving the enemies that he is sure to conquer. The better to defy his adversaries, and to satisfy his ambition at the same time as his anger, he put the imperial crown upon his head." *

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xv. ii. p. 348.

ABSTRACT OF A LIST OF SUCH YEOMANRY AND VOLUNTEER
CORPS AS HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED AND PLACED ON THE ES-
TABLISHMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	<i>Cav.</i>	<i>Infan.</i>	<i>Art.</i>	<i>Rank & File</i>		<i>Cav.</i>	<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Art.</i>	<i>Rank & File</i>
Aberdeen.....		3,400	120	3,520	London.....	560	13,338		12,460
Anglesea.....		1,000		1,000	Middlesex.....	82	8,299		8,370
Argyll.....		2,028	63	2,091	Man, Isle of.....		695		693
Ayr.....	144	2,677		2,691	Merioneth.....		464		464
Banff.....		960	80	1,022	Monmouth.....	125	1,624		1,656
Bedford.....	177	1,801		1,978	Montgomery.....	120	1,560		1,680
Berks.....	634	3,006		3,484	Nairn.....		320		320
Berwick.....	160	772		911	Norfolk.....	1,120	6,511	180	6,918
Brecon.....		1,196		1,196	Northampton.....	1,037	3,430		4,089
Bucks.....	1,122	2,426		3,121	Northumberland.....	517	4,411		4,726
Bute.....		38		90	Nottingham.....	472	3,635		4,107
Caithness.....		1,272		1,320	Oxford.....	591	3,322		3,516
Cambridge.....	163	2,485		2,500	Orkney & Zetland				
Cardigan.....		567		531	Peebles.....	52	480		532
Carmarthen.....	120	2,316		2,347	Pembroke.....	440	4,852	70	2,701
Carnarvon.....		1,100		1,073	Perth.....	160	3,897	63	4,036
Chester.....	732	4,841	150	5,372	Radnor.....		1,000		1,000
Clackmannan.....	40	296		336	Renfrew.....		2,701		2,414
Cinque Ports.....					Ross.....		1,620		1,620
Cornwall.....	383	5,432	2,328	7,772	Roxburgh.....	128	960		1,060
Cromarty.....		160		164	Rutland.....	160	335		495
Cumberland.....	56	3,431	330	3,736	Salop.....	940	5,022		5,852
Denbigh.....	194	2,344		2,464	Selkirk.....	50	100		142
Derby.....	330	5,277		5,552	Somerset.....	1,544	7,747		9,080
Devon.....	1,873	13,197	1,325	15,212	Stafford.....	1,090	5,425		6,072
Dorset.....	515	2,201		2,340	Stirling.....	308	1,318	65	1,667
Dumbarton.....	88	605		630	Suffolk.....	769	6,837		7,332
Dumfries.....	84	1,875		1,879	Sutherland.....		1,092		1,092
Durham.....	573	3,814	300	4,440	Surrey.....	944	7,801		8,105
Elgin.....		770		784	Sussex.....	1,024	6,114	637	6,198
Essex.....	1,251	6,335		7,033	Tower Hamlets..		4,173		3,742
Fife.....	350	2,613	100	2,906	Warwick.....	708	3,874		4,146
Flint.....	270	2,429		2,698	Westminster.....	260	10,438		10,684
Forfar.....	47	2,602	70	2,717	Westmoreland....		1,420		1,420
Glamorgan.....	213	2,488		2,301	Wight, Isle of....	120	1,732	184	2,030
Gloucester.....	644	6,436	176	7,161	Wigtown.....	105	624		729
Hants.....	1,252	7,164	836	9,509	Wilts.....	850	4,524		5,176
Hereford.....	180	3,720		3,532	Worcester.....	494	4,046		4,304
Hertford.....	625	2,319	50	2,762	York, N. Riding..	267	4,381		4,683
Huntingdon.....	166	840		1,006	York, E. Riding..	382	3,473	61	3,890
Inverness.....		3,666		3,320	York, W. Riding..	1,605	12,990	50	14,006
Kent.....	1,530	8,804	253	10,295					
Kincardine.....		824		824					
Kinross.....		280		280					
Kircudbright.....	200	746		946					
Lanark.....	65	4,448		4,513	Total of effective Rank and File..			347,687	
Lancaster.....	586	13,710	560	14,778	Field Officers.....				1,246
Leicester.....	622	2,946		3,488	Captains.....				4,472
Lincoln.....	713	4,500		7,866	Subalterns.....				9,918
Linlithgow.....	80	800		638	Staff Officers.....				1,100
Lothian, East... }	205	700		905	Serjeants.....				14,787
Lothian, Mid... }	300	1,574		1,843	Drummers.....				6,733
Edinb. City.....		4,853	415	4,757					
					GRAND TOTAL.....				379,943

CHAPTER X.

Parties opposed to Mr. Pitt's government.—Indications of a new Grand Alliance.—Napoleon and the army at Boulogne.—Coronation of Napoleon.—His letter to the king.—Addington joins the ministry.—War with Spain.—Charges against Lord Melville.—His impeachment.—Treaty with Russia.—Annexation of Genoa.—Nelson's chase after the French and Spanish fleets.—Sir Robert Calder's naval action.—Napoleon's anxiety at Boulogne.—He breaks up the camp.—March into Germany.—Surrender of the Austrian army at Ulm.—Nelson takes the command of the fleet off Cadiz.—Victory of Trafalgar.—Death of Nelson.—His Funeral.—French enter Vienna.—Austerlitz.—Peace of Presburg.—Pitt's Failing health.—Death of Pitt.

WHEN Mr. Pitt returned to power in May, 1804, he did not enter the House of Commons with his old confidence in an overwhelming majority. There were three parties who were either wholly or partially opposed to the government. The Addington party was sore and was capricious. The Grenville party was disgusted at the acceptance of office by Pitt, without having stoutly resisted the king's system of exclusion. The Fox party was systematically opposed to the war-policy which had been pursued since 1793. The ministry could only absolutely command about 230 votes; and it would be beaten whenever the three neutral or opposition parties coalesced.* There was a great trial of strength on the 18th of June, in the largest house since 1741. The ministerial majority was only 42, there being 493 members present at the division. † The Session, however, would soon come to a close. On the 31st of July, the prorogation took place. There was a curious incident which the Speaker has recorded. The king read the Speech with great animation, but accidentally turned over two leaves together, and so omitted about one fourth of his intended Speech. Mr. Abbot adds, with a slight touch of sarcasm, "the transition was not incoherent, and it escaped some of the cabinet who had heard it before the king delivered it." The king's printer did not turn over two leaves. The Speech went forth with this significant paragraph: "I entertain the animating hope that the benefit to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves, but that by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the establishment of such a system in Europe as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and may

* Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 9.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. 520.

finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandizement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent." The "effectual barrier" evidently contemplated a new Grand Alliance—"a system in Europe" which should take Great Britain out of her isolation, and give new occupation to the enemy who had vowed her destruction. Wilberforce, after the prorogation, had discovered in Pitt "a greater willingness to subsidize," of which policy he disapproves: "Pitt is the most upright political character I ever knew or heard of; but with all public men it is extremely dangerous for a country that they should be under a temptation to fight it out—to try their fortune again after having been unsuccessful in a former war." *

The 16th of August was the birthday of Napoleon. On that day the emperor was at Boulogne, seated on a magnificent throne, with the dignitaries of his empire, his marshals and his ministers, grouped around him, and before him the mighty army of a hundred thousand men destined for the conquest of England. The spot where this spectacle was exhibited is marked by a column which every Englishman may see—and not without his own national pride—when he is passing the Channel. There Napoleon distributed the crosses of the Legion of Honour to a chosen band; ever and anon raising his telescope to gaze upon a division of his flotilla exchanging a cannonade with an English squadron. He looked upon the white cliffs of Albion as Caligula had looked. Unlike Caligula, he had a people who did not despise his "lofty throne," and he has found historians who are prostrate before the grandeur of this empty pageantry. † If the press had been free in France, the wits would have laughed at this rivalry of the tinsel magnificence of the Theatre. The English journals did laugh. "The British Press," says Thiers, "insulting and arrogant as the whole press is in a free country, ridiculed Napoleon and his preparations; but it was the ridicule of a mocker who trembles whilst he appears to laugh." ‡ The emperor proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence to Mayence, to receive the homage of the petty princes of Germany. He returned to St. Cloud on the 12th of October. He had looked upon England; he had heard his legions swear that they would shed their blood on that chalky shore to make him master of the world; yet he would let the autumn pass without taking the leap of ten leagues across that bewildering sea. "Providence," says M. Thiers, "which had in reserve for him such

* "Life" vol. iii. p. 206.

† For a parallel between Caligula and Napoleon at Boulogne, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 28.

‡ "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome v. p. 197.

abundance of glory, had not permitted him to give this eclat to his coronation. There remained to him another mode to dazzle men's minds—to make the Pope descend for an instant from the pontifical throne, to come to Paris to bless the emperor's sceptre and his crown." A very different sort of victory; a triumph like that over "the poor beetle that we tread upon." The sovereign pontiff made many objections. They were overcome by the man who acknowledged no will but his own. The Pope must come at once; so that the emperor might proceed in December to the conquest of England. On the 2nd of December the Coronation took place in the metropolitan church of Notre Dame. The Pope anointed the Emperor and the Empress with the sacred oil. The crown, the sceptre, the mantle, and the sword were on the altar. The Pope lifted the crown; but Napoleon, snatching the diadem, modelled after the crown of Charlemagne, out of the hands of the Holy Father, placed it upon his own head; and then he crowned the Empress, who knelt before him. Still no invasion of England. "The cry is still they come."—But they did not come; and in the social meetings of that Christmas, the sturdy Anglo-Saxon race joined in many a chorus of "Come if you dare," "The tight little island," and "The land, boys, we live in."

On the 2nd of January, 1805, Napoleon addressed a letter to the king of England; beginning, "Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace." There was much commonplace in this epistle, and some good sense. "Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war? To form a coalition with some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France." The Secretary for Foreign Affairs answered, in the name of the king, that it was impossible for him to reply to this overture till his majesty had communicated with the powers of the continent, and particularly with the emperor of Russia. With an unusual candour the historian of the Empire considers this letter to Napoleon too palpably designed to affect moderation, and to seize an occasion to address the king of England as from monarch to monarch.* When the Imperial Parliament met, this letter to "Monsieur mon frère" was alluded to in the royal speech; but no debate was raised, as on the letter of the First Consul in 1800. All felt that the profession of a desire for peace was a mere form of words, which the writer scarcely expected to deceive.

* Thiers, tome v. p. 274.

Mr. Pitt had strengthened himself before the meeting of parliament on the 15th of January, by a reconciliation with Mr. Addington. The party of the ex-minister, small as it was, and by no means popular in its exclusive pretensions to be called "the king's friends," was yet able to turn the scale upon any nicely balanced question. Addington was raised to the peerage as viscount Sidmouth, and was appointed President of the Council. "So far," writes Francis Horner, "as I had opportunities of observing the the first impression of it, it was strongly disapproved by Pitt's intelligent admirers, and lowered him a little in the city." * The royal Speech announced that war had been declared by Spain against this country. The causes of the war formed the subject of the first important debate of this Session. It was a complicated question; and one in which the British government was, upon the face of it, open to very serious blame. No one could doubt that Spain was in reality the vassal of France; that reinforcements for the French fleets at Toulon and Ferrol had been allowed to pass through Spain; that the court of Madrid was arming vessels of war in various ports; and that whilst these measures were the continual subjects of remonstrance by the British chargé d'affaires the Spanish government refused all satisfactory explanation. All this was perfectly clear; but the remonstrances of Mr. Addington's ministry had been so mild, and his acceptance of excuses so very ready, that the Spanish government could scarcely have been prepared for an act of vigour which appeared somewhat opposed to international law. The precautions of Mr. Pitt's government were chiefly directed to "the possible consequences of the safe arrival of the expected American treasure-ships in the Spanish ports;—an event which has more than once, in former times, become the epoch of the termination of discussions, and of the commencement of hostility, on the part of Spain." † What the first William Pitt proposed to do in 1761 the second William Pitt did in 1804.‡ On the 5th of October, captain Moore, in command of four English frigates, met with a Spanish squadron of four frigates proceeding to Cadiz. He told the Spanish admiral that he had orders to detain these vessels, and that it was his earnest wish to execute his orders without bloodshed. The Spaniard would not yield; an engagement ensued, in which one of the Spanish ships blew up; the other three were taken, with an immense amount of treasure. There was mismanagement in not sending a force sufficiently large to compel the Spanish commander to surrender without loss of honour. The

* "Memoirs of Horner," vol. i. p. 281.

† British Declaration of War, January 24, 1805.

‡ *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 61.

bullion was meant for France, under a treaty by which Spain engaged to pay a large subsidy instead of furnishing France with troops and sailors. The cruel necessity of warfare might be some plea for this measure of precaution. The affair was badly managed, and the resistance which rendered a fight necessary gave the act the character of an unjust aggression, instead of a wise measure of self-defence. The British government, a year before, had given notice to Spain that if her armaments were not discontinued, no declaration of war would be made beyond what had been made in repeated remonstrances. The Spanish government in its final manifesto did not hesitate to assert that it had always contemplated war with Great Britain since France had declared war. Upon this question Mr. Pitt had large majorities in both Houses. He had a majority of 207 in the Commons. Napoleon was indignant at the loss of his subsidy, and immediately applied himself to render Spain an effectual co-operator in hostilities against England. On the 4th of January, admiral Gravina, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, signed a convention which specified the proportions of forces which each power was to furnish in a naval war. Spain engaged to prepare thirty-two ships of the line.

Mr. Pitt came triumphantly out of the discussion on the Spanish war. To one so proud and so sensitive,—so elevated himself above the slightest suspicion of corrupt dealings with the public money, and so confiding in his official friendship,—no mortification during his public life could have been equal to that which he endured when the “Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry” was laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed on the 13th of February. That Report deeply implicated lord Melville, now First Lord of the Admiralty, when, as Mr. Dundas, he filled the office of Treasurer of the Navy before the dissolution of the Pitt ministry in 1801. The Report alleged that the sums standing in the name of the Treasurer of the Navy at the Bank of England had been less than the unappropriated balances; that Mr. Trotter, the paymaster, had admitted that Mr. Dundas had permitted him to withdraw money from the Bank and lodge it in the hands of private bankers; that Mr. Trotter had also admitted that, under the direction of Mr. Dundas, he had laid out 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* for his use and benefit, without considering whether such sums came from public or private balances; and that lord Melville had declared to the Commissioners that he could not say what had been done with some of these sums, without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of government, which his duty to the public must restrain him from revealing.*

* See Report in Hansard, vol. iii. col. 1147 to 1211.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion of censure upon lord Melville. Mr. Pitt moved the previous question, not with the desire of defending or justifying the conduct alleged by the Commissioners in their report, but with the view that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the case, and receive explanations if any could be given. At four o'clock in the morning the House divided, 216 to 216. The Speaker gave the casting vote for the motion of Mr. Whitbread. Lord Fitzharris, the son of lord Malmesbury, made the following interesting record in his note-book of 1806: "I sat wedged close to Pitt himself the night when we were 216 to 216; and the Speaker, Abbot, after looking as white as a sheet, and pausing for ten minutes,) gave the casting vote against us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead, and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks. We had overheard one or two, such as Colonel Wardle (of notorious memory), say, they would see how Billy looked after it. A few young ardent followers of Pitt, with myself, locked their arms together, and formed a circle, in which he moved, I believe unconsciously, out of the House; and neither the colonel nor his friends could approach him." *

On the 10th of April, Mr. Pitt announced lord Melville's resignation. On the 6th of May he informed the House that he had thought it his duty to advise his majesty to erase lord Melville's name from the Council. On the 27th of May, Mr. Whitbread gave notice of moving an impeachment against lord Melville. On the 11th of June, lord Melville, at the bar of the House of Commons, spoke for more than two hours in defence of his conduct, declaring that with regard to two sums, amounting to 21,000*l.*, being "entrusted with the confidential management of the king's interests in Scotland, he had applied the money in a way which no consideration should induce him to reveal." †

On the 12th of June, Mr. Whitbread's motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of 77, in a House of 467 members. On the 25th of June, upon the motion of Mr. Leycester, it was determined to proceed against lord Melville by impeachment, the majority being 23 in a House of 309 members. On the 26th, Mr. Whitbread carried up the impeachment to the bar of the House of Lords; and a Bill was rapidly passed which provided for the continuance of proceedings on the impeachment, under a prorogation or a dissolution of Parliament. On the 12th of July, the Parlia-

* Malmesbury, "Diaries," &c. vol. iv. p. 355.

† "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. ii. p. 8.

ment was prorogued by Commission. A week before the prorogation lord Sidmouth had resigned. He had taken part against lord Melville; and there were other differences which could not be reconciled. Under ordinary circumstances Mr. Pitt would have felt his tenure of power considerably shaken by this defection, when he should have to meet the House of Commons in another Session. His health was impaired, but his spirit was unbroken. He was looking forward to the results of a policy which would place his country in a position of security, and in the success of which his own pre-eminence could not be assailed, even by Fox and Grenville, much less by so feeble a rival as Sidmouth. On the 21st of June, Mr. Pitt had received a confiding vote of the House of Commons, "that a sum not exceeding 3,500,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to enable his majesty to enter into such engagements, and to take such measures, as the exigency of affairs may require."

On the 11th of April a treaty had been signed between Great Britain and Russia, by which each power agreed to unite in the endeavour to form a general league of the States of Europe, for resisting the encroachments of France. Austria hesitated about joining the Alliance; and would not agree to proceed to hostilities till negotiations with France had been attempted and had failed. Napoleon manifested no disposition to relax his system of aggrandizement, or to exhibit any respect for the independence of nations. The delusion of a Cisalpine Republic was at an end when, on the 26th of May, he was crowned King of Italy in the cathedral of Milan. He had told his Senate, when he addressed them on the 17th of March, in explanation of his design to assume the sovereignty of Italy as a separate kingdom, that "the genius of evil would search in vain for pretexts to plunge the continent again in war. What has been united to our empire will remain united. No new province will be incorporated with it." On the 4th of June, the Doge of Genoa, with a deputation of the Senate, came to Milan, to supplicate the Emperor of the French to deign to unite to his empire the Ligurian Republic, in which Genoa was comprised, and to grant them the happiness to be his subjects. It would have been cruel to have been deaf to so pleasant a petition. England only would care about this trifling annexation. What could Austria and Russia care about Genoa? He would soon resolve in London all European questions. He would not hesitate about the danger of offering new provocations, and of giving new pretexts for decrying the ambition of France. He would not hesitate. Genoa should be annexed, and should lend the aid of her ships and sailors to the French marine.*

* See Thiers, tom. v. p. 384.

From the prorogation in July till the end of October, there had never been such suspense and anxiety in England since the May of 1588, when the Spanish Armada had sailed down the Tagus, and an agent of Elizabeth's Council had written home that he judged they would soon be in the English quarters, "so that the lightning and the thunder-clap will be both in a moment."* On the 19th of July the British fleet was at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar. On the 20th, Nelson writes in his Diary, "I went on shore for the first time since June 16, 1803, and, from having my foot out of the Victory, two years wanting ten days." What duty had occupied the great admiral during this period? The duty of long watching and waiting; of pursuing the enemy without any certain knowledge of his destination, from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, and then to the West Indies. He had been appointed to the chief command of the fleet in the Mediterranean at the breaking out of the war, and had sailed from Spithead on the 20th of May. On the 1st of August, 1804, he wrote a very remarkable letter to the Lord Mayor of London, which gave the British people a better notion of the man than the speech of Alderman Curtis in the Common Council. Nelson acknowledged the honour of the Resolutions, "thanking me, as commanding the fleet blockading Toulon. . . . I beg to inform your lordship that the port of Toulon has never been blockaded by me; quite the reverse. Every opportunity has been offered the enemy to put to sea; for it is there that we hope to realize the hopes and expectations of our country, and I trust that they will not be disappointed."† On the 18th of January, 1805, the Toulon fleet came out. Nelson was at anchor off the coast of Sardinia. The weather was stormy. He could hear nothing of the French fleet; and he sailed away for Egypt. He returned; and at Malta found that the French fleet, having been dispersed in a gale, had put back for Toulon. On the 4th of April, he learnt that the French fleet, under admiral Villeneuve, had again put to sea on the 31st of March. They were joined by the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, having four thousand five hundred troops on board. The combined fleet numbered twenty sail of the line and ten frigates. Nelson had ten sail of the line and three frigates. He had guessed their destination, and wrote accordingly to the Admiralty. Pitt, with a patriotic exultation, told the Speaker on the 6th of June that Nelson in his letters received that day said, "he was sailing after the combined fleet to the West Indies, and if he did not find them there he would follow them to the Antip-

* *Antie*, vol. iii. p. 143.

† "Annual Register," 1800, p. 415.

odes." * The Toulon fleet had the start of Nelson more than a month. He was at Barbadoes on the 4th of June; but he was again deceived by false intelligence. The combined fleet had appeared before several West India Islands — Martinique, Granada, Antigua; but they had not ventured to stop. They fled back to Europe, with Nelson after them. On the 3rd of May there was in London a "great alarm for the West Indies." † Two months later it was known that Nelson had saved the West Indies. But he was baffled in his great hope of encountering the French and Spaniards. That exploit was reserved for Sir Robert Calder, who, with fifteen line of battle ships, fell in with them, sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre, on the 22nd of July. After an engagement of four hours, the English admiral captured two Spanish ships, an eighty-four and a seventy-four. The French and Spanish fleet got into Cadiz a month after the action. The British people were indignant that Calder had not done more. He was tried in December by Court Martial, and was reprimanded "for error of judgment." Nelson had traversed the Bay of Biscay, and had sought the enemy on the north-west coast of Ireland, in the belief that the combined fleet was about to make a descent there. He then thought that it was his duty to reinforce the Channel Fleet, and he joined admiral Cornwallis off Ushant. The course of the French and Spaniards were still unknown. Nelson, worn out with the fatigue and anxiety of his chase of the enemy, went home in the Victory. At Portsmouth he learnt of the action of the 22nd of July. The encounter with admiral Calder had been sufficient to disturb the plans of Napoleon for the invasion of England. Villeneuve did not hazard a nearer approach to the English Channel than Ferrol and Corunna. He then altered his course, steering southward; and was safe in Cadiz on the 20th of August. In that port six Spanish ships of the line had been previously at anchor. Collingwood was at hand with four sail of the line; and on the 21st he was reconnoitring the port in which thirty-five French and Spanish sail of the line lay ready for sea. The British squadron cruising off Cadiz was reinforced in August and September. The French admiral had little prospect of obeying his orders to bring his fleet fresh and entire into the British Channel.

On the 3rd of August, Napoleon was again at Boulogne. The next day he reviewed the infantry of this great army of England. In one line of battle were drawn up a hundred thousand men—a line which occupied more than three leagues, reaching from Cap Alpreck to Cap Grisnez. He inspected his flotilla, now all united

* Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 6.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 555.

in the four ports of Ambleteuse, Wimereux, Boulogne, and Etaples. The whole force, ready to embark, comprised a hundred and thirty-two thousand men, and fifteen thousand horses, with nearly six hundred pieces of artillery. There were, moreover, twenty-four thousand troops on the Texel, ready to embark, under the command of Marmont. To prepare the Army of England for their great adventure, the troops were brought down to the beach, where the gunboats were lying to receive them. Every man had his appointed boat and his appointed place. Again, and again, men and horses were embarked and disembarked. It was found that an hour and a quarter was sufficient to get on board the right wing of the army, consisting of twenty-six thousand men, under the command of Davoust; and it was estimated that in two hours after the order had been given, the whole of this mighty force might be out of its harbours. But there was no protecting fleet of men-of-war in the Channel. Where were Villeneuve and Gravina? Where was Ganteaume, with the Brest squadron? Napoleon had no doubt that these fleets would unite, with a force sufficient to give battle to the British commanders. Let him once be assured that they were at hand, and not an hour should be lost in making the attempt that had been preparing for two years and a half. Let France be mistress of the passage for twelve hours, and England has lived.* All along the coast signals had been prepared to announce when the French and Spanish fleets should have appeared on the horizon. No signal was given. On the 22nd of August Napoleon received a despatch, by a courier from Lauriston at Ferrol, "We are going to Brest." He dictated instantly a letter to Ganteaume—"Set out and come here. Let us avenge six centuries of insult and shame." He dictated a letter to Villeneuve—"I hope you are at Brest. Set out; lose not a moment; and to be united with my squadrons come into the Channel. England is ours. We are all ready. All is embarked. Appear within twenty-four hours and all is finished." By the courier which brought Napoleon the despatch of Lauriston, admiral Decrès, the minister of marine, who was also at Boulogne, received a despatch from Villeneuve, which truly described the difficulties of his position. The emperor went into a tremendous passion; denouncing Villeneuve as a fool and a traitor. He was violent with Decrès, who offered him sound advice; but Decrès was a man of firmness, and he persuaded the emperor to give up his project for a season. The tempests of the equinox were at hand; the

* "Si nous sommes maîtres douze heures de la traversée, l'Angleterre a vécu" (an idiom which has the meaning of "has ceased to live").—Letter of Napoleon to Decrès, in Thiers.

English were prepared to encounter the combined fleet. After several days of irresolution, which to men of dominant will is misery, he determined to relinquish for a season the invasion of England, and to march the army of the camp of Boulogne into Germany. He left Boulogne on the 2nd of September.

On the 26th of September, Mr. Pitt gave to lord Malmesbury a "most minute and clear account" of the proceedings which he had taken in negotiating his great Alliances with Russia and Austria. "Never was any measure, as far as human foresight could go, better combined or better negotiated." * Its failure, Malmesbury adds, "was solely in the execution." Neither Mr. Pitt nor the Allies had sufficiently taken into account the extraordinary rapidity of the operations of Napoleon, or the prodigious faculty of combination with which he had organized the movements of his various armies. The emperor called upon the Senate to raise eighty thousand conscripts. He told them, on the 23rd of September, that the wishes of the eternal enemies of the continent are at last fulfilled. Austria and Russia have joined England. The Austrian army has crossed the Inn; the elector of Bavaria has been driven away from his capital; all my hopes of the preservation of peace have vanished. The elector of Bavaria was the ally of France. Bonaparte left Paris on the 24th. The army at Boulogne had broken up its camp. Napoleon had formed the plan of a campaign which should unite this army with two other great divisions of his forces—that of Hanover, under Bernadotte; and that of Holland, under Marmont. The army of Boulogne marched to the Rhine, which river Napoleon crossed at Strasbourg on the 1st of October. In Franconia he would join the other two armies; cross the Danube below Ulm, in the neighbourhood of Donauwerth; and cut off the Austrians before the junction of the Russians. By the end of October, the rapidity of his movements, and their evident design, had caused alarm in London. "The newspapers," writes Wilberforce, "will have excited in your mind the same fears they have called forth in mine, that Bonaparte has been too rapid for the Austrians. . . . I cannot help fearing, from the accounts the papers give us, that the French have penetrated so far as to get between the Russians, who were coming forward, and the Austrians." † This was not an idle fear. Ney's division had defeated the Austrians at Elchingen, and at Guntzburg. Large detached masses had capitulated at other places without fighting. Napoleon's marshals had very speedily reduced

* Malmesbury, "Diaries," &c. vol. iv. p. 347.

† Wilberforce, "Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 48.

the Austrians in Bavaria to a force of about thirty thousand men at Ulm. The wall and bastions and ditch of this city offered no adequate protection; for Napoleon had obtained possession of the adjacent heights from which he could bombard a place from which escape was impossible. He summoned general Mack, the commander of the imperialists, to surrender. Mack returned an indignant answer; but finally agreed to surrender in eight days if he were not relieved. He considered that the Russians were close at hand. Napoleon knew otherwise. But time was of the greatest value to him; and in an interview with Mack, he persuaded him to surrender at once. On the 20th of October, thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, marched out of the fortress, and laid down their arms. The conqueror made an address to some of the officers, telling them that he wanted nothing on the Continent—he wanted ships, colonies, and commerce.

"O'er England's seas his new dominions plann'd,
While the red bolt yet flamed in Nelson's hand." *

Rumours of this inauspicious beginning of the operations of the Alliance that was to have saved Europe, had reached London very quickly. On the 2nd of November, Pitt said to Malmesbury, "Don't believe it—it is all a fiction." On Sunday, the 3rd, a Dutch newspaper had reached Downing-street; with the terms of the capitulation of Mack given at full length. Mr. Pitt and lord Mulgrave came to lord Malmesbury to translate the account, for the clerks of the Foreign-office who were able to translate Dutch were absent. "I observed but too clearly the effect it had on Pitt, though he did his utmost to conceal it. . . . This visit has left an indelible impression on my mind, as his manner and look were not his own, and gave me, in spite of myself, a foreboding of the loss with which we were threatened." † On the 7th of November, the news arrived of the crowning glory of Trafalgar.

Nelson was enjoying a little quiet at his house in the pretty village of Merton, in Surrey, when he learnt that the French and Spanish fleet, joined by the Ferrol squadron, had succeeded in entering Cadiz. His resolution was quickly taken. He went to the Admiralty and offered his services, which were joyfully accepted. Nelson was full of hope. "Depend on it," he said to captain Blackwood, "I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing." He formed his plans of attack during the short time of preparation, when the Victory had to be refitted, and other ships were to be got ready to

* "Ulm and Trafalgar," by J. W. Croker.

† "Malmesbury," vol. iv. p. 347.

accompany him. Lord Sidmouth told Mr. Rush, the American ambassador, that in the course of a visit he had received from Nelson, three weeks before the battle of Trafalgar, he described the plan of it, with bits of paper on a table, as it was afterwards fought. * Yet he had a presentiment of his own fate. The coffin which was made out of the mast of l'Orient was deposited at an upholsterer's. He desired its history to be engraved on its lid, saying that he should probably want it on his return. When he arrived at Portsmouth on the 14th of September, the enthusiasm of the people reached that height which sometimes gives a character of sublimity to the movements of multitudes acting with one heart. They wept; they blessed him; they even knelt as he passed along. The cheer which went up from thousands of voices as his barge pushed off to his flag-ship, was the Godspeed of his country. He waved his hat—a last farewell to England.

The 29th of September was Nelson's birthday. On that day he arrived off Cadiz. He had sent forward the Euryalus frigate to inform Collingwood of his approach, and to direct that no salute should be fired, to apprise the enemy that the British fleet had been reinforced. When he took the command, he had twenty-seven sail of the line, with which he retired to a station more than sixteen leagues from Cadiz, leaving two frigates to watch the harbour. He established also a line of communication between his main body and the frigates. On the day that Nelson joined the fleet, Villeneuve had received the positive orders of Napoleon, that the French squadron should enter the Mediterranean, and, sweeping away the British cruisers and merchant vessels, should proceed to Toulon. The ships that had been damaged in the action with Calder were repaired, with the exception of one that was nearly destroyed. When Villeneuve determined to go out from Cadiz, he could not risk the attempt without the support of the Spanish squadron. The combined fleet, therefore, moved to the entrance of the harbour, all ready for a start with a fair wind. Eight days elapsed before the wind was favourable. On the 19th and 20th of October, thirty-three sail of the line, five frigates, and two brigs, weighed anchor and put to sea. Nelson had despatched six sail of the line to Gibraltar for stores and water. Sir Robert Calder desired to return home, and Nelson insisted that he should go in his own ninety-gun ship. There remained to him twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates. On the 9th, Nelson sent to Collingwood his plan of attack. It was conceived upon the general principle of breaking the line,—a principle, says Thiers, by which the English had

* Rush. "Residence at the Court of London," p. 459.

effected at sea a revolution similar to that which Napoleon had effected on land. But Nelson's plan of attack, in this his greatest adventure, was a more scientific application of the plan which had on many previous occasions been successful. The fleet was to move towards the enemy in two lines, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest two-deckers. Collingwood, having the command of one line, was to break through the enemy about the twelfth ship from their rear; Nelson would lead through the centre; the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four ships a-head of the centre. The plan would necessarily vary according to the strength of the enemy; but its general object was, that the British should always be one-fourth superior to the ships which they cut off. Few signals would be made. One direction was worth many embarrassing orders: "No captain could do wrong who placed his ship close alongside that of an enemy."

When Nelson learned on the 19th that the combined fleet had put to sea, he concluded that their destination was the Mediterranean, and he immediately made all sail for the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar. At daylight on Monday, the 21st, when about seven leagues from Cape Trafalgar, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward. Nelson was upon deck, and the signal was given to bear down in two lines, as arranged. Collingwood led one line in the Royal Sovereign; Nelson led the other line in the Victory. He retired to his cabin, and wrote down a prayer, that God would grant to his country a great and glorious victory; that no misconduct should be allowed to tarnish it; and that humanity after victory might be the fundamental feature in the British fleet: "For myself, individually, I commit my life to him that made me." He then wrote a Memorandum reciting the public services of lady Hamilton, and leaving her, as well as his adopted daughter, to the beneficence of his country. He was calm, but without that exhilaration of spirit which he exhibited in his other great battles. Of captain Blackwood he asked, what he should consider as a victory? The enemy had showed a bold front of battle; and Blackwood answered, that the capture of fourteen sail of the line would be a glorious result. "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty," said Nelson. He then inquired, whether a signal was not wanting? When Blackwood answered, that he thought the whole fleet knew what they were about, up went the signal which conveyed the immortal words, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Three cheers from every ship was the response.*

* The telegraph which communicated the noble exhortation was in numbers thus :

253 269 863 261 471 958 200 870 4 21 19 24.

England expects that every man will do his d u t y.

See James's "Naval History," vol. iii. p. 289.

In the Painted Hall of Greenwich, under a glass cover, is the admiral's coat which Nelson wore on the 21st of October. On its left side are four embroidered stars, the emblems of the Orders with which he was invested. He was implored to put on a plainer dress, for there were riflemen amongst the four thousand troops which were on board the French and Spanish ships. No. What he had won he would wear. On the deck he stood, a mark for the enemy—one whose life was worth a legion. There was a carelessness about his own safety that day which was chivalrous, however unwise. He was persuaded to allow some other vessel to take the lead in his line. He gave a reluctant order, but he made every effort to counteract it, for he would not shorten sail himself. Collingwood, at the head of his line, made all sail, steering right through the enemy's centre: "See how that noble fellow carries his ship into action," said Nelson. "What would Nelson give to be here," said Collingwood. Collingwood was spared to write the despatch which told our country of its gain and of its loss.

"The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command, about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied, the succeeding ships breaking through, in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns: the conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy, and the British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring that consolation which perhaps it ought."

The moving circumstances of the death of Nelson have been told by Southey with a touching fulness which has found its way to many a heart of the past and the present generations. He was shot from the mizzen-top of the Redoubtable, which he supposed had struck. He fell where his secretary had previously fallen.

"They have done for me at last," he said to captain Hardy, "my back bone is shot through." He was carried below, covering his face and his stars with his handkerchief, that his crew might not see who had fallen. His wound was soon perceived to be mortal. Every now and then a ship struck, and the crew of the Victory huzzaed. Then his eyes lighted up for a moment. He lingered in great agony for a little more than three hours. The last guns which were fired at the flying enemy were heard a minute or two before he expired. Twenty of the French and Spanish ships had struck. But a gale came on; some of the prizes went down; others were wrecked on shore; one escaped into Cadiz; four only were saved. Four of the ships that made off during the action were captured on the 4th of November, by sir Richard Strachan. The French and Spanish navies never recovered, during the war, this tremendous blow. Napoleon's projects of invasion were at an end.

It was the 7th of November when Collingwood's despatches reached London. Pitt was roused in the night to read them. He said, a day or two after, that he had been called up at various times by the arrival of news, "but that whether good or bad he could always lay his head on his pillow and sink into sound sleep again. On this occasion, however, the great event announced brought with it so much to weep over, as well as to rejoice at, that he could not calm his thoughts, but at length got up, though it was three in the morning." * The feelings of the prime minister were shared by the humblest in the land. Malmesbury writes, "I never saw so little public joy. The illumination seemed dim, and, as it were, half clouded by the desire of expressing the mixture of contending feelings; every common person in the streets speaking first of their sorrow for him, and then of the victory." † The same feeling pervaded all, when the body of the hero was borne to St. Paul's on the 9th of January;—

"To thy country thou cam'st back
Thou, conqueror, to triumphal Albion cam'st
A corse. I saw before thy hearse pass on
The comrades of thy perils and renown.
The frequent tear upon their dauntless breasts
Fell. I beheld the pomp thick gather'd round
The trophied car that bore thy grac'd remains
Through arm'd ranks, and a nation gazing on.
Bright glow'd the sun, and not a cloud stain'd
Heaven's arch of gold, but all was gloom beneath.
A holy and unutterable pang
Thrill'd on the soul. Awe and mute anguish fell
On all. Yet high the public bosom throb'd
With triumph." ‡

* Note of lord Fitzharris—"Malmesbury," vol. iv. p. 349.

† *Ibid.*, p. 349.

‡ Sotheby's "Saul."

The pageant lives in the ineffaceable remembrance of our boyhood. Six and forty years afterwards, the remembrance crowded upon our thoughts, when we beheld the car of another warrior moving through the same streets to the same place of rest. Mute veneration for him who died, full of years, whilst every year he lived added to a nation's love, marked the funeral pomp of Wellington. Impassioned grief, audible sighs, tears coursing down rugged cheeks, marked the funeral pomp of Nelson. They sleep together in the same crypt beneath the dome of St. Paul's—the two who in the agony of England's fate best fought the fight and achieved the victory.

Ulm surrendered to the French the day before; the victory of Trafalgar had annihilated the French and Spanish fleets. When Napoleon heard of the event he was advancing upon Vienna. He manifested his sense of its importance, by sending to Paris his orders that the French journals should say as little as possible about it—merely say that it was an imprudent encounter, in which the combined fleet had suffered more from a tempest than from the enemy. On the 13th of November, Vienna was entered by French dragoons and grenadiers. They marched through the city without a halt, to reach the great wooden bridge over the Danube. The Austrians had received orders to destroy this bridge, which was the only passage from the capital to the northern provinces. For several days there had been a partial suspension of hostilities, whilst negotiations for an armistice were proceeding. The French generals advanced to the Austrian troops who kept the bridge, and called out that the armistice was concluded. The unsuspecting Germans let the troops pass, and the French soon held both sides of the Danube. The magistracy of Vienna came to Napoleon at the palace of Schönbrunn, to implore him to spare their city. There was no national enthusiasm to stimulate resistance. The German people had not yet been roused to fight for their independence. Their governments were despotic. It was a quarrel of crowned heads, to be decided either way by armed masses, with little harm or little benefit to the commonalty. Napoleon soon quitted Vienna in the confidence that he should finish the war by a decisive victory over the Austrians and Russians. With the allied army were the emperor of Germany and the emperor of Russia. On the 2nd of December Napoleon encountered about a hundred thousand Russians and Austrians with a somewhat smaller number of highly disciplined Frenchmen at Austerlitz, in the neighbourhood of Brunn, in Moravia. The battle began at sunrise and lasted till sunset. The defeat of the allies was complete. On the 3rd of December

Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph that he had taken 40,000 prisoners, and that the enemy had left from 12,000 to 15,000 men on the field. "A whole column threw itself into a lake, and the greater part of them were drowned. I fancy that I still hear the cries of these wretches, whom it was impossible to save."* There is another version of this horrible story. The flying Russians crowded on the frozen lakes. Napoleon, from the table-land of Pratzen, on the side of these lakes, saw the disaster which he had so well prepared. He ordered the battery of his guard to fire round shot on the ice that was unbroken, to complete the destruction of those who had taken refuge upon the frozen waters.† Another account says that the French, having fired first upon the ice nearest the shore, the Russians were then upon an island of ice. They went on their knees, and then the batteries fired upon them till six thousand were killed or drowned.‡ Napoleon slept comfortably after this feat. He had been sleeping for a week in the open air. "To-night I sleep in a bed in the fine country house of M. de Kaunitz, near Austerlitz, and I have put on a clean shirt, which I had not done for a week."§ On the 4th of December he had an interview with the emperor Francis. On the 26th was signed the peace of Presburg, by which the emperor Francis gave up to the new kingdom of Italy those parts of the Venetian territory which he had acquired by the peace of Campo Formio. Napoleon made two kings out of two electors his allies—the Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Würtemberg. The emperor Alexander refused to retreat according to the time and route furnished by Napoleon. He retired unmolested, to try his fortune once more in conjunction with the king of Prussia, with whom he had formed a treaty of alliance. Prussia had been temporizing, as usual. The king decided too late to render assistance to Austria and Russia; too soon for his own eventual safety.

The great triumph of Napoleon gave the final blow to the shattered health of the English minister who had organized the Coalition. He scarcely bore up against the disaster of Ulm; he revived at the news of Trafalgar; he sank when the calamity of Austerlitz became known to him. He went to Bath on the 8th of December. The waters produced a fit of the gout, which was succeeded by a total debility of digestion. At the end of the month lord Castlereagh went to Bath to tell him the fatal end of all his great plans. "It struck Pitt so deeply, and found him in such an enfeebled

* "Correspondence of Napoleon with his Brother," vol. i. p. 64 (1855).

† Thiers, tome vi. p. 326.

‡ "Correspondence with Joseph," p. 65. [Translator's note.]

§ Ibid.

state, that he certainly never recovered it."* By slow journeys attended by his physician, sir Walter Farquhar, he arrived at his villa at Putney, so emaciated as not to be known. On the 13th he saw lord Castlereagh and lord Hawkesbury for the last time. Malmesbury says that after this interview he says to the Bishop of Lincoln, putting his hand on his stomach, "I feel something here that reminds me I shall never recover." On the 13th he saw lord Wellesley, who had just returned from India; and he fainted, according to Malmesbury, before Wellesley left the room. Lord Brougham gives an interesting account of this interview, but with a material variation: "This, their last interview, was in the villa on Putney Heath, where he died a few days after. Lord Wellesley called upon me there many years after; it was then occupied by my brother-in-law, Mr. Eden, whom I was visiting. His lordship showed me the place where these illustrious friends sat. Mr. Pitt was, he said, much emaciated and enfeebled, but retained his gaiety and his constitutionally sanguine disposition; he expressed his confident hopes of recovery. In the adjoining room he lay a corpse the ensuing week; and it is a singular and a melancholy circumstance, resembling the stories told of William the Conqueror's deserted state at his decease, that some one in the neighbourhood having sent a message to inquire after Mr. Pitt's state, he found the wicket open, then the door of the house, and, nobody answering the bell, he walked through the rooms till he reached the bed on which the minister's body lay lifeless, the sole tenant of the mansion of which the doors a few hours before were darkened by crowds of suitors alike obsequious and importunate, the vultures whose instinct haunts the carcasses only of living ministers."† The doors darkened by crowds of suitors, only a few hours before his death, appears to be a flight of imagination. George Rose came to Putney on the 15th, and there learnt that lord Castlereagh and lord Hawkesbury had insisted on seeing Mr. Pitt on points of public business, of the most serious importance, which interview visibly affected him. He saw Mr. Rose for five minutes on the 15th. From that time, Rose says, "no one had access to him but the Bishop (of Lincoln) and the physicians." On the 23rd, Rose enters in his Diary, that about seven in the morning he received a note "to tell me that my most inestimable friend quitted the world about four o'clock. He saw no one after the Bishop had taken notes of his last desires, but lady Hester (his niece), who went to his bedside in the evening. He at first

* Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 352.

† "Statesmen of the Time of George III.," vol. iii. p. 312.

did not know her; but afterwards he did, and blessed her: nor did he utter another word, except that about half-an-hour before he breathed his last, the servant heard him say, 'My country! oh, my country?'"* The bishop went away from Putney Heath, as soon as the dreaded event of this winter morning was over, before the busy world was stirring. We ourselves, long ago, heard the story of the deserted house, with a sufficient explanation. Nothing more natural than that the few servants should have gone from Putney Heath upon the necessary duties of such mournful occasions, and have left the doors of the solitary house unfastened.

William Pitt died on the 23rd of January. It was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the day on which he first entered Parliament. And this was the end of his struggle for thirteen years against the power of revolutionary France, against the Directory, against the Consulate, against the Empire. He "died of a broken heart," says his devoted friend, Wilberforce. "The accounts from the armies struck a death-blow within." On the 26th of January the leader of these armies entered Paris, after a victorious campaign of three months, to receive the homage of a nation which saw in the glory of one man a recompense for all the miseries of the Republic; a nation which believed that to make France mistress of the world was to make Frenchmen prosperous and happy.

The great parliamentary career of William Pitt commences in 1781.† His supreme command of the political action of his country commences in 1783.‡ In 1784, Gibbon wrote from Lausanne, "A youth of five-and-twenty, who raises himself to the government of an empire by the power of genius and the reputation of virtue, is a circumstance unparalleled in history, and, in a general view, is not less glorious to the country than to himself."§ We have traced the history of this great orator and statesman from the brilliancy of his life's day-spring to the clouds and darkness of its evening; and, we trust, in no unfriendly spirit—rather with a profound admiration of intellectual and moral qualities such as the sons of men are rarely endowed with. Nevertheless, we have not repressed a conviction that, if his peace-administration was as eminently sagacious as it was safe and prosperous, his war-administration and his domestic policy from 1793 gave few occasions in which to display the ascendancy of his genius in high and blameless deeds, however surpassing his power of justifying his measures by majestic and all-prevailing words. He was indeed "the

* Rose. "Diaries," p. 223, and p. 233.

† *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 259.

§ "Life of Pitt," by Earl Stanhope, vol. i. p. 237; 1861.

‡ *Ante*, vol. vi. 444.

top of eloquence." We cannot deny that he was also the most ardent amongst "lovers of their country;" the farthest elevated above all mercenary objects. Those who affected to be of his school were really, with one or two exceptions, not his pupils. Had Pitt lived to behold the war triumph, he might again have vindicated his claim to be a great peace minister and a sincere social reformer.

CHAPTER XI.

India.—Attacks in Parliament upon Marquis Wellesley.—The Subsidiary system.—The Mahratta Chiefs.—The Mahratta War.—General Lake.—General Wellesley.—The Battle of Assye.—End of the Campaign.—Holkar.—Famine in India.—Mutiny at Vallore.—Administration of Grenville and Fox.—Financial Measures.—Volunteers.—Acquittal of Lord Melville.—The Princess of Wales.—Mr. Fox and the King.—Declining health of Mr. Fox.—Slave Trade.—Progress of the cause of Abolition.—Thomas Clarkson.—Negotiations for Peace.—End of the Negotiations.—Death of Mr. Fox.—Confederation of the Rhine.—Prussia.—Aggressions of Napoleon.—Murder of Palm.—Joseph Bonaparte, king of Naples.—British Army in Cadabrie.—Battle of Maida.—Capture of Buenos Ayres by Sir Home Popham.—Its recapture.

TWELVE days after the marquis Wellesley had seen his great friend for the last time, and had felt that the voice would soon be mute which could best defend him from the enemies that were gathering around, Mr. James Paull, who had aspired to sit for Westminster, moved for papers, upon which he purposed to ground grave charges against the late governor-general of India. He had to lament, he said, in common with every man who had turned his thoughts to India, and in common with all the nations of Hindustan, that lord Wellesley's spirit of aggrandizement, his love of power, and insatiable ambition, had led him into errors and mistakes that had shook to their base our very existence in India, and to consequent acts of great injustice and oppression.* The Indian policy of Wellesley had been somewhat too bold for the timid expediency of the Addington government. The prime minister told Mr. Henry Wellesley that the administration "could not support the Governor-General against the Court of Directors," and that as a private friend he could not advise him to stay beyond the year 1803.† Before that year had closed, the statesmanship of lord Wellesley, and the military exploits of his brother Arthur and of general Lake, had established the supremacy of the British in India, "under a combination of circumstances in the highest degree critical and difficult." Such were the terms addressed to Wellesley by the Directors of the East India Company in 1837. In 1805, no Indian administrator was ever more the object of their jealousy and suspicion. Arthur Wellesley returned to England

* Hansard, vol. v. col. 564.

† Wellington's "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 339.

in September of that year. He thus writes to his brother after an interview with lord Castlereagh: "He lamented in strong terms your differences with the Court of Directors, and entered with some detail upon the causes of them. These were principally the old story—disobedience of their orders, contempt of their authority, neglect to write to them to inform them of the most important events, and declared dislike of their persons." They feared that he would endeavour to overturn their authority when he returned home.*

After the fall of Tippoo, and the partition of the Mysore territory in 1799,† lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy which is distinguished as the Subsidiary System. Its principle was to form treaties with native rulers; in compliance with which a military force under our own command was to be maintained at the expense of the native prince; and the control of state affairs was to be vested in the British Resident, with the exception of all that related to the domestic arrangements of the sovereign, who preserved the regal pomp without the regal power. This subsidiary system was warmly opposed in the British Parliament, as unjust and tyrannical. Its defence is succinctly stated by one who has been a constant enemy of all injustice and tyranny: "We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs, and to regulate the succession to their thrones, upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, nay, threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the restriction of the cruel despotism under which the native millions had formerly groaned."‡ In 1800, a subsidiary treaty was formed with the Nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for aid and protection. In 1801 the nephew of the deceased nabob of Arcot was raised to the nominal throne, renouncing in favour of the British all the powers of government. The Subahdar of Oude, and the Peishwa, came also under subordination to the British authority. After the rupture of the peace of Amiens, a new danger had arisen, in a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, assisted by French arms and French influence. The war of England against Napoleon was in effect to be carried on in a war with the Mahrattas. In the districts watered by the Godavery and the Poorna, were the qualities of a great captain to be displayed, which, a few years later, were to drive the legions of Napoleon from the Tagus to the Garonne.

* Wellington's "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 535.

† Lord Brougham—"Sketches of Statesmen," vol. iii. p. 308.

‡ *Anie*, p. 130.

The warlike race of the Mahrattas were the lords of a population of forty millions, who occupied the fertile provinces extending in length from Delhi to the Toombuddra, and in breadth from the bay of Bengal to the gulf of Cambay. There were five Mahratta chieftains, whose collective military force amounted to 300,000, of which 100,000 were cavalry. The authority of the nominal sovereign, the Rajah of Sattara, was in the hands of the Peishwa, or prime minister, whose office was hereditary. He held his court at Poonah. The ostensible but feeble head of the Mahratta chiefs, he generally looked for aid to the British to defend him from his ambitious rivals, but he had sometimes intrigued to throw off the British connexion, and form an alliance with the French. At the beginning of the century, the great chief Holkar was at war with the equally valorous chief Scindia. Holkar, to strengthen his own power and destroy an ally of his rival, attacked the Peishwa, who fled from Poonah after a signal defeat. It was then that he called the British to his aid, with whom he concluded the treaty of Bassein, on the last day of December, 1802. General Wellesley marched six hundred miles, from Seringapatam to Poonah, in the worst season of the year; drove out the Mahrattas; and reinstated the Peishwa in his capital. Holkar now turned to his old rival Scindia, to coalesce with him against the Peishwa, the Nizam, and the British. Directing the military operations of Scindia was a clever Frenchman, M. Perron, who had under him a large army of infantry disciplined in the European manner, many thousand cavalry, and a well appointed train of artillery. Bhoonsla, the Rajah of Berar (or Rajah of Nagpoor), joined the alliance of Scindia and Holkar. The fifth Mahratta chieftain was Guickwar, and his territory was Guzerat, where Scindia had some possessions and great power and influence. Guickwar took no part in the approaching contest. For some time after the Peishwa had been restored, negotiations were going on between the British government and Scindia and the Rajah of Berar. They professed friendship, but it soon became clear that they were confederates with Holkar, and were depending for assistance upon Perron. The Nizam was known to be dying; and it was one of the objects of these chieftains to arrange the succession so as to aggrandize their own power. It was thus necessary to make war upon this confederacy, which threatened the security of the British dominion in India as much, if not more, than the hostility of Tippoo. There was the same danger, as in his case, of an alliance with France on the part of the Mahrattas. Pondicherry had been given up to France by the Treaty of Amiens. When the Mahratta war broke out, the rupture of that treaty was

not known. The vicinity of Pondicherry to the Mahratta country required the greatest vigilance. Whilst negotiations with the Mahratta chiefs were still in progress, the news came of the renewal of the war. A French force attempted to land at Pondicherry, and were made prisoners. Providing against hostilities upon a great scale, the Governor-General decided upon the plan of a campaign, in which the rare faculty of organizing the co-operating movements of troops acting upon different points ensured the same success as had attended the campaigns of Napoleon. One element of success was the unshackled power of an able commander in the Deccan, the most important portion of the field of war. On the 26th of June Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of all the British and allied troops in the territories of the Peishwa and the Nizam, and to the direction of the political affairs of this district, which was surrounded by the dominions of the confederate chiefs. In Hindustan the same complete authority was given to general Lake. General Wellesley was at Poonah, with 17,000 men, when the negotiation with Scindia was at an end. General Lake was upon the Jumna, watching the movements of Perron, who was in a part of the Douab which had been bestowed upon him by Scindia. In Guzerat, colonel Murray commanded the Bombay army, a force of seven thousand men, and he was afterwards reinforced by colonel Woodington. In the province of Cuttack, colonel Harcourt was at the head of the Madras army, a small body of troops, who were able to render efficient service. All these armies, not great in numerical amount, but most formidable in their discipline, were all in motion, at one and the same time, to close round the enemy from the south and the north, from the east and the west; "from the sea, the mountains, and the forests, over the salt sands of Cuttack, and the high plains of the Dekkan, and through the passes of the Ghauts, and over the rivers of Hindustan, and out of the rank swamps of the basin of the Ganges." *

It was the 3rd of August when the British Resident quitted Scindia's camp. His departure was the signal for immediate hostilities. On the 6th of August general Wellesley wrote a letter to Scindia, characterized by his usual decisive language:—"I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences." † On the 12th of August, he had advanced through roads rendered almost impassable by violent rains, and had taken the strong fort of Ahmednuggur. General Lake was equally prompt in his move-

* Miss Martineau—"Introduction to the History of the Peace," p. cxxxv.

† "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 179.

ments. The French force under Perron fled before him, retreating from Coel, which Lake then occupied. Perron, in a few days, put himself under British protection, and was received with kindness. He complained of the treachery of his officers, and is supposed not to have been insensible to the attractions of drafts upon the treasury of Calcutta. On the 4th of September, the strong fortress of Ali-Ghur was taken by a storming party of the army of Lake. The Bombay and the Madras armies were equally successful in their advances. On the 6th of August, general Wellesley had sent orders to the officer in command of the Bombay army to attack Baroach. In a little more than three weeks Baroach had surrendered. On the 12th of September, Lake obtained a great victory over the troops of Scindia, and over the French army which Perron had formed. They were commanded by another Frenchman, Bourquien. On the following day the British were in possession of Delhi. Lake restored the Mogul emperor, Shah Allum, who had been deposed, and thus propitiated the Mohammedan population of Hindustan. The triumphal career of Lake was followed up in the battles of Muttra and Agra, and was completed in the great victory of Laswarree on the 1st of November. He was worthy of all honour. The thanks of Parliament and a peerage were never more properly bestowed than upon the senior general in this astonishing campaign.

Splendid and decisive as was the career of the northern army—important as were the successes of the Bombay army and the Madras army—the chief interests of this Mahratta war nevertheless consists in following the military operations, in tracing the evidence of the qualifications for a great captain, of one whom Napoleon, with his characteristic want of honesty, to say nothing of magnanimity, pronounced to be “*un homme borné*”—a general fit only to command Sepoys.

Colonel Stevenson was to the east of general Wellesley, after the capture of Ahmednuggur. It was necessary to effect a junction of their two armies. Wellesley directed Stevenson to take a bold course: “Move forward yourself with the Company’s cavalry, and all the Nizam’s, and a battalion, and dash at the first party that comes into your neighbourhood. . . . A long defensive war will ruin us. . . . By any other plan we shall lose our supplies.”* On the 21st of August Wellesley’s cavalry was passing the wide Godavery. They passed in wicker boats covered with bullock skins. General Wellesley—who did not disdain to make himself thoroughly acquainted with what some would have

* “Despatches,” vol. ii. p. 210.

considered matters out of a commander's vocation—when he first entered the Mahratta territory sent the most minute directions to an officer how such boats were to be made, in the construction of which “well cured skins” were most essential articles.* During a month, Wellesley and Stevenson were pursuing Scindia's forces, united with those of the Rajah of Berar, each of the British commanders never allowing the enemy to rest, and marching always with the rapidity which could alone keep pace with the Mahratta cavalry. On the 21st of September Wellesley and Stevenson were a little to the east of Aurungabad. They were sufficiently near to each other to concert a plan of joint operations against the Mahratta armies, which had been reinforced with sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and with a train of artillery. This formidable force was concentrated on the banks of the Kaitna.

On the 22nd of September the division under Wellesley, and the division under Stevenson, marched with the intention to attack the enemy. There was a range of hills between the British and the Mahrattas. One division marched by the eastern road round the hills; the other by the western road. They encamped that night at the two extremities of the range of hills. On the morning of the 23rd, general Wellesley received information that Scindia and Bhoonsla had moved off with their cavalry, but that their infantry were still in camp, and were about to follow the cavalry. Their camp might be seen from a rising ground. “It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed,” writes Wellesley. It was no longer to be delayed, although colonel Stevenson had not arrived with his detachment. He was misled by his guides. A lieutenant of the 78th, who had behaved well at the attack of Ahmednuggur, had been appointed by the general to act as his brigade-major. † That lieutenant was Colin Campbell, who afterwards served under Wellington in the Peninsular war. From the similarity of name he has been sometimes mistaken for the Sir Colin Campbell, who in 1857 and 1858 was the sagacious commander-in-chief of the forces of India, and whose distinguished services raised him to the peerage as Lord Clyde. The young lieutenant's description of the battle of Assye, contained in a private letter of the time, is the clearest description of this extraordinary conflict which we have seen. ‡ “The general,” says Campbell, “immediately formed his plan.” In his latter years, the

* “Supplementary Despatches,” vol. iv. p. 54.

† “Despatches,” vol. ii. p. 361.

‡ It is published, as a note, in the “Supplementary Despatches,” vol. iv. p. 184.

Duke of Wellington related to "an early and intimate friend" how "he formed his plan:"

"I was indebted for my success at Assye to a very ordinary exercise of common sense. The Mahratta chiefs, whom I was marching to overtake, had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming force of native cavalry. To get rid of these gentlemen, and to get at the others, I had no chance but getting over the river also; but my native guides all assured me, that the river was impassable in this part, and the superior force of the enemy would not permit me to have it examined. I was rather puzzled; but at last I resolved to see what I could of the river myself, and so, with my most intelligent guides and an escort of (I think) all my cavalry, I pushed forward till I could see with my glass one village on the right or near bank of the river, and another village exactly opposite on the other bank, and I immediately said to myself, that men could not have built two villages so close to one another, on opposite sides of a stream, without some habitual means of communication either by boats or a ford—most probably by the latter. My guides still persisted that there was neither; but on my own conjecture, or rather reasoning, I took the desperate, as it seemed, resolution of marching for the river—and I was right. I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it thereabouts, and on which Assye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the battle—the bloodiest for the number that I ever saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."*

The battle of Assye might well be called "the bloodiest for its number" that the hero of so many battles had ever seen. Well might it be so, when the Mahrattas force was at least seven times as numerous as the British army. It was one o'clock when the enemy's camp was in view, extending from five to seven miles. "We began to advance," writes the brigade-major, "a little after three, and the action was not entirely over till six o'clock." The 74th and 78th regiments, and four battalions of sepoy, moved forward to the attack: the piquets led; and the cavalry brought up the rear to protect the infantry from the enemy's horse. We continue the spirited narrative of Colin Campbell:—

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xcii. p. 553.

"The line was ordered to advance. The piquets at this period had nearly lost a third of their number, and most of their gun-bullocks were killed: some of the corps, I think, waited too long, wishing to bring forward their guns, which could be of no service. The line moved rapidly (I may say without firing two rounds) and took possession of the first line of guns, where many of the enemy were killed. They then moved on in equally good order and resolution to the second line of guns, from which they very soon drove the enemy; but many of the artillery, who pretended to be dead when we passed on to the second line of guns, turned the guns we had taken upon us, which obliged us to return and again to drive them from them. Things at this period did not go on so well on our right, owing to some mistake of the piquets in having, when ordered to advance, inclined to their right, which brought the 17th regiment into the first line. Major Swinton went to the piquets, and asked them why they did not move on? On his return to his regiment he found that numbers of his officers and men had fallen. He immediately moved forward. At this period the cannonade was truly tremendous. A milk-hedge in their front, which they had to pass to come at the enemy's guns, threw them into a little confusion; but they still pushed forward, and had taken possession of many of their guns, when the second line, which opened on them, obliged them to retire from what they had so dearly purchased. The numbers of the 74th regiment remaining at this period were small; on their returning, some of the enemy's cavalry came forward and cut up many of the wounded officers and men. It was at this critical moment that the 19th charged, and saved the remains of the 74th regiment. General Wellesley at the same time threw the 78th regiment forward on their right, to move down on the enemy, who still kept their position at Assye. This movement, and the charge of the 19th light dragoons, made the enemy retire from all their guns precipitately, and they fled across the nullah to our right at the village of Assye, where numbers of them were cut up by the cavalry. The general was in the thick of the action the whole time, and had a horse killed under him. No man could have shown a better example to the troops than he did. I never saw a man so cool and collected as he was the whole time, though I can assure you, till our troops got orders to advance, the fate of the day seemed doubtful; and if the numerous cavalry of the enemy had done their duty, I hardly think it possible that we could have succeeded. From the European officers who have since surrendered, it appears they had about twelve thousand infantry, and their cavalry is supposed to have been at

least twenty thousand, though many make it more. We have now in our possession one hundred and two guns, and all their tumbrils."

In the middle of October colonel Stevenson obtained possession of the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burlampoor. General Wellesley had followed the Mahratta army in their various movements, their stratagems never defeating his vigilance. Scindia at last desired a truce. This was granted. But it was soon discovered that his cavalry were serving in the army of the Rajah of Berar, and that the truce was altogether delusive. On the 29th of November, general Wellesley obtained a victory over the united armies of Scindia and Bhoonsla. The troops had marched a great distance, on a very hot day; but, although late, the general determined to encounter the long line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up on the plains of Argaum. Their line extended above five miles. That great array was soon broken by the resistance of the British infantry, when they were attacked. The Mahrattas retired in disorder, leaving their cannon, and pursued by moonlight by the British, the Mogul, and the Mysore cavalry.* This wonderful campaign, of little more than four months, was finished by the successful termination of the siege of Gawilghur, a strong place thus described by general Wellesley: "The fort of Gawilghur is situated in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee. It stands on a lofty mountain on this range, and consists of one complete inner fort which fronts to the south, where the rock is most steep; and an outer fort, which covers the inner to the north-west and north. This outer fort has a third wall, which covers the approach to it from the north by the village of Labada. All these walls are strongly built, and fortified by ramparts and towers."† Colonel Stevenson broke ground near Labada on the 12th of December. Gawilghur was bombarded for three days, and the fort, heretofore deemed impregnable, was in the possession of the British on the 15th of December.

The Mahratta war with Scindia and Bhoonsla was at an end. The Rajah of Berar, who had sued for a peace, signed a treaty on the 17th. He ceded Cuttack, which was annexed to the British dominions, and he agreed to admit no Europeans but the British within his territories. Scindia also was completely humbled. A treaty with him was signed on the 30th of December, he agreeing to give up Baroach, Ahmednuggur, and his forts in the Douab; and to exclude all Europeans except the British. He was to

* "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 556.

† *Ibid.*, p. 583.

receive the protection which was extended under the Subsidiary System to other dependent states.

But there was another great Mahratta chieftain yet unsubdued. His intriguing spirit was exercised in urging the other chiefs to break the treaties which they had entered into. The Governor-General tried to convert this enemy into a friend by negotiation. Holkar openly defied him; he would come with his army, and sweep and destroy like the waves of the sea. In April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar. The war went on through 1804 and 1805. Marquis Wellesley had resigned the government of India at the end of July; and marquis Cornwallis had succeeded him, before Holkar was subdued. Cornwallis died on the 5th of October, and sir George Barlow assumed the government. On the 24th of December a treaty was signed with Holkar; and he also agreed to exclude from his territories all Europeans except the British.

Sir Arthur Wellesley (he had received the Order of the Bath for his great services) returned to England in 1805. During his voyage home he employed his active mind in writing an interesting paper on the subject of "Dearth in India."* There had been a famine in the Deccan in 1803 and 1804, which he had witnessed. The dearth, and its fatal effects, were to be attributed principally to the dry season of 1803. He describes the physical geography of the peninsula; the peculiar cultivation of wet lands or of dry; the dependence of the rice-produce of the wet lands upon the fall of the rain, assisted by the artificial canals, tanks, and wells, many of which were ancient works; and the entire dependence of the dry lands, where what are called dry grains are cultivated, upon the critical arrival and the quantity of the periodical rains. The portions of our Indian empire to which Sir A. Wellesley directed his attention were far less extensive than at present. Since 1804 there have been many famines, especially one very terrible in 1837, in the north-western provinces. Such a calamity has again occurred in 1860. Awful as the distress has been, it is satisfactory to know that the question which Sir A. Wellesley asked, "in what manner the deficiency produced by the seasons in any particular part could be remedied by the government in that part," has been to some extent answered, by the construction during recent years of great canals for irrigation. The Eastern and the Western Jumna canals, and the Ganges canal are the grandest of these works, and are capable of irrigating several millions of acres.

After his return from India, the marquis Wellesley had to endure the bitter mortification of finding that his great public ser-

* "Supplementary Dispatches," vol. iv. p. 514.

vices had rendered him a mark for the attacks of James Paull, who, having failed in India of advancement at his hands, returned to England and became a Member of Parliament. In 1822, when marquis Wellesley was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, some allusions having been made in the House of Commons to the conduct of the Governor-General of India, twenty years before, as partaking of the spirit which distinguished all those possessed of despotic power, lord Castlereagh truly said, that when the marquis had to undergo a long investigation of his conduct, there was considerable delay "before he received that homage which was justly due to his talents and integrity, and which he did ultimately receive, in spite of all opposition."* It is unnecessary for us to follow the parliamentary discussions on this subject. The accusations were, in a great degree, the result of private malice and party rancour; and, like all such abuses of the privileges of representative government, their interest very quickly passed away. Paull had sufficient notoriety during the short period he was before the English public. He fought a duel with sir Francis Burdett in 1807, and he terminated his career by suicide in 1808.

In the affairs of India, an event of far more lasting importance than the assaults upon the marquis Wellesley took place on the 10th of July, 1806. At two o'clock in the morning of that day, the European barracks at Vellore, in which were four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoys in the service of the East India Company. Through every door and window these mutineers poured in a destructive fire upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels were killed; the sick in the hospital were massacred; the officers' houses were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were put to death. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th, fell in the attempt to save his men. His widow wrote an interesting account of the horrors of that night, having, almost miraculously, escaped with her little boy.† There was a terrible retribution the next day. The 19th regiment of dragoons arrived; took the fort of Vellore from the insurgents; six hundred of the sepoys were cut down; and two hundred were dragged out of their hiding-places and shot. The sons of Tippoo Saib, who were residing at Vellore, were suspected of being concerned in this mutiny. But there were demonstrations of a spirit of disaffection amongst the native troops in other places. Some extremely foolish regulations had been attempted by the military authorities at Madras with respect to the dress of the sepoys. It was wished to transform the turban into something

* Hansard, N. S., vol. vi. col. 169.

† "Plain Englishman," vol. ii. p. 437.

like a helmet. An opinion had been spread that it was the desire of the British Government to convert the native troops to Christianity by forcible means. This notion was disavowed in a subsequent proclamation of the government at Madras. But at that time the zeal of some persons for the conversion of the Hindoo population was far from discreet; and in England there was no hesitation in declaring, that "the restless spirit of fanaticism has insinuated itself into our Indian councils;" and that, unless checked in time, it will lead to the subversion of our Indian empire, and the massacre of our countrymen dispersed over that distant land." *

The House of Commons has voted an Address to the king for a public funeral for Mr. Pitt, and a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. The House was not unanimous in this vote. Mr. Windham objected because "it has not been the usage of this country, or of mankind in general, to grant the highest rewards, unless in cases where merit has been crowned with success." He could not agree in awarding the highest honours to Mr. Pitt, "in the midst of the very ruin which his last measures had brought on." Mr. Fox praised the disinterestedness of Mr. Pitt's career as a minister—that "with regard to private emolument he had acted with a high degree of integrity and moderation." But, he said, "I cannot consent to confer public honours, on the ground of his being 'an excellent statesman,' on the man who, in my opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief, supporter of a system which I had early been taught to consider as a bad one." The motion was carried by a majority of 169. The House of Commons has unanimously voted 40,000*l.* for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts. The great question now is, who is to be the head of a new administration, at a time of such extraordinary danger and difficulty. The post has been offered to lord Hawkesbury, and he has wisely declined it. Lord Hawkesbury did not decline to be Mr. Pitt's successor in the enjoyment of the lucrative office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, at which, according to Mr. Abbot, a general dissatisfaction was expressed. On the 27th of January the king saw lord Grenville, and desired him to form a new administration. Lord Grenville told his majesty that he could not propose any arrangements which did not give Mr. Fox a distinguished place in the Cabinet. The king replied, "I know all that; have your arrangements ready by Wednesday." † The ministry of "All the Talents" was accepted without any hesitation on the part of the king. There were some incongruous materials in its composition. Lord Sidmouth could

* "Annual Register," 1806, p. 254.

† Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 32.

command forty or fifty parliamentary friends—"who constituted a species of armed neutrality far too powerful to be overlooked,"* He was appointed Lord Privy Seal. He brought with him, into the Cabinet, lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice—an arrangement which one of Sidmouth's friends described as reminding him of "a faithful old steward, with his mastiff, watching new servants, lest they should have some evil designs against the old family mansion."† The appointment was open to serious constitutional objections. Romilly, who was now Solicitor-General, thought there was "nothing illegal or unconstitutional" in this nomination; although "it is certainly very desirable that a judge should not take any part in politics."‡ Wilberforce expressed the general feeling when he deprecated the mischievous consequences of subjecting the decisions of our courts of justice to the influence of party attachments; or, which he thought of equal importance, of producing an impression on the public mind that such a bias existed. § Lord Campbell holds,—and there can be no higher authority,—that "the duties of Criminal Judge and Member of the Cabinet are incompatible."|| When the Ministry was finally constituted, Mr. Erskine (lord Erskine) became Lord Chancellor; lord Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury; lord Howick (late Mr. Grey), First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Spencer, Secretary of State for the Home Department; Mr. Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Windham, Secretary of State for War and Colonies; and lord Henry Petty (the present lord Lansdowne), Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The financial measures of the new Ministry, however necessary, did not advance their popularity. Lord Henry Petty is described by the Speaker as "going through the whole financial state of the country in a clear, distinct, and comprehensive manner." But no lucidness of detail could reconcile the nation to the property-tax being raised to ten per cent. from six and a half per cent. Mr. Windham's plan for improving the condition of the soldier, by enlisting him for a stated period and not for life, was a real improvement in the constitution of the army. But Mr. Windham knew little of the character of the British people. He considered that he was a faithful advocate of popular rights when he resisted any attempt to legislate against bull-baiting. He believed that he was not wanting in public spirit when he would have rested the security of the land from invasion upon a vast standing army. He

* "Life of Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 412.

† Romilly—"Dairy," March 1.

|| "Lives of the Chancellors." Erskine.

† *Ibid.*, p. 417.

§ Wilberforce—"Life," vol. iii. 253.

was an able and honest politician ; but one whose alliance was as dangerous as his hostility. He brought odium upon the government by the discouragement he gave to that national feeling which the alarm of 1803 had called forth ; and in his contempt of four hundred thousand citizens embodied for the defence of their country. Wilberforce writes, " I hear from Lascelles that administration is highly unpopular on account of Windham's treatment of the Volunteers." *

The trial of lord Melville, during this Session, upon the impeachment of the Commons in 1805, excited little interest in the public mind. On the 10th of May, Romilly, as one of the managers for the Commons, summed up the evidence for the impeachment. It was his first public appearance as a political leader ; and, says Horner, " his success was as great as his friends predicted." The result of the trial gave to many opponents of the Tory party, as it gave to Horner, " much disgust and despondency with respect to public affairs." They considered the verdict — not guilty — " contrary to plain, strong, accumulated evidence." Nevertheless, there was no marked expression of dissatisfaction at his acquittal by the Peers on the 12th of June, after a proceeding which had lasted sixteen days. Nor did the people take more interest in the protracted debates upon the charges against marquis Wellesley. There was one subject which did excite them—the rumors of a solemn inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, by virtue of a commission from the king to the Chancellor, lord Grenville, lord Spencer, and lord Ellenborough. The servants of the princess were examined, Romilly, as Solicitor-General, was engaged in these examinations ; and, in his opinion, the principal charge against the princess, which arose out of her adoption of a child, was completely disproved. He said that " the evidence of all the servants as to the general conduct of the princess was very favourable to her." † During six months this inquiry furnished ample scope for the exercise of curiosity. It terminated by the king referring the whole matter to his Cabinet ; and, by their advice, his majesty sent a written message to the princess, saying that there was no foundation for the graver charges against her, but that he saw with serious concern, in the depositions of the witnesses, and even in her royal highness's own letter to him written by way of defence, evidence of a deportment unbecoming her station.‡ The hateful question of this unseemly deportment in its extent and

* Wilberforce—" Life," vol. iii. p. 267.

† Diary in Romilly's " Memoirs," June 7, 1806.

‡ *Ibid.*, February 29, 1807.

consequences was long a source of prurient excitement, and of consequent injury to public morals.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was the member of the government upon whose influence all looked with anxiety—some with extravagant hope; some with causeless alarm. Would the king long agree with Mr. Fox, whom he hated, was the first question? The king not only tolerated Mr. Fox, but he soon came to like him. In a memorandum of the late princess Augusta, it is recorded that after Mr. Fox's return to power a gloom appeared to hang over the spirits of the king; but that after their first interview the cloud was evidently removed. The king said to his new minister, "Mr. Fox, I little thought that you and I should ever meet again in this place. But I have no desire to look back upon old grievances, and you may rest assured I never shall remind you of them." Mr. Fox replied, "My deeds, and not my words, shall commend me to your majesty."* A base motive has been imputed to George III., in his ready consent to admit Mr. Fox into the cabinet in 1806, as contrasted with the time when he would rather have hazarded the greatest of all evils than have allowed him to be a colleague of Mr. Pitt. "The king is said to have had early intelligence of Mr. Fox's days being numbered."† We are unable to trace, in any of the Correspondence and Diaries which have appeared since this sentence was written, any apprehension amongst the colleagues of Fox, or amongst any other public men, as expressed earlier than two months after his appointment to office, that he was in ill-health; or that a fear was entertained that he would soon be likely to be laid at rest by the side of his great rival. On the 5th of March, Wilberforce enters in his Diary, that consulting with Fox on the question of Abolition he found him "quite rampant and playful, as he was twenty-two years ago, when not under any awe of his opponents."‡ But the Speaker records that on the 31st of March Mr. Fox was taken ill at the House of Commons, and that Mr. Cline, the eminent surgeon, entertained a very bad opinion of his case, general symptoms appearing of a dropsical habit.§ Three days after, Fox spoke for an hour in the House of Commons on Windham's military plans. At the end of April the same diarist records that Mr. Fox was "advised to retire for a time from his unceasing attention to business; which he positively refuses to do at this period." He had, indeed, no com-

* "Quarterly Review," vol. cv. p. 482.

† Lord Brougham—"Statesmen," vol. iii. p. 313.

‡ Wilberforce—"Life," vol. iii. p. 259.

§ Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 48.

mon work in hand which required the exercise of his vast ability, his energy, and his discretion. He died on the 13th of September, having been engaged to the last in consultation with his colleagues on two great points of national policy. In the House of Commons, in January, 1807, lord Howick thus described the leading aspirations of Mr. Fox in the last conversation of the two friends on the 7th of September: "On that occasion he told me, that the ardent wishes of his mind were, to consummate before he died, two great works on which he had set his heart, and these were, the restoration of a solid and honourable peace, and the abolition of the slave-trade."* In the one object, he did not live to see the unsuccessful issue of a negotiation with France which was begun soon after his entrance into office. In the other object he had the happiness of being partially successful; but the final success was reserved for his colleagues, as the one great measure of permanent good which they accomplished during their brief tenure of power.

The history of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade is a history of individual efforts, carried on, through many years, with unexampled zeal and perseverance; and taken up, again and again, by the British Legislature, amid slight hopes of success against an opposition resolute to defend a traffic, of which the enormity of the evil was reconciled to many minds by the magnitude of the profits. Truly, for the few enthusiasts who entered into a contest with the great merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, whose ships carried every year fifty thousand captive negroes from the African coast to the West India Islands—truly, for such as Thomas Clarkson, "it was an obstinate hill to climb."† In looking back to the growth of public opinion on the subject of African slavery, some may believe that the triumphant exclamation of Cowper, "Slaves cannot live in England," had reference to an earlier time than that of lord North's administration. It was through the exertions of Mr. Granville Sharp, that it was solemnly declared "that a slave, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and becomes a free man." We quote the words of Blackstone, who refers to the great case of the negro Somerset, as reported in the State Trials. That case was not decided till 1772. To the Society of Friends in England belongs the honour of the first united efforts to prevent the continuance of the Slave-Trade, against which they petitioned parliament in 1783. Clarkson was a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, when the vice-chancellor of the University announced as the subject of a Latin Prize Essay. "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" Clark-

* "Hansard," vol. viii. col. 324.

† Wordsworth's "Sonnet to Clarkson."

son obtained the prize. He has recorded that after having read his Essay in the Senate House, on returning to London on horseback, he sat down disconsolate on the turf by the roadside, asking himself if the horrible facts stated in his own composition could be true? "Here a thought came into my mind that, if the contents of my Essay were true, it was time some person should see these calamities to their end." Timidly he asked himself, a young man of twenty-four, if the business of his life lay in that direction? He was intended for the Church. He thought that there were few labourers in the vast field which was always present to his agitated imagination; and that in that field he would work in his "great task-master's eye," better than in the field where the labourers were many. He translated his Essay into English, with additional facts. He became known to some zealous Quakers. He obtained introductions to Wilberforce, Pitt, and Fox. Henceforth the cause was in the hands of men whose voices would go through the world, and would speak trumpet-tongued to the justice of mankind. From this time to 1788, Clarkson pursued his great object in the most practical manner—by the collection of a vast body of details, totally new to the English people, which he published in 1788. These facts he gathered together by incessant labour; by obtaining evidence, often at his personal peril, amongst the seafaring population of the great commercial ports. The difficulty of finding a disinterested witness was almost insurmountable. He searched fifty-seven vessels to find one sailor who had been serving in the Canterbury slave-ship, and had gone up the river Calabar, with the canoes of the natives, when they seized all the inhabitants of a village, and carried them off, men, women, and children. Narratives such as these roused the feelings of the country; the feelings, we mean, of families who pondered over those horrors, as dangers from without, and dangers from within, gathered around the land, and who thought that God would not bless their nation whilst it tolerated such crimes. It was a time when in this, as in every other instance, men were afraid to touch any foul ulcer of the commonwealth lest the vital parts should be endangered by the attempts to cure. Slaves were property, some said; destroy slavery and you render all property insecure. We have matters of more consequence to attend to than what you term negro wrongs, said others. The interests, so called, of the West Indies were for a long time paramount, amidst the sophistries and indifference of either party in Parliament. At length Wilberforce came, with his persuasive eloquence and his influence over Pitt, and the cause of the Abolition gradually grew into shape.

In 1788, Wilberforce being seriously ill, Pitt carried a Resolution binding the House of Commons to consider the circumstances of the Slave Trade early in the ensuing Session. From that time the Abolition of the Slave Trade was never suffered to pass wholly out of the view of the English Parliament. Wilberforce and his immediate friends, who looked upon the Abolition as a great religious question, were indefatigable. Pitt, who had to deal with the matter as a statesman, was often held, perhaps unjustly, to be lukewarm. The motions of the Abolitionists were uniformly defeated in the House of Lords. In the House of Commons they were carried twice—in 1792 and in 1796—by small majorities. In 1804, Wilberforce carried his Bill by a majority of 75. Although lost in the Upper House, he was now sanguine of its ultimate success. It was, however, lost in the Commons in 1805. In 1806, under the ministry of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, a Bill introduced to the Peers by the First Lord of the Treasury, prohibiting British subjects from engaging in the trade for supplying foreign settlements or the conquered colonies, was carried. This almost unexpected success called for new efforts. On the 10th of June, Mr. Fox proposed a Resolution “that this house, conceiving the African Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practical expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed advisable.” The motion was carried by 114 against 15. In moving his Resolution Mr. Fox used these touching words: “So fully am I impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining what will be the object of my motion this day, that if, during the forty years that I have now had the honour of a seat in Parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, I should think I had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty.” On the 19th of June, Mr. Fox spoke, for the last time, in the House of Commons. There is a pleasant reminiscence of this, his last attendance in parliament, in the Diary of lord Colchester. In the room behind the Chair he drank tea with the Speaker, whilst the evidence upon the Oude charge against lord Wellesley was being discussed in Committee. They gossiped pleasantly upon a variety of subjects;—upon dark ages, which Fox denied to be as dark as we were apt to represent them; upon Livy’s history, which he looked upon as a beautiful romance; upon the Greek historians; upon political economy, and his little faith in Adam Smith, and in the other economists, whose reasons were so plausible but so inconclusive; on

the eminence of the Greeks in arts and arms, which he chiefly attributed to their abandonment of pursuits, such as those of commerce and manufactures, which engaged modern nations. "In this desultory talk he was extremely pleasant, and appeared to please himself." * A week later, Wilberforce records in his Diary, that William Smith, after he left the House, was talking of Fox constrainedly; "when at last, overcome by his feelings, he burst out, with a real divulging of his danger—dropsy. Poor fellow! how melancholy his case! he has not one religious friend, or one who knows anything about it. How wonderful God's Providence! How poor a master the world! No sooner grasps his long sought object than it shews itself a bubble, and he is forced to give it up." †

The second great point upon which Mr. Fox had set his heart when he accepted office, was the conclusion of a sound and honourable peace. He had not received the seals as Foreign Secretary longer than ten or twelve days, when he had occasion to address M. Talleyrand upon a very singular occurrence; which he felt it his duty, "as an honest man," to communicate to the French minister. A person informed Mr. Fox that he had lately returned from Paris, and had something to impart which would give him satisfaction: "I received him," says Fox, "alone in my closet; when, after some unimportant conversation, this villain had the audacity to tell me, that it was necessary for the tranquillity of all crowned heads to put to death the ruler of France; and that for this purpose a house had been hired at Passy, from which this detestable project could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk." Mr. Fox caused the man to be detained, and wrote to Talleyrand, in continuation of this statement, that he could not, according to our laws, detain him long; but that the wretch should not be sent away till full time had been gained to avert any danger. The letter was laid before Bonaparte, who upon reading it said, "I recognize here the principles of honour and of virtue by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated." On the 5th Talleyrand sent to Fox a copy of the emperor's speech to the Legislative Body. It contained these words: "I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens." On the 26th of March the Secretary for Foreign Affairs wrote a long despatch to the French minister, in which he stated that he had submitted the private letter

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 70.

† "Life of Wilberforce," vol. iii. p. 268.

to the king; that his majesty's wishes were uniformly pacific, but that a safe and lasting peace was what the king had in view, and not an uncertain truce; that the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens had been variously interpreted; but that the true basis of a negotiation would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle: "That the object of both parties should be a peace honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and, at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe." Many were the letters that passed between Fox and Talleyrand; in which the simple and straight-forward style of the Englishman contrasts in a striking manner with the involved sentences, well adapted to conceal his thoughts, of the subtle Frenchman. Fox set out by assuming that the negotiation was to be conducted as by "two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicane." This correspondence went on up to the 14th June, the British minister insisting that the negotiation should be conducted with reference to the British alliance with Russia, and the French minister as constantly refusing to treat upon that principle. The negotiation then took another shape. Lord Yarmouth was amongst the Englishmen detained in France at the commencement of the war. Talleyrand induced him to be the medium of a communication with the Court of St. James's, of a private and confidential conversation, in which Talleyrand would explain the sentiments and views of France. At a second interview, Talleyrand told lord Yarmouth that the restoration of Hanover should be no difficulty; that the restoration of Naples to the king of Sicily should be no difficulty. Full powers were then sent to lord Yarmouth to negotiate; which he properly held back till he had seen more clearly what was really meant. Talleyrand had gone from his former propositions with regard to Sicily. At the end of June lord Yarmouth communicated to Mr. Fox that a separate treaty had been concluded between Russia and France. This was a great discouragement to the successful termination of the negotiation. But Fox still persevered in his endeavours for peace; and directed the earl of Lauderdale to proceed to Paris as a plenipotentiary, although he feared that no peace could be concluded upon terms which would be admissible. The negotiations were begun upon the principle of the *uti possidetis*—the principle of retaining what each party possessed. The French government shifted from that position. Meanwhile the emperor of Russia repudiated the treaty which a rash if not treacherous agent had concluded. This fact was known in England on the 4th of September. Mr. Fox died on the 13th. The diplomatic inter-

course was prolonged till the 1st of October, when lord Howick wrote to lord Lauderdale, that after six months of negotiation, there could be no reason why France should not give a plain and decisive answer upon points which had been so long under consideration. In the last note of Talleyrand which preceded the final rupture of the negotiation, he said, "The event will disclose whether a new coalition will be more disadvantageous to France than those which have preceded it. The event will also disclose whether those who complain of the grandeur and ambition of France should not impute to their own hatred and injustice this very grandeur and ambition of which they accuse her." When the papers were laid before Parliament, in January, 1807, lord Howick, who, in common with his party, had maintained that in the negotiations for peace, in the time of Mr. Pitt, the English government was chiefly to be blamed for their failure, now said that in the negotiations of 1806, "there never was any opportunity of procuring such terms as would have been adequate to the just pretensions, and consistent with the honour and interests, of this country." At that time the predictions of Talleyrand as to the issue of a new coalition had been partly accomplished. Lord Howick saw then what all true-hearted Englishmen began to see: "The event is in the hands of Him who giveth the victory. But one thing is clear—the progress of Bonaparte has never yet been stopped by submission, and our only hope, therefore, is in resistance, as far as we can resist his ambitious projects. We have done what our honour and duty called upon us to do. When this instrument of vengeance may be deprived of his terrors, I know not; but we may at least look to the honour and independence of this country as secure against all his attacks, and while this country exists as an honourable and independent nation, there will still remain some hopes of restoring that political balance in Europe which has for the present been overturned." *

Thus, one of the two great objects upon which Fox had set his heart had utterly failed. More than a month before his death, he had almost ceased to hope for the accomplishment of this object. The failure was not to him a fatal blow, as Austerlitz was to Pitt; but the protracted negotiation wore his spirit, breaking down under disease, and his end came on rapidly. The final despatch from lord Lauderdale was received by him on the 7th of September, the day of his last interview with lord Howick. He died at the duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, being unable to bear the journey from Downing-street to his beloved St. Anne's Hill. He was buried

* "Hansard," vol. viii. col. 323.

with all public honours on the 10th of October. The grave of Fox in Westminster Abbey is within six yards of the grave of Pitt.

"The mighty chiefs sleep side by side." *

Most of that generation, who had looked upon the battles of these chiefs during a quarter of a century—fierce battles, but rarely wanting in chivalrous respect each for the other,—most men felt what Francis Horner expressed,—“The giant race is extinct; and we are left in the hands of little ones, whom we know to be diminutive, having measured them against the others.” †

We must turn back to the disreputable contests between the House of Commons and John Wilkes, to see the opening of the career of the great parliamentary advocate of liberty; of the never-failing enemy of oppression; of the constant opponent of war. The young orator of 1769 was not then a tribune of the people.‡ He soon took his proper position by the side of Burke and Barré, as the greatest master of “argumentative vehemence.” § His acceptance of office as a member of the Coalition ministry, and his ejection from power by Pitt, made them rivals. Their different views of the French Revolution made their rivalry life-long. But what noble rivalry! What a contrast in the very nature of the eloquence of these orators—the sustained majesty of the one; the rapid transitions of the other; the withering sarcasm opposed to the passionate invective; the proud self-assertion checked by the generous tribute of genius to genius. No two statesmen, so dreaded for their mental powers, so hated and suspected by the violence of party, were ever more beloved in private life, or had more devoted friends. They were each loved with an attachment stronger than that of political ties—with the love that the genial nature, more than the towering intellect, endures with constancy, even beyond the grave. ||

Whilst the ministry of Grenville and Fox were negotiating for peace, with all honesty of purpose, Napoleon put himself at the head of the Confederation of the Rhine. This was not an empty title of honour for the emperor of the French. It was a result of the humiliation of the emperor of Germany, and of the terror which France was holding over the head of the king of Prussia. It placed the minor States of Germany under the absolute control of Napoleon; it destroyed all nascent feeling of Germanic unity;

* “Scott—“Introduction to Marmion.”

† “Life,” vol. i. p. 373; Letter of 15th September.

‡ *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 107.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

|| In the “Life of William Pitt,” by Earl Stanhope, there is a parallel between the two Statesmen, written in a candid and impartial spirit—vol. i. p. 238 to 251.

it confined the contest for Germanic independence to Austria and Prussia, always disunited and jealous; and it compelled the greater of these powers to renounce the proud title of the successor of the Cæsars, and to be content with the humbler dignity of emperor of Austria. The treaty for the federal alliance of the States that separated themselves from the empire of Germany, to place themselves under the protection of a new chief of the empire, was signed on the 15th of July. The king of Prussia made no resistance to this confederacy, for he had hoped to form another union of States in the north of Germany of which he should be the head. He was soon taught by Napoleon to have humbler aspirations. He had been bribed by the possession of Hanover into acts of hostility towards Great Britain in the exclusion of British vessels from her ports. The British government retaliated by a blockade of the Ems, the Weser, the Elbe, and the Trave, and also by an embargo upon Prussian vessels in the ports of the United Kingdom. The king of Prussia found that there was danger in quarrelling with the Court of St. James's. France had no hesitation in proposing to take out of the mouth of Prussia the bait which she had greedily snatched at. Hanover was to be restored to George III. The king of Prussia had begun to find that the ties which bound him to France were no silken fetters; that he was despised by his great ally; that his people were becoming indignant at the humiliating position of their sovereign, and impatient of the loss of their commerce in consequence of the British blockade. There was something more to raise the indignation of the Prussian people than the degradation of their sovereign or the loss of their trade. They had a foretaste of the tyranny with which the military slaves of Napoleon's will endeavoured to put down any manifestation of public opinion in opposition to that will. On the frontiers of Prussia was collected a large French army, occupying territories of Austria and of free States, and levying excessive contributions. In the imperial city of Nuremberg, a bookseller, John P. Palm, was arrested by order of the French government; as five other publishers had also been arrested in other towns. Palm was dragged from his house to the fortress of Braunau, and he was there shot by the sentence of a French military commission. He had published a book calculated to rouse a national spirit in Germany, but which his captors described as seditious writings tending to excite the populations to insurrections against the French armies. The merciful tribunal at Braunau offered the publisher his pardon, if he would give up the author of the book. He refused; and he was murdered. A touching letter

which Palm wrote to his widow, a few hours before his execution on the 26th of August, was printed and extensively circulated in Germany. One yell of indignation rose against the foreign tyrant. There was another power rising up against Napoleon than the power of kings and cabinets—the power of opinion. The king of Prussia was compelled to yield to this power; and for a season he was crushed under the iron heel of the conqueror. He was tardily making up his mind to break his chains whilst lord Lauderdale was negotiating at Paris. Before the British envoy had quitted Paris, Napoleon had set off with the determination to cut short the vacillation of Prussia, by one blow which should destroy all the ascendancy which the House of Brandenburg had acquired since the days of Frederic the Great. England was no prompter in the contest for which Prussia was now preparing.

Compared with the mighty warlike operations over Germany during the autumn of 1806, the exertions of the British arms read like trifling episodes of a great epic. In November, 1805, a Prussian and British force had landed in Naples, without opposition by the Neapolitan court, which had professed neutrality whilst the war of the coalition of Austria and Russia against France was in progress. This was an opportunity for Napoleon. From his camp at Schönbrunn, on the 27th of December, 1806, he addressed a proclamation to an army appointed to enter Naples: "The Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign. Its existence is incompatible with the tranquillity of Europe and the honour of my crown. Soldiers! march; throw into the waves, if they wait for you, the weak battalions of the tyrant of the seas." His brother Joseph was at the head of this army. Napoleon in a few weeks wrote to this brother, "My will is that the Bourbons shall have ceased to reign at Naples. I intend to seat on that throne a prince of my own house. In the first place you, if it suits you."* Whether it suited, or not, the command was sufficient; as it was sufficient for brother Louis, who was proclaimed king of Holland in June. Joseph entered the city of Naples on the 15th of February; the king withdrew to Palermo; and Joseph caused himself to be proclaimed king on the 30th of March. In Sicily there was a British army commanded by sir John Stuart. Sir Sidney Smith had the command of a squadron at Palermo. The people of Calabria were discontented under their French masters; and Stuart was urged by the court of Naples to render them assistance. He landed near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria on the 1st of July. The French general Reynier collected his forces, and directed them

* "Letters of Napoleon to Joseph," vol. i. p. 74.

towards the place of disembarkation. "I wished to march immediately on the English, to throw them into the sea," he writes to king Joseph. The English did not wait upon the beach to be thrown into the sea. They marched to the interior, and on the 4th fought the battle of Maida,—a battle which has given a name to a district of London. It was quickly decided—not by cannon or musketry, but by the bayonet. Reynier has related his defeat with unusual candour. When within half-gun-shot of the English, which remained carrying arms, the drums of the French regiments beat the charge. On they rushed, as the English battalions opened their fire. "But," says Reynier, "when they had only fifteen steps to make in order to reach the enemy's line with the bayonet, and destroy it, the soldiers of the 1st regiment turned their backs and fled. Those of the 42nd perceived the movement; and, though they had only a few more steps to take, began to hesitate, and followed the example of the 1st. As soon as I perceived the flight of the 1st regiment I turned towards the second line, to charge with that, but the Poles were already in flight." * It was all over. The slaughter of the flying French was terrific. There was an officer in Reynier's army, more known as a man of genius—one of the wittiest of pamphleteers after the Restoration of the Bourbons—Paul Louis Courier, who writes to a friend after this battle,—“the adventure is grievous for poor Reynier. We fought no-where. All eyes are upon us. With our good troops, and forces equal, to be beaten in a few minutes! Such a thing has not been seen since the Revolution.” † The victory was decisive; but there were no permanent advantages from the victory. The Calabrian insurgents drove the French out of the province. But they returned after sir John Stuart had left; and there was a protracted and a cruel warfare of soldiery against peasantry, with the usual result of such unequal conflicts.

The news of the battle of Maida which reached London on the 2nd of September made the English pulse beat a little higher; but it did not produce half the excitement of the news of the taking of Buenos Ayres, which news arrived on the 13th. What did it matter to the eager hopes of commercial men that sir Home Popham had accomplished this great adventure without orders from home? He had commanded the naval force at the taking of the Dutch Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope in January—an important conquest, which, whether for good or for evil, we have retained ever since. The Spanish colonies on the Rio de la Plata were

* Reynier to Joseph, July 5.

† "Œuvres de P. L. Courier," tome iv. p. 113 (Bruxelles, 1828).

considered to be ill-defended; and sir Home Popham determined to make a dash at a region reported to be so rich in treasure and merchandise, and so capable of affording a great opening to British commercial enterprise, that he would be justified in acting upon his own impulse. Having obtained from the general at the Cape the assistance of some troops, he arrived in June at the mouth of La Plata. Buenos Ayres was taken without opposition, with a great booty in the Treasury, and vast stores in the shipping on the river. The triumphant man sent home a circular addressed to the mercantile and manufacturing towns in Great Britain, which drove the speculators wild. Not the Scotch when they colonized Darien sent out such wonderful cargoes of goods as were sent in 1806. When the cargoes arrived Buenos Ayres had again changed masters. Under the command of a French colonel in the Spanish service, an attack was made on the British troops in the city; and after a sanguinary conflict they surrendered as prisoners of war. There was a more fatal termination of the South American enterprises in the following year. Thus it was, and thus it had been, from the commencement of the war in 1793. Year after year the armies of England were engaged in what the greatest of her commanders described as the most ruinous of systems—the carrying on “a little war.” Expeditions were again and again organized, to operate rather as distractions of the enemy than to produce any permanent impression upon the issue of the contest. Whilst Napoleon rapidly directed a great and overwhelming force upon one point, England was attempting enterprises in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in America, some of which had a temporary success, others a lamentable failure; but in all of which the bravery of her troops amply proved what a large army of such men could do, if fairly brought to grapple even with the veterans of Marengo or Austerlitz. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for seven years before, vast as were the sums expended upon small achievements, the government of George III. could never “screw its courage to the sticking-place,” to conduct a war against the aggressions of the Republic and the ambition of Napoleon, upon a scale that might emulate the vigour with which the government of Anne conducted the war against the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth.

CHAPTER XII.

Napoleon takes the field against Prussia.—Positions of the Prussian and French armies.—Battle of Jena.—The French enter Berlin.—The new Parliament meets.—Bill passed for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Proceedings which resulted in a change of Ministry.—A great Constitutional Question.—The new Administration.—Parliament dissolved.—Battle of Eylau.—Cold encouragement of England to the Allies.—Expeditions to various points.—Expedition to the Dardanelles.—Its failure, and that of other Turkish expeditions.—Expedition against Buenos Ayres.—Its lamentable results.—General Whitelock.—Meeting of the new Parliament.—Battle of Friedland.—Peace between Russia and France.—Treaty of Tilsit.—Secret articles of the Treaty become known to the British government.—The Danish fleet.—Expedition to Copenhagen.—Bombardment.—Surrender of the Fleet.

ON the night of the 25th of September, Napoleon, accompanied by the empress, and by Talleyrand, left Paris. There was something more important to accomplish than remaining at the Tuilleries for the mystification of lord Lauderdale. The French emperor proceeded with his usual rapidity to Mayence; and from Mayence to Wurtzbourg, where German potentates and German generals came to bow before his greatness. Around him was his army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, divided into nine corps. There were three Prussian armies, of which the principal army of fifty-five thousand men was commanded by the king in person, with his nephew, the duke of Brunswick, as his lieutenant-general. This was the famous general who advanced into France at the beginning of the Revolution, and raised a spirit in the people, that, begun in patriotism and a passion for liberty, degenerated into a passion for conquest. The duke was now seventy-one years of age. He had resigned the command of the Prussian and Austrian forces in 1793, and for thirteen years had been looking upon the great contests of Europe without taking any part in the struggle. The issue of one of the most tremendous conflicts of a time when the whole system of military tactics was changed, was now confided to a pupil of Frederick the Great. He was confronted with Napoleon, with Bernadotte, Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Ney, Augereau, Murat, Bessières, Lefebvre,—commanders who were formed in a school of warfare which, utterly disregarding the routine of the parade ground, and the systematic and slow manœuvres of a past time, rapidly concentrated large masses for the attack of an enemy, indifferent to the amount of carnage in their own ranks so that the

opposing force was annihilated. The ancient duke had some notions that he had discovered the secret of French success. He was for advancing against Napoleon's legions, and boldly attacking them. But time was an important element in these calculations. The Prussians, before they moved to attack, were holding councils of war; discussing plans; attempting to negotiate; and, as a preliminary to pacific overtures, desiring the haughty emperor immediately to withdraw his troops beyond the Rhine, and to commence his retreat on the 8th of October. Napoleon replied by an instant march into Saxony, after issuing a proclamation to his soldiers which concluded by saying that the Prussians would find that the hostility of "the great people" was more terrible than the tempests of the ocean.

The Prussian armies were posted on the Saale, in the vicinity of Erfurt, Gotha, and Eisenach. The outposts of the Prussians and French were close to each other on the 8th of October. Battles of separate divisions had been fought, as the Prussians advanced to meet their antagonists. They were compelled to relinquish the offensive system, which was incompatible with the tardiness and irresolution of their commanders. All that bravery could do would be done. All that patriotism could do would be stimulated into chivalrous enthusiasm, when the beautiful queen of Prussia rode from rank to rank of the soldiery, and exhorted them to fight for their country. Bonaparte sneered at the queen in one of his bulletins. "We seem to behold Armida in her madness setting fire to her own palace." But something, without which patriotism and bravery are of little avail, was wanting to Prussia. On the night of the 13th of October the Prussian watch-fires extended for six leagues. The fires of the French under Napoleon spread over a small space, of which the central fires lighted up the summit of the Landgrafenberg on which Napoleon bivouacked. On the morning of the 14th of October he attacked that portion of the Prussian army which, under the command of the prince of Hohenlohe at Jena, was unprepared for an immediate assault. The main body was at Auerstadt; and was attacked by Davoust. Thus, this great battle, which decided the fate of the Prussian monarchy, is sometimes called the battle of Jena and sometimes the battle of Auerstadt. By whatever name this fatal day of the 14th of October is known, in that double battle, in which two hundred and fifty thousand men were engaged, with seven hundred pieces of cannon, twenty thousand Prussians were killed or wounded, and above thirty thousand were taken prisoners. The king fled from the field; the duke of Brunswick received a shot in his eye, of

which wound he died on the 10th of November. All the principal fortified towns surrendered to the French, without resistance. In the northern provinces the Prussian generals, Blücher and Lestocq kept some regiments together. All the rest of the great force that was on the banks of the Saale in October was broken. On the 25th the French, under the command of Davoust, entered Berlin. Napoleon made his triumphal entry on the following day. On the 15th of November, he wrote to his brother Joseph, "the Prussian army and monarchy have ceased to exist."* On the 20th of November he issued from the palace of the House of Brandenburg the celebrated decree against the commerce of England, known as the Berlin Decree. The ambition of Napoleon could scarcely be satiated by the destruction of the monarchy that Frederick the Great had built up; for Russia was still in arms; England was still unscathed. His project of invasion was laid aside, to give place to a project quite as impracticable—that of putting England into a condition of isolation with the rest of Europe. He now writes to Joseph, "the news of what has just happened has thrown London into consternation. The occupation of Hamburg, which I have just effected, and the declaration of the blockade of the British islands, will increase this uneasiness."

At this moment marshal Lannes wrote to the conqueror at Berlin, that the soldiers of his corps, having heard a proclamation addressed to the great army, had cried out "Live, the Emperor of the West!" In the name of his corps, the politic Lannes desired to know whether in future he might address his despatches to the Emperor of the West? No answer was given; but the idea took possession of the soul of Napoleon. The enthusiasm of the soldiers, says Thiers, divined his ambition. It inspired him with a profound joy. He kept his own counsel, whilst he cherished in secret his passion for this title.† Emperor of the West! But how so, whilst England was in arms? Perish then her commerce! The Berlin Decree went forth, followed by that of Milan; and upon the raft of Tilsit the emperor of the French, and the emperor of all the Russias, agree to divide the world, the one as Emperor of the West, the other as Emperor of the East.

From battle fields and triumphs we turn to a warfare that looks less magnificent, but which is nevertheless not without its influence in the affairs of nations—the party conflicts of the British Parliament; the ministerial changes of the British Monarchy.

After the death of Mr. Fox, the ministry of Lord Grenville felt

* "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. i. p. 222.

† *Histoire du Consulat et l'Empire*, tome vii. and tome xvii.

itself weak in parliament. No statesman of commanding ability had joined the government. Lord Holland was the only new member of the administration. Mr. Canning resisted an overture to take office. A dissolution was resolved upon. The result was favourable to the administration; and they had a considerable majority when the new parliament met on the 15th of December. The great subject of debate was on the papers which related to the negotiation for peace with France. The able and spirited speech of lord Howick, in which he advocated an amount of resistance to Napoleon which even the keenest war partisan could not disapprove, gave the ministers a triumph without a division. The financial propositions of lord Henry Petty contemplated an annual system of loans, to make provision for a permanent state of warfare, setting a portion of these loans aside at accumulating interest, to constitute a sinking fund for their redemption. These schemes have passed "into a limbo large and broad," which statesmen have long since deserted. The great work of this session was the Abolition of the Slave-Trade. On the 23rd of February, 1807, the House of Commons decided by the vast majority of 283 to 16, that the House should go into Committee on the Slave-Trade bill, the second reading having been previously carried, as it had been carried in the Lords. When sir Samuel Romilly burst into unusual eloquence, in describing the feelings with which Mr. Wilberforce would that night lay his head on his pillow, as the preserver of millions of his fellow-creatures, as contrasted with that man who had waded to a throne through slaughter and oppression, the House shouted again and again, even as uneducated multitudes shout when their feelings are deeply stirred by impassioned oratory. The bill was read a third time on the 18th of March; was passed, with some trifling amendments in the Lords; and received the royal assent on the 25th of March. On that day the Grenville ministry delivered up the seals of office. They had not been ejected from the counsels of the sovereign by a parliamentary majority. They had been required by the king to give a pledge which no constitutional minister could give. They had, somewhat indiscreetly, it is held, but as many will think most conscientiously, brought forward the question, though in a very limited shape, which drove Mr. Pitt from office in 1801. There were too many "friends of the king" ready to take advantage of their indiscretion. They were excluded from power; and for nearly a quarter of a century the party of the Whigs was the party of Opposition.

On the 5th of March, 1807, lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his Majesty's subjects the privi-

lege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of Parliament. He asked, was it politic when we were contending with such a powerful enemy, to prevent a large portion of the population of the country from contributing to the common defence? Mr. Perceval denounced the proposed bill as one of the most dangerous measures that had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. On the 18th of March lord Howick postponed the second reading of the bill. He was not authorized, he said, nor would it accord with his duty, to enter into any explanation on the subject. The king had then declared against the bill. Lord Sidmouth had sent in his resignation. The king's mind was diligently made known. The expectants of office, even those who advocated the measure of Catholic relief, would sacrifice every consideration to the comfort of the king. The ministers saw their danger, and in deference to the earnestly expressed wishes of his majesty, consented to withdraw the measure on Roman Catholic enlistment. Mr. Abbot enters in his Diary of the 18th of March, "The duke of York, duke of Portland, and lord Eldon have been very busy for the last ten days; and the tone at Windsor very triumphant over the yielding ministers."* The ministers did not yield an unqualified abandonment of their desire to avert the dangers of Ireland by concession. They sent a cabinet minute to the king on the 15th of March, stating that those of his confidential servants who had promoted the bill in parliament now abandoned the whole measure; that it was intended as a first step towards a system of policy which they thought essential to the interests of the empire; that although they had endeavoured to prevent the Catholic petition from being brought forward, they must necessarily declare their own individual opinions in its favor whenever agitated in parliament; and, that their sense of duty required them to propose at any time, from time to time, such measures towards the Catholics as should in their judgments most contribute to the security and tranquillity of Ireland.† This abstract of the cabinet minute, by the Speaker, from a copy shown to him, is more circumstantial than any account we have seen of the ministerial proceeding. The immediate cause of the termination of the ministry is stated in a letter of lord Grenville to the Speaker: "On the merits of the measure which has led to this consequence, I fear we are not wholly agreed in opinion. But that measure is not the point on which the government is now at issue. We had decided to let it drop; but there has been since required of us a written and positive engagement never, under any circumstances, to

* Lord Colchester's Diary, vol. ii. p. 102.

† *Ibid.*, p. 103.

propose in the Closet *any* measure of concession to the Catholics, or *even connected with the question.*" * If the ministers had given such a pledge they would have been fitter ministers of the Sublime Porte than of the court of St. James's. They might have said to their sovereign,

"This is the English, not the Turkish Court."

They refused to give the pledge required; and the king very quickly formed a new administration. The constitutional question of the danger to which the country would be exposed, if ministers should bind themselves by pledges to their sovereign not to give advice that might be disagreeable to him, was ably maintained in a spirited debate of the 9th of April, when Mr. Brand moved a Resolution, "that it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential Servants of the Crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering to the king any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare and security of the Empire." The resolution was met by a motion for reading the other orders of the day. The Opposition sustained a most unexpected defeat, having a majority against them of thirty-two in an extraordinarily full house. On that occasion sir Samuel Romilly declared that the true question before the House was, whether it was not a high crime and misdemeanor in any minister in the confidence of the king to subscribe to a pledge that he would not offer any advice to his majesty which might appear to him to be essential to the interests of the empire. There was another constitutional question mooted in this debate—that there could be no exercise of the prerogative in which the king could be without some adviser. The new ministers had avowed that the king had acted without advice. They disowned the responsibility, but they could not escape from the constitutional inference—that by accepting office they had assumed the responsibility.† Mr. May, in his recent excellent work, says, "no constitutional writer would now be found to defend the pledge itself, or to maintain that the ministers who accepted office in consequence of the refusal of that pledge, had not taken upon themselves the same responsibility as if they had advised it."‡ The holders of office had now a majority over those whom the king had turned out. The alarmists of the Church took part with the king, and the ministers, knowing the value of the old popular cry of "No Popery," dissolved the parliament at the end of its first session.

The new ministry, of which the Duke of Portland was the nom-

* Lord Colchester's Diary, vol. ii. p. 102.

† Hansard—vol. ix.

‡ May—"Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 27.

inal head, but of which Mr. Perceval, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the real leader, enrolled lord Eldon as Chancellor, Mr. Canning as Foreign Secretary, lord Hawkesbury as Home Secretary, and lord Castlereagh as War and Colonial Secretary. The Duke of Richmond was lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and sir Arthur Wellesley, Chief Secretary. There were other holders of high office, who were long associated with the fortunes of the great party upon whom the conduct of affairs now devolved—lords Bathurst, Camden, and Westmorland. The deliberations of Parliament were soon terminated. It was prorogued by commission, and a dissolution announced on the 27th of April. His majesty was "anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection." The people, thus addressed, understood little of constitutional questions. They had a horror of any approach to conciliation of the Catholics of Ireland, whatever the most enlightened statesmen of either party might think was just. They had a natural sympathy with the personal feelings of their king, now advanced in years, with the infirmities of age coming fast upon him, for he was nearly blind. The Corporation of London addressed the king as the preserver of our religion, laws, and liberties, and the protector of the religious interests of his people. * The party cry was "King and Constitution," at a time when the successful attempt to merge the responsibility of the king's ministers in the irresponsible power of the king, had given the constitution as rude a shock as any encroachment of the old days of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong."

On the point of leaving Downing-street, lord Grenville wrote to his brother, "The deed is done, and I am again a free man, and to you I may express, what it would seem like affectation to say to others, the infinite pleasure I derive from my emancipation." To continue actively to participate in the conduct of the war on the continent would have appeared a hopeless task, even to the sanguine mind of Mr. Pitt. After Austerlitz, the great minister was reported to have said, "Tear up the map of Europe." It was frightfully torn after the Prussian humiliation at Jena. That it would ever be joined again now appeared very improbable, although the Prussian and Russian forces had, in February, made a determined stand at Eylau. At this place in Eastern Prussia, was fought, on the 9th of February, one of the most terrible battles of the great war. The remnant of the Prussian army had been enabled to form a junction with the main Russian army under general Benningsen. The French, at the end of November, had

* "Annual Register," 1807—April 22.

entered Warsaw ; where the prospect of national independence, to which Napoleon had given an equivocal encouragement, ensured the French a welcome reception. Napoleon himself entered Warsaw on the 19th of December. The French armies had crossed the Vistula, and had taken up their winter quarters from Elbing to Warsaw. They wanted rest ; but the active Russian general allowed them no rest. He attacked Bernadotte on the 26th of December ; and in the battle of Pultusk the French found that their emperor had undervalued the enemy with whom he had to deal. He had written to Cambacérès, before crossing the Vistula, "All this is child's-play, to which I must put an end."* He could not "finish with all his enemies as quickly as he expected. Bernadotte, under the orders of the emperor, moved to Thorn, on the Vistula, in the expectation that Benningsen would follow, and that Napoleon would go forth and fall upon the too eager Russian. But Benningsen was not so easily entrapped. He retired to Preussisch Eylau, a small town in the circle of Königsberg. Here he was followed by Napoleon, with eighty thousand men, according to the Russian accounts. Some French historians admit sixty-eight thousand. Thiers maintains that only fifty-four thousand were in the field. He estimates the Russians at seventy-two thousand, with eight thousand Prussians. There was probably no great disproportion of numbers on either side. The French, says Thiers, had the confidence of success, and the love of glory ; the Russians had a certain fanaticism of obedience, which led them blindly to defy death. Some may think—which the historian evidently does not think—that the fanaticism of duty is more to be admired than the presumption of vanity. Napoleon had passed the night of the 7th of February at the house of the postmaster, in the little town of Eylau, situate on a small eminence. As the winter morning broke, the emperor stood in the churchyard, straining his eyes to watch the movements of masses of Russians in the plain below. A keen east wind was blowing ; the snow was falling thick and fast ; he was scarcely aware that a detachment of Russians was upon him, from whose hands he was only rescued by the devotion of his guard. The battle soon became general ; and the dreadful struggle went on till ten o'clock at night. For hours the advantage on either side was very doubtful. When darkness fell upon the combatants there was still no victory. The next morning Napoleon looked upon the field of battle, and there beheld thousands of dead and dying ; horses struck down ; cannon dismounted ;—all lying amidst frozen ponds and drifts of snow, whilst burning hamlets

* Thiers, tome vii. p. 216.

and farms added to the horror of the scene. Napoleon, for once, seemed to feel the "one touch of nature" which "makes the whole world kin." This spectacle, he cried, should inspire princes with the love of peace and the horror of war.* His heart was scarcely affected by what was not agreeable to his taste to look upon. He had made an experiment of dressing some regiments in the white uniform of the old days of the Lilies. He turned shuddering from the patches of blood which the white cloth made too conspicuous. He would, in future, have nothing but blue for his soldiery. The butcher's blue frock hides the blood; but nevertheless there is the same blood on the floor of the slaughter-house.

For more than four months it was expected that important results would have ensued from the vigorous resistance which Napoleon had encountered at Eylau. The king of Prussia had rejected his propositions for peace; the Russians had been reinforced; the emperor of the French had ordered a new conscription, the third within seven months, and France was losing heart. Had there been a vigorous war ministry in England when the Allies applied for assistance, some great result might have been obtained. Lord Howick answered their application by stating that, "the Allies must not look for any considerable land force from Great Britain." A subsidy of 500,000*l.* was granted—a very petty and therefore very useless aid. The emperor of Russia had asked for a loan of six millions from the government. The government proposed to sanction a private loan, upon a complicated security for interest—that the Russian duties upon British merchandise should be levied in British ports. Great Britain had other modes of employing her money and her arms than in carrying on war upon a great scale. Whether her government were Whig or Tory, there was the same passion for little expeditions. A writer of remarkable powers of sarcasm has described what Bonaparte would do, if his counsellors "were taken from the English political caste." He would "delay doing anything until the season for operations was nearly gone by; he would then probably treat a little, and be duped by his allies, and cavil and wrangle a good deal, and quarrel with some of them, and excite a hatred of all of them and of myself, and a contempt of his plans among his own subjects. But, all these preliminaries of failure being settled, he would at last come to his operations; and his policy would be to get up a number of neat little expeditions, equal in number to the things he wants to take—just one for each thing."† This is a masterly description of the

* Thiers, tome vii. p. 395.

† The article appeared in the "Edinburgh Review," October, 1808 and was attributed to Mr. Brougham. See, "Horner's Memors," vol. ii. p. 437.

councils, in 1806, of the Whigs, who bequeathed their policy to their Tory successors in 1807. But it was not directed against the Whigs. It was published in October, 1808, and was intended as a philippic against the first measures of the Peninsular war, which it was predicted would fail, as most other military efforts had failed, in producing any real effect upon the issue of the contest. There was a great deal of truth in what was said, and never more truth than if applied to the "neat little expeditions" of the ministry of lord Grenville and lord Howick, to which it was not meant to apply.

In February, 1807, Mr. Thomas Grenville is at the head of the Admiralty. He does not quite approve of the measures of his colleague, Mr. Wyndham, who is at the head of the War department. He writes, "Wyndham is sending out Whitelock to command at Plata. I know not why, for I do not believe that he is a bit better than Auchmuty." Sir Samuel Auchmuty, after the unfortunate result of Popham's attempt upon Buenos Ayres, had been sent out with a reinforcement of 3000 men. He found that he could do nothing at Buenos Ayres; and had attacked Monte Video. He took this fortified seaport by assault, with a severe loss. When Whitelock was sent out "to command at Plata," the government knew nothing of the success of Auchmuty; and his orders were to place his forces, united with those of general Crauford, under the command of general Whitelock. We shall have presently to speak of their operations at Buenos Ayres, in June. It is curious to note the want of harmony in the British government in undertaking these enterprises. Thomas Grenville says, "I am more than ever convinced that all those distant combinations are of necessity subject to so many chances, that I have little stomach to them; but, in spite of my feeble opposition, our military projectors are running after one expedition, and one general with another and another, till, in military language, the battalions are all clubbed, and no man knows where to find an entire company."* Of his own management of naval expeditions, Mr. Thomas Grenville is very confident. An imposing force is to be sent to the Dardanelles, to co-operate with our ally, the emperor of Russia, against whom the Porte had declared war, we suspecting that the French influence was becoming paramount over the English influence at Constantinople. The Admiralty has its favourite commander in its eye. "The Russian minister," writes Grenville, "has the modesty to propose that a Russian admiral shall command the combined naval force at the Dardanelles."†

* "Court, &c., of George III.," vol. iv. p. 123.

† *Ibid.*, p. 124.

The proud confidence in the valour and sagacity of a British admiral was amply justified by the memories of Howe and Nelson, and by the living examples of Collingwood and Sidney Smith. Sir John Thomas Duckworth was vice-admiral of the white; he was, moreover, a Knight of the Bath—an honour conferred upon him in 1801, on his return from taking quiet possession of the Danish West India islands.* Great was the astonishment of Mr. Thomas Grenville, a few weeks after he went out of office, to find that the expedition to the Dardanelles could not have been worse managed, even if a Russian admiral had commanded. "Duckworth's business and his orders plainly directed him to insist upon the surrender of the Turkish fleet, or to burn it, and to bombard the town. Why he has done neither, and has retired to give them time to make this enterprise impossible, I cannot guess; but am mortified at being disappointed of a triumph which I had thought was as certain as the sailing of the expedition."† It is scarcely necessary to enter into any lengthened detail of this most ridiculous adventure, which degraded the British flag in the eyes of all the world. The French ambassador at Constantinople was general Sebastiani; the English ambassador was Mr. Arbuthnot. The Russian ambassador had gone on board an English ship; the French and the British ministers remained, each threatening sultan Selim with the vengeance of their courts if he did not conform to their wishes. But Sebastiani had something better than threats to offer—the invincibles of Napoleon should come to chase away the Russian armies who were on the frontier. Lord Collingwood in January was cruising off Cadiz, when he received orders from the Admiralty to detach a force to the Dardanelles; and, "as the service will require much ability and firmness in the officer who is to command it, you are to entrust the execution thereof to vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth." Collingwood left little discretion to the ability and firmness of the officer that he had not the usual liberty of a chief-in-command to select. He recommended Duckworth not to allow any negotiation to continue more than half-an-hour; as any proposition to treat would probably be to gain time for preparing resistance or securing the Turkish ships. Duckworth, with seven sail of the line, and smaller vessels, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, having received little damage from the fire of the castles at the mouth of that strait. By an unhappy accident, the *Ajax*, of seventy-four guns, had been previously burnt. But the force was large enough for complete success. The Turkish fortifications along the Dardanelles were

* James—"Naval History," vol. iv. p. 183.

† "Court," &c., vol. iv. p. 169.

dilapidated. When the fleet appeared before Constantinople the Sultan was alarmed, and would gladly have yielded. But Sebastiani exhorted him to do what Collingwood foresaw would be done—to gain time by negotiation. For days Duckworth sent threatening notes, and persuasive notes, and notes that showed clearly that nothing was to be attempted. Meanwhile the skilful Sebastiani had taught the Turks how to defend their shores. Cannon were mounted upon works at which the whole population laboured day and night. Troops lined the coast. All the passage down the Dardanelles assumed a very different aspect from that which the British saw as they passed up. The longer the fleet stayed before Constantinople the greater would be the danger; and on the 1st of March, during the course of thirty miles, the gauntlet was run through a constant fire. From the castles of Sestos and Abydos enormous granite shots, wondrous missiles which British sailors had never before seen, were discharged, breaking in decks, snapping masts, and producing a consternation such as no ordinary bombardment would have occasioned. The actual loss in this ill-fated expedition was less than might have been expected—about three hundred men killed and wounded. Attempts were made in parliament to investigate the causes of this extraordinary event. But the successors of the Whigs appeared to be tenderly disposed towards their rivals, at a time when a great amount of obloquy had fallen upon themselves, for their scheme of an expedition which, although a signal success, was considered, as that of the Dardanelles was considered, impolitic and unjust. Other expeditions against the Ottoman power had been sent forth by the government of lord Grenville. On the 20th of March, Alexandria capitulated to a force of 5000 men embarked at Messina. But at Alexandria there was apprehension that the troops would soon be in want of provisions unless Rosetta was taken possession of. General Frazer, with 1500 men, marched into the town, and was soon driven back with great loss, having been received with a heavy fire from the houses and windows of the inhabitants. Another British force of 2500 men was sent under general Stewart; and that little army had to retreat with a loss of a third of its number. The affair of Alexandria ended by the evacuation of Egypt by general Frazer, on condition that the British prisoners should be surrendered.

The most fatal result of the various projects by which the Whig government acquired the reputation of being the unluckiest of war-administrators, was that of the great expedition against Buenos Ayres. The ministry, as it now appears, had asked the

advice of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which he gave in November, 1806, and in February, 1807. That advice is chiefly confined to military affairs, which, to be successful, required to be arranged upon a large scale. In February, he says, "the late occurrences at Buenos Ayres shows that we ought not to rest entirely upon the accounts which we have received of the inefficiency of the Spanish military establishments in America." * Upon the political question he is not then so decided. He observes "that all those who have communicated their ideas to his majesty's government upon the subject of the Spanish dominions in America have recommended that they should have in view a revolution, instead of a conquest, in their proceedings." The protection of an independent government would fall upon Great Britain, but he does not see how she is to be compensated for the expense and inconvenience which such protection would entail. All the hopes of assistance from the natives which have been entertained by persons who have written upon Spanish America are founded as much upon their wishes for an independent government, as upon their hatred of their masters, the Spaniards. † In February, 1808, when it was seriously contemplated to send out an expedition, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley himself, to co-operate with General Miranda in the liberation of Spanish America, he decidedly says (after the adventure which ended calamitously in 1807), "From what has lately passed at Buenos Ayres, and from all that I have read of these countries, I am convinced that any attempt to conquer them, with a view to their future subjection to the British crown, would certainly fail; and, therefore, I consider the only mode in which they can be wrested from the crown of Spain is by a revolution, and by the establishment of an independent government within them." ‡ General Whitelock, on the 28th of June, landed with 7800 men about thirty miles to the east of Buenos Ayres. They were before the city, which was nearly invested, on the morning of the 5th of July, when an attack was ordered, each division to enter upon the street opposite to it, and march through its particular street, till it reached the last square near the river Plata. In this progress the troops were to advance with unloaded muskets, two corporals marching at the head of each column with tools to break open the doors of the barricaded houses. The doors would not yield; the windows and roofs were crowded with the hostile population; and a terrible fire mowed down the advancing soldiers. Trenches had been dug in the streets; and cannon planted there swept away hundreds with grape shot. Auchmuty, in spite of these obstacles, made himself

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 58.

† *Ibid.*, p. 50.‡ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

master of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post ; and another place of strength had been taken, when the action was ended at nightfall. Two thousand five hundred British had been killed and wounded, or were prisoners. General Linieres, the commander in the city, addressed a letter next morning to General Whitelock, offering to give up the prisoners, and those made in the previous year, if he would desist from further attack, and withdraw the British forces from La Plata. Monte Video was of course to be surrendered. Whitelock agreed to these degrading terms ; returned home with a whole skin ; ran great risk of being torn to pieces by the English populace, who nicknamed him general Whitefeather ; was tried by court-martial, and was declared "totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever." There can be little question that Mr. Wyndham was decided in the appointment of an incompetent man, by that preponderating influence which, in those days, rendered a minister, unless he were resolved to maintain his responsible authority, the slave of court favouritism and of base jobs. From these influences the country would not readily have escaped unless a man had arisen, to prescribe his own will to courts and ministers,—to achieve success by the invincible force of his own sagacity, and yet to keep within the bounds of duty.

The new Parliament assembled on the 22nd of June. On the 26th, upon an Amendment to the Address, the strength of parties was tested in the fullest house ever recorded. Of 505 members present, not counting the Speaker and four tellers upon the division, 356 voted with the government. The Royal Speech, delivered by Commissioners, referred to the disappointment of the efforts of his majesty's squadron in the Sea of Marmora, and to the losses sustained by our gallant troops in Egypt. Nevertheless, his majesty had thought it right to adopt such measures as might enable him, in concert with his ally the emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity of bringing the hostilities in which they are engaged against the Sublime Porte to a conclusion. His majesty's endeavours had been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which he is connected with the powers of the continent, and of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France. Four days after this speech had been delivered, came the news of the battle of Friedland. The efforts of the powers of the continent were at an end. Prussia was crouching at the victor's feet ; Russia was scheming with him to divide the empire of the world, and they were taking sweet counsel together for the destruction of Great Britain. According to the agreeable arrangement of these poten-

tates, the hostilities against the Sublime Porte were to be brought to a conclusion by Alexander and Napoleon dividing the Turkish empire—Alexander becoming Emperor of the East, as Napoleon was to be Emperor of the West.

After the great battle of Eylau the Allied armies and the French armies remained for several months inactive. Reinforcements were necessary to each, for repairing the terrible destruction of that day when the falling snow covered thousands of the dead and dying. Napoleon had proposed peace to Alexander, but Alexander refused the proffered terms. He expected aid from England; but the succour did not come in time. The Russians determined to act for themselves. Early in June they attacked the French lines, and were repelled. A great encounter then took place at Heilsberg; and on the 14th of June a general battle was fought at Friedland, which broke the Russian spirit, terminated the campaign, and made the two emperors, for a season, the dearest of friends. Eight days after the victory, which was won on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, an armistice was concluded, and Napoleon addressed a proclamation to his army from his camp at Tilsit. "From the banks of the Vistula we have arrived on the banks of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. . . . You will return to France, covered with laurels, after having obtained a glorious peace which bears a guarantee for its duration. It is time that our country should live in repose under shelter from the malign influence of England." That shelter was to be found in the new friendship of Alexander—of Alexander, who, only a few days previous, had written to George III., "that there was no salvation to himself or to Europe but by eternal resistance of Bonaparte."* On the 9th of July, Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph: "Peace was signed yesterday, and ratified to-day. The emperor Alexander and I parted to-day at twelve o'clock, after having passed three weeks together. We lived as intimate friends. At our last interview, he appeared in the Order of the Legion of Honour, and I in that of St. Andrew."†

On the 25th of June, the armies on each bank of the Niemen beheld an extraordinary preparation for some grand scenic display. In the middle of the river, near the town of Tilsit, was moored a large raft, upon which was raised a pavilion of the richest stuffs that could be furnished in a district so remote from luxurious capitals. From one bank of the Niemen Napoleon took boat, accompanied by four of his great officers. From the other bank

* Malmesbury, "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 398.

† "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. i. p. 242.

Alexander took boat, accompanied by five of his suite, princes or generals. The two potentates met on the raft at the same moment, and they embraced each other, amidst the shouts of the soldiery. They then entered the pavilion unaccompanied, and there held a long conversation on matters of high import. Historians take upon themselves to relate what passed at this secret conference and in other private conversations. M. Thiers is careful to show that Napoleon seduced Alexander by his caressing words—flattering the monarch and flattering the man—and he gives us many of the fine speeches in which the pliant Tartar was won to swear an eternal friendship, founded chiefly upon a mutual hatred of England.* Some Russian writers excuse the violent professions of esteem for Napoleon on the part of Alexander, by attributing them to his profound dissimulation. One thing is clear—that Napoleon obtained all that he wanted in the Treaty of Tilsit, and especially in its secret articles. The articles that were patent took away whole provinces from Prussia, and gave her back some territory which Napoleon would also have taken, but which was restored at the intercession of Alexander. Out of the spoils of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe was formed the kingdom of Westphalia, of which Jerome Bonaparte was to be king. The Prussian provinces of Poland were to be erected into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and bestowed upon the king of Saxony, with the exception of one province, which Russia coveted. King Louis and king Joseph were to be recognized by Russia, as well as all Napoleon's creations of new subject states, and his willing instrument, the Confederation of the Rhine. But in addition to the secret articles of this treaty, there was a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Russia, of which the conditions were to be inviolably secret. M. Thiers says, that under the title of "Secret Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit" many conditions absolutely false have been published. "The English, especially, to justify their ulterior conduct towards Denmark, have brought to light many pretended articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which were communicated to the cabinet of London by diplomatic spies. But," continues M. Thiers, "through authentic and official documents which were open to my investigation, I am able for the first time to give the veritable stipulations of Tilsit, public as well as secret."† We will recapitulate the articles of "*le traité occulte*," thus brought to light by the French historian. It contained an engagement, on the part of Russia and of France, to make common

* "*Le Consulat et l'Empire*," tome vii. p. 627 to 633.

† *Ibid.*, p. 628.

cause under all circumstances ; to unite their forces by land and by sea in every war which they should have to maintain ; to take arms against England, if she did not subscribe to the mediation of Russia to establish peace between herself and France ; to make war against the Porte, if she did not subscribe to the mediation of France to establish peace between himself and Russia, and in case this mediation was refused, to rescue the European provinces from the vexatious authority of the Porte, except Constantinople and Roumelia. Moreover, the two powers agreed to summon, in common, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Austria, to concur in the projects of France and of Russia : that is, to shut their ports against England, and to declare war against her. This is the text of the treaty to be kept inviolably secret, as given by the historian of the Empire. It is added, by some writers, that Napoleon imparted to Alexander his schemes of placing members of his family on the thrones of Portugal and Spain, and that a treaty to this effect was concluded.*

"While this was passing in the North," writes lord Malmesbury, "a plan was forming here of surprising the Danish fleet. Ministers had received the most undoubted information (and, strange to say, the *first* information came through the prince of Wales to the duke of Portland in an audience he had at Carlton House in May) that, by the assistance of this fleet, Bonaparte intended to invade the north-east coast of England ; and this came from Portugal, whose fleet Bonaparte also wanted. The Regent of Portugal rejected the proposal, and communicated it to us. The Danes accepted it, were silent at the time, and afterwards denied it."† Our Foreign Secretary immediately made preparations for anticipating the hostile submission of Denmark to the commands of Napoleon. These preparations went on, without apparent haste, till after the treaty of Tilsit was concluded, when Mr. Canning obtained a knowledge of the Secret Articles. How he obtained that knowledge he never would disclose. The "Memoirs of Fouché,"—now generally believed to be the genuine revelations of a notable intriguer,—contain the following passage : "About this time it was that we learned the success of the attack upon Copenhagen by the English ; which was the first derangement of the secret stipulations of Tilsit, by virtue of which the Danish fleet was to be placed at the disposal of France. Since the death of Paul I., I never saw Napoleon give himself up to such violent transports of passion. That which astonished him most in that vigorous *coup-de-main* was

* Alison, "History of Europe," vol. vii. p. 308.

† "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 399.

the promptitude with which the English ministry took their resolution." * Bonaparte suspected Talleyrand, says Fouché. According to another authority, some humbler person was the medium of communication to the British government. Mr. Stapleton, private secretary to Mr. Canning, says, that an individual was concealed behind a curtain of the tent on the raft, and heard Napoleon propose to Alexander, and Alexander consent to the proposition, that the French should take possession of the fleet of Denmark.† That Talleyrand should have betrayed the counsels of his master, at the height of his power, is just as improbable as that any "rash, intruding fool" should have been the rat behind the arras, whilst Bessières and Duroc, Benningsen and Ouwarrow, were watching on either side of the pavilion on the Niemen. Without the knowledge of any special provision that the Danish fleet was to be placed at the disposal of France, the general agreement of the treaty that Denmark and other powers should be compelled to join Russia and France, in a war against England, was sufficient to render a measure of hostility towards Denmark justifiable upon the great principle of self-defence. "No expedition was ever better planned or better executed, and none ever occasioned more clamour."‡

On the 12th of August, Mr. Jackson, an envoy from England, arrived in Copenhagen, to demand the delivery of the Danish fleet to lord Gambier, the British admiral, who was in the Sound with twenty-seven sail of the line, and many smaller vessels, in company with a fleet of transports, conveying twenty-seven thousand land-troops. The demand of Mr. Jackson was accompanied with an assurance that the fleet should be taken care of in British ports, and restored upon conclusion of peace with France and Russia. The Crown Prince of Denmark indignantly refused; and prepared for defence. The British land forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, the command of the reserve being entrusted to sir Arthur Wellesley. He had been called from his civil duty as Secretary for Ireland, to take this military duty. The troops were landed on Zealand on the 16th. They were not opposed; and they closely invested Copenhagen on the land side, erecting powerful batteries. Numerous bomb-vessels were ready also to pour their fire from the sea upon the devoted city. Congreve-rockets were there to be tried for the first time. Sir Arthur Wellesley, with his customary moderation, would have preferred "an establishment upon Amag, as a more certain mode of forcing a capitulation than a bombard-

* Quoted in Mr. Robert Bell's "Life of Canning," p. 237.

† Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," p. 125 (1859).

‡ Malmesbury, "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 399.

ment. . . . I think it behoves us to do as little mischief to the town as possible, and to adopt any mode of reducing it, rather than bombardment." * The bombardment did take place ; in spite of one more effort for averting it, by a proclamation on the part of the British commanders that they would withdraw their forces, if the fleet were surrendered as a deposit to be restored at the close of the war. The Crown Prince replied by a proclamation which was a declaration of war, and by ordering the seizure of all British ships and property. The bombardment was commenced with fatal vigour, and continued for four days. The conflagration of the city, and the sufferings of the inhabitants, were amongst those occurrences of the war which are most painful to look back upon. The Danish navy and arsenal were surrendered on the 8th of September. Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to conduct the negotiation. He writes on the day on which he concluded the settlement with the Danish commissioners, "I have only to observe upon the instrument, that it contains the absolute and unconditional cession of the fleet and naval stores, and gives us the possession of those military points which are necessary in order to enable us to equip and carry away the vessels. This was all that we wanted ; and in everything else I did all in my power to conciliate the Danes." † His wise conclusion was not acceptable to violent politicians, who wanted some further evidences of our power. Enough had been done for our own safety ; too much had been done to satisfy the honest, but not very politic, indignation of those who felt like Francis Horner. He had "endeavoured for awhile to view it as one of the extreme cases of that necessity which has no law ;" but he turned aside from "the intricacies of state expediency to the daylight of common justice and old rules." ‡ The state expediency is now held to have been justly paramount.

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 9—Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, August 28.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 21—Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, Sept. 8.

‡ "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 411.

CHAPTER XIII.

Isolation of Great Britain.—Hostility of Europe.—Bonaparte's Continental System.—His plans for becoming master of the Peninsula.—French invasion of Portugal.—The Regent of Portugal flies to the Brazils.—Charles IV. of Spain abdicates.—He, and Ferdinand his son, entrapped by Napoleon at Bayonne.—Insurrection at Madrid.—The Spanish Juntas ask the aid of England.—Sympathy of the English people.—Sir Arthur Wellesley sent with troops to Portugal.—Successes of the Spaniards.—Zaragoza.—Victory of Wellesley at Vimiero.—Convention of Cintra.—Sir John Moore marches into Spain.—Napoleon takes the command of his army in Spain.—Moore's retreat.—Battle of Corunna.—Death of Sir John Moore.—Sufferings of his army.—National gloom.—Charges against the duke of York.—Parliamentary inquiry.—The Duke resigns.—Lord Cochrane's enterprise in Aix Roads.—Austria declares war against France.—Sir Arthur Wellesley takes the command at Lisbon.—Passage of the Douro.—Intelligence of important events.

THE Royal Speech, delivered by Commissioners, on the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 21st of January, 1808, was of greater length, and bore upon more important points of Foreign Affairs, than any similar document during the most stirring years since 1793. The view of our position with relation to the rest of the world was not cheering. Britain seemed to have reached that extremity of isolation which the Roman poet described, and which the French emperor desired to establish as a political fact. The treaty of Tilsit, said the Speech, confirmed the influence and control of France over the powers of the continent; and it was the intention of the enemy to combine those powers in one general confederacy against this kingdom. For this purpose, the whole of the naval force of Europe was to be brought to bear upon various points of the British dominions, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark. It was an indispensable duty to place these fleets out of the reach of such a confederacy. Painful but necessary measures of force were successful with regard to Denmark. The fleet of Portugal had been secured from the grasp of France, and was then employed in conveying to its American dominions the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese monarchy. The determination of France to excite hostilities between Great Britain and Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had been too successful. These powers had withdrawn their ministers from London. The machinations of the enemy had prevented the war with Turkey being brought to a con-

clusion. The king of Sweden alone had resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon our alliance. The government of the United States had refused to ratify a treaty of amity and commerce agreed upon in 1806, and was making pretensions inconsistent with our maritime rights. In consequence of the decree by which France declared the whole of the British dominions in a state of blockade, subjecting the manufactures and produce of the kingdom to seizure and confiscation, his majesty resorted to a measure of mitigated retaliation; but that being ineffectual, other measures of greater rigour had been adopted by Orders in Council. This was, indeed, a catalogue of ills. In spite however, said the Speech, of the difficulties endeavoured to be imposed by the enemy upon the commerce of this country, its resources had during the last year been so abundant as to produce a great increase of revenue.

Gloomy as was the prospect arising out of this frank explanation—England without one ally but the young king of Sweden, whom some deemed chivalrous and others deemed mad—France, whose territory was extended far beyond the wildest ambition of her old race of kings, under an emperor who was the real suzerain of Naples, of Italy, of Switzerland, of Holland, of Germany—America subject to the will of a President who had ever been a hater of England, and was now anxious for open war,—gloomy as was this prospect, was there any ray of hopes to illumine the darkness? The historian of the French empire points to this single ray in a brief sentence. To the universal dominion of Napoleon there was only one thing to be desired—nothing more, than “the submission of *peoples* to this gigantic edifice.”* During fifteen years of war, England, in her system of subsidies and coalitions, had seen only Kings as allies. The time was coming when she was to look upon Nations for her friends. During that year of 1808 she found out the chink in her enemy’s armour, and she soon proved that he was not invulnerable.

The hatred of the people of many countries to the domination of Napoleon received an immense impulse from the tyrannical enforcement of the Decrees which constituted what is called his Continental System. The eulogists of Napoleon’s glory, and the believers in the vocation of France to rule the world, are compelled to admit that the decay of his power may be dated from the attempt to destroy England by shutting out her commerce from every port of Europe. “If this interdict had been maintained some years, England would probably have been obliged to yield,” says M. Thiers. “Unhappily, the continental blockade was to add to the

* Thiers, “Le Consulat et l’Empire,” tome xvii. p. 869.

exasperation of peoples obliged to bend to the exigencies of our policy."* It was not enough to exasperate many populations by handing over ancient States to new masters ; by creating kings out of the many sons of the lawyer of Ajaccio ; by endeavouring to amalgamate communities wholly different in their laws, their customs, and their creeds ; to play with the masses as if they were the pawns of the chessboard. He must cut off the sources of their industrial wealth ; he must forbid to mankind, whether enemy, or subject, or allied, or neutral, that interchange of produce and manufactures which were necessary to the prosperity, and even to the existence, of producer and consumer. The defence of the continental blockade was, that it was the retaliation of a measure of the British government in May, 1806, when all the ports between Brest and the Elbe were declared in a state of blockade. Napoleon, in the preamble to the Berlin decree, proclaimed that the places declared by England in 1806 to be in a state of blockade were ports before which she had not a single vessel of war. This was wholly untrue. It was not a paper blockade—" *blocus sur le papier, imaginé par l'Angleterre.*" † So far from being a paper blockade, there was a sufficient force to maintain it—a principle recognized by all publicists as constituting the validity of an interference with the right of neutrals to trade with a hostile country. On the contrary, the Berlin decree declared the British islands in a state of blockade, when France had no ships on the sea to make the blockade real instead of nominal. But this decree went much further. It not only prohibited all commerce and correspondence with the British islands, but it declared every English subject to be a prisoner of war who was found in a country occupied by the troops of France or of her allies. It declared all property belonging to an English subject to be lawful prize. It prohibited all trade in British manufactured goods. It declared all merchandise coming from Great Britain or her colonies to be lawful prize. It shut out every vessel that had touched at any port of Britain or her colonies. By the Milan decree of December, 1807, the British dominions *in all parts of the world* were declared to be in a state of blockade ; and all countries were prohibited from trading with each other, in any articles produced or manufactured in the countries thus placed under interdict. This latter decree was alleged to be in retaliation of the British Orders in Council of November, 1807. Of the impolicy of these Orders of the British government we shall have to speak in another chapter. We have at present to confine ourselves to that first decree of Napoleon, whose attempted enforcement

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xvii. p. 868.

† *Ibid.*, tome vii. p. 223.

upon Portugal in August, 1707, was the alleged cause of the French invasion of that kingdom. It thus led to the great series of events which terminated in the deliverance of Europe from the crushing despotism of the man who was at the height of his power, when he made the extravagant attempt by rash decrees to fetter the freedom of human action, in the indispensable supply of human wants—by decrees which, carrying with them a natural impossibility of execution, rendered the tyrannical machinery by which they were vainly attempted to be enforced, not only odious but despicable, and produced a conviction that the “gigantic edifice” was built upon the sands. Bourrienne, who in 1807 was the *chargé d'affaires* of France at Hamburg, says that the emperor having ordered him to provide an immense supply of clothing for the armies in Prussia, he authorized a house at Hamburg, in spite of the Berlin decree, to bring cloth and leather from England. Had the decrees, he states, relative to English merchandize been observed, the French troops would have perished with cold. Licences, he tells us, for the disposal of English goods were procured at a high price by those who were rich enough to pay for them. Smuggling on a small scale was punished with death, whilst the government carried it on extensively. Under Davoust's rule at Hamburg a poor man had nearly been shot for having introduced a loaf of sugar for the use of his family, whilst Napoleon was perhaps signing a licence for the introduction of a million of sugar loaves. Bourrienne sums up many such instances, by saying, “It is necessary to witness, as I have, the numberless vexations and miseries occasioned by the unfortunate Continental System, to understand the mischief its author did in Europe, and how much that mischief contributed to Napoleon's fall.” *

Whenever the emperor of the French was reposing after the fatigues of battle fields, the world might be assured that new schemes of aggrandizement were shaping themselves in his mind into some decided course of action. He was passing the summer of 1807 in the pleasant shades of Fontainebleau, revolving various devices for making himself master of Spain. The fate of Portugal was presumed to be determined by a secret treaty—the treaty of Fontainebleau—between Napoleon and Charles IV. of Spain, by which a partition was made of that kingdom, and by which Godoy, the favourite of the Spanish court, should be endowed with a portion of the spoil, and be prince of Algarves. But Napoleon had far higher objects in lending his ear to the petty intrigues and disgraceful quarrels of the king of Spain and his son

* See “Memoirs of Napoléon,”—translation published in 1830—vol. iii. chap. xxv.

Ferdinand—in propitiating Godoy, and pretending to make family alliances with the Spanish Bourbons. He intended to eject the House of Bourbon from their throne; but this project required to be worked by tentative approaches. Fraud was to go before violence. The dethronement of the House of Braganza was an easier process. It should precede the more difficult operation of entrapping the king of Spain and his son, and holding them in durance, before he could write to his brother Joseph, “I destine this crown for you.”* The ejection of the prince-regent of Portugal was to be accomplished by a simple exercise of military force.

On the 12th of August, 1807, the French ambassador at Lisbon presented a note to the Portuguese government, requiring, by the 1st of September, the prince-regent of Portugal to emancipate himself from English influence by declaring war, confiscating all English merchandise, closing his ports against English vessels, and uniting his squadrons to the navies of the Continental Powers. Unless he did so, the ambassador would demand his passports. Lord Strangford, our ambassador at Lisbon, knew the force that was put upon the Portuguese government, and did not resent the declaration of war that the prince-regent was compelled to make. The prince, however, refused to confiscate English property. Useless as he knew his remonstrances would be, they gave him a breathing time; and he advised the English merchants to sell their goods and depart the kingdom. On the 19th of October the French general Junot crossed the Bidassoa, with orders to march across Spain, and make himself master of Lisbon and of the fleet by the 30th of November. “On no account halt in your march even for a day,” wrote Napoleon on the 2nd of November. The urgency of his orders made Junot disregard every obstacle presented by the violence of the rains, the badness of the mountain roads, and the difficulty of procuring subsistence. After crossing the Portuguese frontier, and before reaching Abrantes, this army was almost wholly disorganized. Its wretched condition was not known in Lisbon—a city of three hundred thousand inhabitants—or resistance would probably have been made before the court yielded to the fear of some impending calamity. The apathy of the government and the people has been stated as the result of the conviction that the army of Junot was only an advanced guard of the legions that were collected at Bayonne; and that another course than that of open resistance was necessarily determined upon. As the French advanced, the Portuguese government sequestered, or made a show of sequestering, the property of the

* Letter of May 11, 1808.

few merchants, that remained in Lisbon. Lord Strangford then withdrew on board the English fleet in the Tagus. It is generally stated by historians, French, Portuguese, and English, that our ambassador, having received a copy of the 'Moniteur' of the 13th of November, which contained these words, "The House of Braganza has ceased to reign," transmitted the newspaper to the prince-regent, who immediately decided on flight to the Brazils. M. Thiers maintains that no such words appear in any 'Moniteur' of that date, or near it. But he states that in the 'Moniteur' of the 13th of November is an article, evidently dictated by Napoleon, on the four English expeditions in 1807—those of Copenhagen, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Buenos Ayres—which article contains this passage: "After these four expeditions, which so well determine the moral and military decline of England, let us speak of the situation in which they leave Portugal at this day. The prince-regent of Portugal loses his throne. He loses it, influenced by the intrigues of England. He loses it, because he has not been willing to seize the English merchandise at Lisbon. What does England do, this ally? She regards with indifference what is passing in Portugal . . . The fall of the House of Braganza will remain a new proof that the destruction of whatever power attaches itself to England is inevitable." * There is little to choose between the meaning of the pithy sentence and of the lengthened argument. The prince-regent now took his resolution. The British ambassador returned on shore to aid him in carrying out his purpose. The sailors of our fleet made the most strenuous exertions to fit out the Portuguese fleet of eight sail of the line, three frigates, and twenty-three other vessels. On the 29th of November, the archives of Portugal, the treasure, the plate and other valuable effects having been got on board, a train of carriages moved to the quay of Belem, conveying the prince-regent, his mother the queen who had been many years insane, and the two princesses of the family. A crowd of attendants and other court fugitives accompanied them. Altogether, fifteen thousand persons left Lisbon on the 29th of November. They were going to the great dependency which Portugal had held uninterrupted by any hostility for a hundred and two years—a land of vast natural riches, but one which the parent state governed upon the narrowest principles of monopoly. From the time when the seat of government was transferred from Lisbon to Brazil, the colony prospered in a new life. In 1815 it became a constituent part of the Portuguese empire. As the British fleet saluted the Portu-

* *Le Consulat et l'Empire*, tome viii. p. 340, note.

guese squadron as it passed down the Tagus, the sun became eclipsed; and a superstitious dread came over the population. The French, as the last of the royal fleet cleared the bar, came within sight of the Tagus—a ragged and starving remnant of a great army. The prey that they were to seize was gone. They were enough for the occupation of the city—enough to levy contributions on the country—enough to induce the belief that Portugal would never be separated from its French masters. The delivery of Portugal from the thralldom of Napoleon was to turn upon the speedy manifestation of popular resistance to his fraud and oppression in Spain.

Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, the heir of the Spanish crown, was just entering upon the twenty-fourth year of his age, when he addressed a letter to Napoleon which produced very memorable consequences. His wife had died in 1806—a woman of firm mind, who had endeavoured to rescue her imbecile husband from the wretched state of pupilage in which he had been kept by his infamous mother and her paramour Godoy. Ferdinand solicited the protection of Napoleon; described the humiliation to which his father and himself were reduced by the favourite; and expressed his wish to be united to a princess of Napoleon's family. Godoy discovered what was passing, and having persuaded Charles IV. that Ferdinand was conspiring against his life, the prince was arrested. With the weakness of his character, he was terrified into the acknowledgment of a conspiracy to dethrone his father—a confession for which it is believed there was no foundation, except in the secret correspondence with Napoleon. Meanwhile Portugal was in the occupation of Junot. French soldiers were constantly crossing the Bidassoa, and planting themselves in frontier fortresses. The Court became alarmed; and Godoy persuaded the king to follow the example of the prince-regent of Portugal, and seek in the rich possessions of Spain in the New World that security which the revolutions of the Old World denied to crowned heads. Ferdinand was hesitating what to do; when the people of Madrid, who had always felt a compassionate affection for the prince of Asturias, resolved that he should not be removed by force; and the guards at Aranjuez revolted, and would have taken the favourite's life, had not the prince interfered to save him. This was on the 17th of March. On the 19th, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of his son, who took the title of king of Spain and the Indies. The king, in the decree which transferred the crown, asserted that his abdication was his spontaneous act. In a letter to Napoleon he said that he had been forced to abdicate, and had no hope

but in the support of his magnanimous ally. The exiled emperor said to O'Meara, "When I saw those *imbécilles* quarrelling and trying to dethrone each other, I thought that I might as well take advantage of it, and dispossess an inimical family."* No Englishman would have thought it a calamity that this miserable race should have been set aside by the will of a misgoverned people. But that the father and the son should have been lured out of Spain by devices such as kidnappers could not have excelled, and then compelled to deliver up the proud Spanish people to the rule of an insolent foreigner, filled up the measure of the English wrath against the inordinate rapacity of the man who did not conquer this land of historic renown; but whom they regarded as "a cutpurse,"

"That from a shelf the precious diadem stole,
And put it in his pocket."

On the 21st of April, Ferdinand was in the hands of the betrayer at Bayonne. On the 30th the old king and queen were in the same clutches. Godoy had been previously seized by Murat, and sent under a guard to Napoleon, who had reached Bayonne on the 14th of April. On the 2nd of May there was an insurrection at Madrid, upon the people learning that Ferdinand was entrapped into the power of the French emperor. On the 6th of May Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph, "King Charles has yielded up to me his right to the throne, and he is about to retire to Compiègne with the queen and some of his children. A few days before this treaty was signed, the prince of Asturias abdicated; I restored the crown to king Charles. . . . There was a great insurrection at Madrid on the 2nd of May; between thirty and forty thousand persons were collected in the streets and houses, and fired from the windows. Two battalions of fusileers of my guard, and four or five hundred horse, soon brought them to their senses. More than two thousand of the populace were killed."† Five days after, he again writes to Joseph,—“The nation, through the Supreme Council of Castile, asks me for a king, I destine this crown for you.” What the nation was really asking for was,—help from England. The insurrection at Madrid was quickly followed by popular agitations throughout the country. Provincial juntas were established in many districts. The supreme junta of Seville proclaimed Ferdinand VII., and declared war against France. The new king came to Bayonne, and proposed a Constitution to a junta there assembled of submissive nobles. The people flew to arms.

* "Voice from St. Helena," vol. ii. p. 167—edit, 1822.

† "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. i. p. 317.

The British nation was not slow to manifest its deep sympathy with the Spanish patriots. Two deputies from Asturias had left Gijon in an open boat, and were picked up at sea by one of our frigates, "They were received with open arms," said Malmesbury. The veteran diplomatist wanted some grander envoys to arrive than an Asturian hidalgo and an Asturian attorney. "Canning would not listen," he says. Canning wanted no better assurance of the spirit of the people than those chosen by the people could afford him. On the 15th of June, Sheridan, in the House of Commons, made a speech which electrified the country. He was convinced that there never existed so happy an opportunity for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. He would do nothing by dribblets. If a co-operation with Spain were expedient it should be an effectual co-operation. "Bonaparte has hitherto run a most victorious race. Hitherto he has had to contend against princes without dignity and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent as to his success. He has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with one spirit to resist him." * Sheridan moved for papers, which Canning said would be inconvenient to produce; but Canning's answer left no doubt as to the intentions of the Cabinet: "There exists the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. In endeavouring to afford this aid it will never occur to us to consider that a state of war exists between Spain and Great Britain." There were a few expressions of doubt and despondency in Parliament; but it was impossible to resist what Wilberforce described as the universal feeling. "Every Briton joined in the enthusiastic prayers to the great Ruler of events, to bless with its merited success the struggles of a gallant people, in behalf of everything dear to the Christian, the citizen, and the man." † When the Parliament was prorogued on the 4th of July, the government was pledged by the royal Speech to "make every exertion for the support of the Spanish cause." On that day an Order in Council announced that hostilities against Spain had ceased. There had been great promptitude in the action of the British government. On the 14th of June, sir Arthur Wellesley had received from the duke of York his appointment to the command of a detachment of the army, "to be employed upon a particular service;" and, on the 30th of June, were sent his full instructions from lord Castlereagh for the employment of a body of troops, to afford "to the Spanish and Portuguese

* "Hansard," vol. xi. col. 889.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xi. col. 1145.

nations every possible aid in throwing off the yoke of France." * He was told in these instructions that "his majesty is graciously pleased to confide to you the fullest discretion to act according to circumstances for the benefit of his service." And yet sir Arthur Wellesley's "fullest discretion" was left at the absolute command of two superior officers. He sailed from Cork for Corunna on the 12th of July. On the 15th, lord Castlereagh writes to him that the command of the troops is entrusted to sir Hew Dalrymple, and to sir Harry Burrard as second in command. Nevertheless, lord Castlereagh points out to sir Hew Dalrymple the great hero of the Mahratta war as "an officer of whom it is desirable for you, on all accounts, to make the most prominent use which the rules of the service will permit." † The "rules of the service" subjected the man who had given the best evidence of his great military genius to the command of two generals, whose exploits were better known in the private records of the Horse Guards than in the annals of their country. Sir Arthur Wellesley's division comprised nine thousand men. Another corps, under sir John Moore, which had just arrived from the Baltic, numbered eleven thousand men. These two detachments were to co-operate. But their united efforts were to be directed by sir Hew Dalrymple and sir Harry Burrard. Moore had shown in Egypt of what metal he was made. When he waited on lord Castlereagh to receive his instructions, he was apprised that he was to go to Portugal, where he would find sir Arthur Wellesley; but that, if sir Hew Dalrymple had not arrived from Gibraltar, the operation would be undertaken by sir Harry Burrard. "It was thus indirectly notified to sir John Moore, that, after commanding in chief in Sicily and Sweden, he was now to be placed subordinate to two officers, the first of whom had never served in the field as a general." ‡ Moore expressed his feelings in somewhat strong terms. He had not to endure the bitter mortification which Wellesley experienced, when, in the moment of victory, he was compelled to leave his triumph incomplete, at the bidding of "an ordinary general in opposition to a great captain." §

"The character of the Spaniard," writes lord Malmesbury, "is to let everything be done for him, if he finds any one disposed to do it, and never to act till obliged to do so." || Before anything was done for the Spaniard by England, he was obliged to act, and in many things he acted well. There were great difficulties in his acting at all. The provincial juntas, who directed the course of

* "Dispatches," vol. iv. p. 160.

‡ "Life of Sir John Moore," vol. ii. p. 104.

|| "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 415.

† *Ibid.*, p. 31.

§ Napier.

hostilities to the French, were independent bodies, acting each for its own province; not having a federal unity which would be content to place those executive powers which were in a temporary desuetude under some authority competent to represent the monarchy, which, as the Spaniards expressed its condition, was in a state of widowhood. England had abundantly provided arms, ammunition, and pay for large native armies. But there was no one governing power to direct their employment in masses against the enemy, who would seek to overwhelm them by the magnitude of his forces. Still, in the early stages of the conquest, the Spaniards well employed the means which they possessed. In June, the French general Dupont had marched from Madrid to Andalusia; given Cordova up to pillage; and committed atrocities which roused the people to fury. The Spanish general Castanos, with an army sent against Dupont by the Junta of Seville, won the battle of Baylen, and compelled the French to surrender at discretion on the 21st of July. Aragon was defended by its people under the command of Palafox. The siege of Zaragoza, the capital of the province, was commenced by the French on the 15th of June. They carried some of the outer works, but on forcing their way into the city were encountered with a heroism such as the conscripts of Napoleon had rarely beheld in the standing armies of the continental monarchies. The exploits of Augustina, the amazon of Zaragoza, inspired as much courage into the besieged as Joan of Arc had inspired at the siege of Orleans. The trenches were open for forty-nine days. The city was bombarded for twenty-one days. But nothing could shake the courage of its defenders. The French raised the siege on the 4th of August. A fortnight before this termination, Napoleon had written to the new king Joseph, who was beginning to despond, "Do not doubt for an instant that everything will end sooner and more happily than you think." * He adds—"All goes well at Zaragoza." On the 24th of July, Joseph is still more alarmed. He writes to Napoleon, "Your glory will be shipwrecked in Spain. My tomb will be a monument of your want of power to support me." The confident emperor replies: "To die is not your business, but to live and conquer; which you are doing and shall do. I shall find in Spain the pillars of Hercules, but not the limits of my power." † On the 9th of August he gives him the comfortable assurance that before the autumn Spain will be inundated with troops. "The English are of little importance. They have never more than a quarter of the

* "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. i. p. 333.

† *Ibid.*, p. 339.

troops that they profess to have. Lord Wellesley* has not four thousand men, and, besides, I believe that they are directed towards Portugal."

On the 1st of August, sir Arthur Wellesley was on shipboard, off the Mondego river. He was landing his troops at Figueira, a difficult task on an iron coast. He had heard, from the letter of lord Castlereagh, of general officers, senior to him, being sent out, and sir Hew Dalrymple to take the command. To the duke of Richmond he writes, "I hope that I shall have beat Junot before any of them shall arrive, and then they will do as they please with me."† On the 7th, major-general Spencer's corps joined the army. With ten thousand British and five thousand Portuguese, sir Arthur Wellesley then prepared to march towards Lisbon. On the 17th he defeated at Roliça the French under Laborde. The numbers of the enemy were much smaller than our numbers, but Laborde had the advantage of position. Sir Arthur the next day writes to the duke of Richmond: "The action was a most desperate one between the troops engaged. I never saw such fighting as in the pass by the 29th and 9th, or in the three attacks made by the French in the mountains. These were in their best style."‡ On the 20th he was at Vimiero, having been joined by general Anstruther and general Acland with their corps. He had now an army of seventeen thousand men. Junot had joined Laborde and Loison at Torres Vedras, and their united force was about fourteen thousand men, of whom sixteen hundred were cavalry. Early in the morning of the 21st, the French attacked the British in their position. Sir Harry Burrard had arrived on the night of the 20th. "He did not land," sir Arthur writes to his friend, the duke of Richmond, "and as I am the most fortunate of men, Junot attacked us yesterday morning [the 21st] with his whole force, and we completely defeated him."§ The principal attack on the British was on the centre and left; the sea being in their rear, and the French still pursuing their favourite delusion of driving the English into the ocean over which they tyrannized. The attack was repulsed. Kellermann then attacked with the French reserve, and he also was driven back. "Broken by these rough shocks, the French, to whom defeat was amazement, retired in confused masses."|| Junot's left wing and centre were discomfited. The road of Torres Vedras, the shortest road to Lisbon, was uncovered. The French general, Brennier, was taken prisoner, and having

* *Sir* and *Lord* seem equivalents to the French.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 95.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 119.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

|| Napier.

asked a question with reference to the reserve being engaged, which implied that the attacks had all been in vain, "the English general, judging the French power exhausted, and the moment come for rendering victory decisive, with the genius of a great captain, resolved to make it not only decisive on the field, but of the fate of Portugal." * When the action was nearly over, sir Harry Burrard had landed. There was a powerful force in hand for further operations. Not more than one half of the British army had been engaged. Ferguson's division was close upon the retreating force of Solignac when Burrard commanded him to halt. Sir Arthur designed to push on to Torres Vedras, which if he had reached before Junot, he would have cut him off from Lisbon. When Ferguson was interrupted, Solignac joined Junot, who regained his position at Torres Vedras. The great project of the British general "was stifled as soon as conceived." Sir Arthur's superior officer "could not comprehend such a stroke of war." In a private letter, he pours out his griefs. "The French got a terrible beating on the 21st. They did not lose less, I believe, than four thousand men, and they would have been entirely destroyed, if sir H. Burrard had not prevented me from pursuing them. Indeed, since the arrival of the great generals, we appear to have been palsied, and everything has gone on wrong." † The great generals! Seldom, indeed, was this equably minded man stirred into even a mild expression of contempt. He had, however, more to endure. He had to bear his share of public indignation at the Convention of Cintra for the evacuation of Portugal by the French. An indefinite suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, with a view to this evacuation. On the 23rd of August, sir Arthur Wellesley wrote to lord Castlereagh: "Although my name is affixed to this instrument, I beg that you will not believe that I negotiated it, that I approve of it, or that I had any hand in wording it." ‡ He thought it right to allow the French to evacuate Portugal, "as soon, and at as little cost of honour as we can." Sir John Moore had arrived with his corps on the 21st, and his troops were nearly all landed when hostilities were suspended. They were ordered to re-embark. Had sir Arthur's plan of operations been persevered in, and Moore's troops had not been re-embarked, we should have been in a situation, he says, "to have refused the French any capitulation, excepting on the terms of their laying down their arms." No wonder that the people of England were indignant that twenty-six thousand soldiers should have been landed

* Napier. † "Supplementary Despatches," vol vi. p. 127.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

in France, at the expense of the English government. They should have bestowed their indignation upon those who deserved it.

Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived in London at the beginning of October. On the 5th of September, he had written to lord Castlereagh, "It is quite impossible for me to continue any longer with this army; and I wish, therefore, that you would allow me to return home and resume the duties of my office." * Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley were all recalled home. Sir John Moore remained at Lisbon, having been appointed to command the army. Sir Arthur rejoices to find that he was placed under the command of Moore, "than which nothing," he says, "can be more satisfactory to me. I will go to Corunna immediately, where I hope to find you." But a Court of Inquiry was ordered on the subject of "the late transactions in Portugal;" and Wellesley was detained to be examined. He had to bear much before the publicity of these proceedings was to set him right in public opinion. He was accused, he heard, of every crime of which a man can be guilty, excepting cowardice. "I have not read one word that has been written on either side; and I have refused to publish, and don't mean to authorize the publication, of a single line in my defence." † The inquiry took place in November; and it ended in a formal disapprobation of the armistice and convention, on the part of the king, being communicated to sir Hew Dalrymple. Neither of the two "great generals" was again employed. One advantage was gained by the Convention. The Russian fleet in the Tagus was delivered up to the British.

Sir John Moore, late in October, began his march into Spain, "to co-operate," as his instructions set forth, "with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French." He was to lead the British forces in Portugal; and to be joined by sir David Baird, with ten thousand men, to be landed at Corunna. On the 11th of November, Moore had crossed the boundary between Portugal and Spain, and his advanced guard had reached Ciudad Rodrigo. Two days after, he was at Salamanca. Instead of finding Spanish armies to co-operate with, he learnt that the French had routed and dispersed them. Napoleon had himself come to command his troops; and had arrived at Bayonne on the 3rd of November. Moore was separated from Baird by a wide tract of country. He had divided his own army, having received false information that the direct northern road was impassable for artillery, and having consequently sent sir John Hope by a circuitous route. He

* "Despatches," vol. iv. p. 147.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 151.

remained for some time at Salamanca, inactive and uncertain. Mr. Frere, the British ambassador, urged Moore to advance to Madrid. The clever schoolfellow of Canning, who wrote admirable burlesque, was not the best judge of a military operation, and took a sanguine view of what popular enthusiasm might effect in Spain. The people were ignorant and presumptuous; their rulers were either imbecile or treacherous. Madrid was soon in the hands of the French; and the delusion of Mr. Frere that the capital could be preserved was at an end, before Moore completely felt how hopeless an advance would be. He made a forward movement against the advanced corps of Soult; and then, learning that the French armies were gathering all around him, he determined to retreat. Some partial successes had attended the British general's advance; but an intercepted letter from Napoleon convinced him that he could only save the army by retiring. Sir David Baird had previously joined him. Moore had abandoned all hopes of defending Portugal, and had directed his march towards Corunna. He commenced his retreat from Sahagun on the evening of the 24th of December. On the 27th Napoleon wrote to Joseph, "If the English have not already retreated, they are lost; and if they retire, they will be pursued so vigorously to their ships that half of them will never re-embark."* On the 31st he wrote from Benevento, "The English are running away as fast as they can."† Running away is not exactly the term for a retreat during which the retiring army constantly turned upon the pursuers, always defeating them, and on one occasion capturing general Lefebvre. This exploit was one of several brilliant efforts in which lord Paget, afterwards the marquis of Anglesey, distinguished himself. But there were other dangers than that of the pursuing enemy. The winter had set in with terrible severity; the sufferings of the troops were excessive; disorganization, the common consequence of a retreat, added to their danger. Moore saved his army from destruction by an overwhelming force when he carried it across the Esla. The troops effectually destroyed the bridge by which they passed the swollen stream; at which foresight Napoleon affected great indignation: "The English have not only cut the bridges, but have undermined and blown up the arches; a barbarous and unusual use of the rights of war, as it ruins the country to no purpose."‡ The destruction of the bridge of Castro Gonzalo delayed the advance of the French for two days. Moore thus saved his army from the attacks of fifty thousand French under Napoleon,

* "Correspondence with Joseph," vol. i. p. 387.

† *Ibid.*, p. 388.

‡ *Ibid.*

who were hastening to overpower a force less than one third of the number which he led. But Moore could not save his men from their own excesses, which made enemies of the inhabitants of every place through which they passed. They murmured and were disobedient. The general, in his Orders, said, that "the situation of the army being arduous, called for the exertion of qualities most rare in military men. These are not bravery alone, but patience and constancy under fatigue and hardship; obedience to command; sobriety and firmness in every situation in which they may be placed."* Despondency had taken possession of the troops. At Astorga, Napoleon writes on the 2nd of January, "It is probable that more than half of the British army will be in our power; the English themselves think so."† Some of the newspapers of London, having experience of the failure of many warlike enterprises against the French, had become the most confiding believers that resistance to Napoleon and to his invincible armies was altogether vain. This was long the creed of Whig orators and writers—rational enough at first, but betraying a factious and petty jealousy when the bulk of the people had warmed into hope and confidence. Francis Jeffrey, in December, wrote to Horner, "Murray tells me that you have still hopes of Spain. I have despaired utterly, from the beginning; and do not expect that we are ever to see ten thousand of our men back again—probably not five thousand."‡ The evil foreboding was not far from being realized. The French historians believe that the British army would have been wholly destroyed, if the emperor had remained to strike the final blow. At Astorga he received despatches which indicated that war with Austria was close at hand. He gave up the pursuit of Moore to Soult.

At Lugo, on the 7th of January, the British general halted his exhausted troops, determined to give battle to Soult. The conflict was declined; and on the British marched to Corunna. On the 11th, when they had ascended the heights from which Corunna was visible, there was the sea,—but there were no transports in the bay. The troops met with a kind reception in the town; and their general applied himself to make his position as strong as possible to resist the enemy that was approaching. On the 13th Moore wrote his last despatch to lord Castlereagh. The French, he says, "are now come up with us; the transports are not arrived; my position in front of this place is a very bad one. . . . It has been recommended to me to make a proposal to the enemy, to

* "Life of Moore," vol. ii. p. 188.

† "Correspondence with Joseph," vol. ii. p. 3.

‡ "Life of Horner," vol. i. p. 438.

induce him to allow us to embark quietly. I am averse to make any such proposal, and am exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect." On the evening of the 14th the transports arrived. The sick and wounded were got on board; and a great part of the artillery. Cavalry would have been useless on the broken ground where Moore took his position, so the men were dismounted, and the horses were killed. Fourteen thousand British remained to fight, if their embarkation were molested. The battle of Corunna began at two o'clock on the 16th of January. Soult had twenty thousand veterans, with numerous field-guns; and he had planted a formidable battery on the rocks commanding the valley and the lower ridge of hills. Columns of French infantry descended from the higher ridge; and there was soon a close trial of strength between the combatants. From the lower ridge Moore beheld the 42nd and 50th driving the enemy before them through the village of Elvina. He sent a battalion of the Guards to support them; but through a misconception the 42nd retired. Moore immediately dashed into the fight; exclaimed "Forty-second, remember Egypt," and sent them back to the village. Meanwhile, major Napier, who commanded the 50th, was taken prisoner. He, who was to be the conqueror of Scinde, would there have ended his career, had not a French drummer rescued him from the barbarity of the enemies who denied him quarter, after he had received five wounds. The British held their ground or drove off their assailants; and victory was certain under the skilful direction of the heroic commander, when a shot from the rock battery struck him on the left breast and shoulder, tearing away the flesh and breaking the ribs. He was dashed to the earth; but he continued calmly sitting surveying the battle at Elvina, until he was assured that his brave fellows were triumphant. Sir David Baird, the second in command, had also been carried off. Moore was placed in a blanket. His sword-hilt crushed against his terrible wound, and it was attempted to be removed; but he said that he would not part with his sword in the field. He was carried into Corunna; and endured several hours of extreme torture before he yielded up his great spirit. But he had the consolation of knowing that the battle was won, and he died expressing a hope that his country would do him justice. The command had devolved upon general Hope, who thought that his first duty was now to embark the troops. Had he known that the ammunition of the French was exhausted, the victory might have been more complete. Darkness came on. The troops were returning from the scene of conflict to be embarked that night. The sound of a few

distant guns was heard as their commander was laid in his grave, hastily dug, on the ramparts of Corunna. The noblest dirge that ever was written says—

“ We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone,
But we left him alone with his glory.”

Marshal Soult paid the tribute of a soldier to a soldier, and raised a plain monument on the spot where the English general had been killed. It bore this inscription :

“ Hic cecidit Johannes Moore, dux exercitus, in pugna Januarii XVI. MDCCCIX.
contra Gallos, a Duce Dalmatiae ductos.” *

Soult paid a more ample testimony to the merit of his adversary. He said, in a letter to colonel Napier, on the 15th of November, 1824, that sir John Moore knew how to profit everywhere by the advantages which the country offered him to oppose an active and vigorous resistance, and ended by sinking in a combat which ought for ever to honour his memory. Jomini, a military historian generally impartial, has described the retreat of Moore as nothing more than a flight. A later military historian, who recognizes the greatness of our country's heroes in this crisis of her fate, protests against this assertion. An army composed of young soldiers, commanded by officers without experience, and which, during eleven days, sustained without being shaken the pursuit of an army superior in numbers, composed of veteran troops, and led by such chiefs as Soult and Ney,—which, in spite of the eagerness of this pursuit, marched fifty-six leagues in eleven days, of which three were days of rest—which, having reached the end of its march, maintained an obstinate fight and embarked in the presence of a superior enemy,—which, in fact, from the commencement of the campaign, had only lost, and left behind, 4033 men—such an army does not fly; it does not even make a precipitate retreat.† Happier was the lot of Moore than if he had returned to England, to be a mark for party virulence; to be the subject of a fierce controversy whether he ought to have marched to destruction under the advice of Mr. Frere, or tried to save his army by a retreat. The miseries of that retreat were in some degree a necessary consequence of the absence of that prevision which Moore had not the materials for forming. The great captain of the Peninsular war said he could only see one error in Moore's campaign—he should have considered his advance against Soult as a movement of re-

* Alison says that the tomb, since enlarged, bears this inscription: “ John Moore, Leader of the English armies, slain in battle, 1809.”

† Brialmont, “ Histoire du Duc de Wellington,” tom. i. p. 218.

treat, and have sent officers to the rear to mark and prepare the halting-places for every brigade. "But," says the duke of Wellington, "this opinion I have formed after long experience of war, and especially of the peculiarities of a Spanish war, which must be seen to be understood." Canning, in Parliament, spoke of the retreat and its precipitancy as a matter of deep regret. In private, he used stronger and less generous language. "Sir John Moore ought never to have been held up as an approved military authority for all he had done in Spain; for, if he had found the transports at Corunna, and returned without a battle, he must have been tried, and ought to have been disgraced."* Want of accurate information of the disposition of the people, of the geographical features of the country, of the means of communication, of the power of obtaining supplies, produced the indecision of the advance and the calamities of the retreat. But how much more reprehensible was the ignorance of the government at home—"Why," said Canning, should government be ashamed to say they wanted that knowledge of the interior of Spain, which they found no one possessed? With every other part of the continent we had had more intercourse: of the situation of Spain we had everything to learn."† This confession of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was heard, says Southey, "with astonishment by the thoughtful part of the people, and not without indignation." The people, whether thoughtful or careless, felt the deepest commiseration for the sufferers in Moore's campaign, who came home to show what war was. There were nine hundred women landed at Plymouth who had followed the army. On board the transports they were separated from their husbands, and for the most part they were ignorant of their fate. The hospitals were filled with wounded and sick; and some of the troops brought back a pestilential fever. In their sorrow and pity the people forgot their indignation at what they were told had been the conduct of the campaign by the government; and whilst they gave a tear to the memory of the brave general who died at Corunna, they despised the attempts of some journals to load his character with obloquy. "The newspapers sounded the pulse of the public as to laying all blame on sir John Moore, but that nail would not drive."‡

The Convention of Cintra and the Retreat to Corunna produced a national gloom and dependency proportioned to the sanguine

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 179.

† Debate of May 9—quoted in Southey's "Peninsular War," vol. iii. p. 378.

‡ Lord Bulkeley to the marquis of Buckingham—"Courts and Cabinets," &c., vol. iv. p. 311.

hopes with which the first great popular resistance to Napoleon had been hailed. There was little public confidence in further operations in the same direction. And yet the Opposition in Parliament had no public support when they proposed to abandon Spain and Portugal to their fate; and to keep our troops at home to resist a probable invasion. The reasonable doubts of the success of any future military enterprise were carried to their height, when the country was suddenly startled by charges against the duke of York, which not only laid bare the vices and follies of his private character, but involved the certainty that he had unworthily bestowed his patronage at the Horse Guards. On the 27th of January, colonel Wardle's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Commander-in-chief with regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments to commissions in the army, and in raising levies for the army, was referred to a Committee of the whole House. From the 1st of February to the 20th of March the almost undivided attention of the House of Commons, and of the country, was bestowed upon the contemptible details of the degradation of the king's second son, filling one of the most important offices of the State, in being the dupe of the artifices of an abandoned woman, Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke. The evidence that was given at the bar of the House of Commons occupies hundreds of pages in Hansard's Debates. It was a source of amusement in every society, from the saloons of St. James's to the pot-houses of St. Giles's. It was an occasion of disgust to every well-regulated mind. Wilberforce writes in his Diary, "This melancholy business will do irreparable mischief to public morals, by accustoming the public to hear without emotion of shameless violations of decency."* The Speaker gravely records an example of the universal interest in the ridiculous correspondence of the duke with his mistress—"The joke in the streets among the people is, not to cry 'Heads or Tails,' when they toss up halfpence, but 'Duke or Darling.'"† The Debates in the House are so necessarily coloured by party-feelings that we cannot arrive at any just conclusions from their perusal. There were, however, two men in the House, of singular fairness, whose private opinions during the course of the inquiry may be referred to. Sir Samuel Romilly has this entry in his Diary: "It was established, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the duke had permitted Mrs. Clarke, his mistress, to interfere in military promotions; that he had given commissions at her recom-

* Life, vol. iii. p. 402.

† Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 174. The Speaker, not familiar with the slang of the streets, writes "Heads *and* Tails," &c.

mendation; and that she had taken money for the recommendations. That the duke knew she took money, or that he knew that the establishment, which he had set on foot for her, was partly supported with the money thus illegally procured by her, did not appear otherwise than from her evidence." * Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 17th of February, wrote to the duke of Richmond, "The love-letters have created a terrible impression. They prove that the duke allowed Mrs. Clarke to talk to him on the claims and requests of officers, and that she had prevailed upon him to recommend Mr. O'Meara to the king as a preacher. . . . The impression is strong against the duke both in and out of the House. People are outrageous in the country on account of the immorality of his life, which makes no impression in town." † On the 19th sir Arthur writes, "I am convinced that he cannot continue to hold his office, and that if the present ministers endeavour to support him in it, they will be beat in Parliament." ‡ On the 17th of March, Mr. Perceval moved, "That the House, having examined the evidence in the investigations of the duke of York's conduct, and having found that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, had been imputed to him, are of opinion that the imputation is wholly without foundation." The motion was carried by 278 to 196. It was not such an acquittal—such a declaration of innocence, the duke deemed it—as would allow the Commander-in-chief to retain his office, in defiance of public opinion. On the 20th of March Mr. Perceval announced in the House of Commons the resignation of the duke of York. The king communicated to the minister that his son had resigned his office; but he added "that he must ever regret any circumstances which have deprived him of the duke of York's services, in a situation where his zealous and impartial conduct had been no less conspicuous than his strict integrity." All men were ready to admit that the Commander-in-chief had been assiduous in the discharge of his duties; and had done much to improve the condition of the soldier. Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote, "we shall be able to prove that the business of his office is conducted in the most regular manner." Of the nature of the corruption sir Arthur gives an emphatic opinion: "There has appeared in the last two days a general system of swindling, applicable to all the offices of the State, in which Mrs. Clarke has been most active, and a great gainer. . . . These transactions, which have deservedly created so much indignation, have been carried on by the scum on the earth." § Colonel Wardle became a popular

* "Diary," February 13.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 575. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 579. § *Ibid.*, p. 567.

idol; but he quickly sank into contempt, when an upholsterer obtained a verdict against him of 2000*l.* for the cost of furnishing Mrs. Clarke's house.

The news of a great naval success came in April, to furnish some compensation for the disasters of the retreat to Corunna, and to inspire a confidence that Britain still held the empire of the sea. Thomas lord Cochrane was a popular favourite as Member for Westminster; and he was looked up to by the nation as one who by his extraordinary daring gave promise of being the true successor of Nelson. Although opposed to the government, he was chosen by the Admiralty to conduct a most difficult and dangerous enterprise, under the orders of lord Gambier. Serving with lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean, he performed a series of the most brilliant achievements in the "*Impérieuse*" frigate. He was selected in 1809, to conduct an attack by fire-ships on the French squadron, which was blockaded in Aix Roads, by our Channel fleet. He performed this task in a way in which few commanders could have done so much by skill and intrepidity. Ten line of battle ships and four frigates, with a gun ship, were moored behind a boom, half a mile in length, in a deep channel; their flanks covered by a shoal on one side, and by batteries on the other. Cochrane went in with his fire-ships and frigates on the night of the 11th of April. The explosion vessel broke the boom and scattered terror and destruction through the French squadron. Four ships of the line were taken at their anchorage, and were blown up. The remainder slipped their cables and ran on shore. Captain Cochrane made signal to his admiral, when daylight came, that seven other vessels might be destroyed. Lord Gambier thought the attempt too hazardous. In Parliament lord Cochrane refused to concur in the vote of thanks to lord Gambier, who was consequently, in 1810, tried by Court-Martial and acquitted of neglecting or delaying to take measures for completing the destruction which his officer had partially accomplished. The charges against lord Gambier have been revived by the statements of lord Dundonald in his Autobiography; and the admiral has been defended in his Memoirs recently published. The controversy is of too professional a nature to allow of any examination here. The people of 1809 rejoiced that there was a seaman capable of such enterprises. The people of 1860, when lord Dundonald was borne to Westminster Abbey, after a long life of undeserved obloquy and neglect, lamented that the party feelings of a time of violent politics—perhaps something also of his own impetuous and independent character—should have made the exploit of Basque Roads the last of his services to his own country.

After the forces under Junot had evacuated Portugal according to the conditions of the Convention of Cintra, sir John Cradock was left in the command of the British troops in that country. Soult invaded the northern provinces from Galicia, and took possession of Oporto on the 29th of March. The Regency at Lisbon earnestly implored the aid of the British government; and it was determined to render that aid most effectual by entrusting the conduct of the war to the one general who appeared capable of coping with its difficulties. Sir John Cradock was removed to Gibraltar; and, on the 2nd of April, sir Arthur Wellesley was ordered to replace that officer, and to proceed without delay to Lisbon. When Napoleon suddenly gave up the pursuit of sir John Moore, on the receipt of intelligence of the disposition of Austria to renew the conflict with him, he lingered for a little while on the frontier, and then proceeded to Paris. Here he made ample preparations for another campaign in Germany. The German people were strongly excited by the resistance in Spain to the domination of France. It was probably difficult for the Austrian government not to go along with this popular spirit. On the 6th of April the archduke Charles issued a proclamation in which he said the liberty of Europe had taken refuge under their banners. On the 9th Austria declared war against Bavaria, the ally of France; and the Austrian armies crossed the Inn. Napoleon left Paris on the 13th of April. On the 17th he was at Donauwerth, on the Danube. The struggle instantly began, which was terminated by the peace of Vienna on the 14th of October. On the 22nd of April sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon. His work in the Peninsula was not done, till, in February, 1814, he had cleared Portugal and Spain from their invaders.

There was no delay or indecision in the movements of sir Arthur Wellesley from the day when he set his foot on Portuguese ground. His business was first to drive the French from Oporto. On the 9th of May he moved with sixteen thousand British troops from Coimbra. On the 11th he crossed the Douro. To take sixteen thousand troops across a river is not an easy task under any circumstances; but "how to pass a river, deep, swift, more than three hundred yards wide, and in the face of ten thousand veterans guarding the opposite bank,"—this is the question asked by the first of military historians. On the convent height stood "a great captain, searching with an eagle glance the river, the city, and the country around." Sir Arthur saw where he could force a passage, "his means being as scanty as his resolution was great, yet with

his genius they sufficed." * On the 12th the British obtained a victory, which compelled Soult to retreat from Oporto, leaving many sick and wounded. The conqueror published a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to be merciful to the wounded and prisoners. The French in their retreat were harassed and killed by the people of the villages. The roads were strewn with the carcasses of horses and men who were put to death before the British advanced guards could save them. "This last circumstance," says sir Arthur, "is the natural effect of the species of warfare which the enemy have carried on in this country. Their soldiers have plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure." †

Thus far had the British general accomplished his great task with surpassing skill. He told his story with his accustomed modesty, in his Despatch of the 12th of May. The praise is for his officers and his men: "They have marched in four days over eighty miles of most difficult country, have gained many important positions, and have engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops." ‡ The Opposition in Parliament, with few exceptions, were, as they too long continued to be, so hopeless of success, and so unjust and ungenerous in refusing to recognize the merits of the commander who was opening a new career for the army of England as glorious as the triumphs of her fleets, that we can scarcely wonder at the vexation of sir Arthur Wellesley, when he read the parliamentary proceedings of the 31st of May. § On the 21st of June he writes from Abrantes to the friend who had sent him the newspaper,—“I am very indifferent what the opinion is of our operations. I shall do the best I can with the force given to me; and if the people of England are not satisfied, they must send somebody else who will do better.” As to one charge he felt that it was an imputation upon his honour: “I see that Mr. Whitbread accuses me of exaggeration, which is, in other words, lying.” || His system in describing his operations was entirely opposed to that of Napoleon. “To lie like a bulletin” was an art of war which he had no ambition to acquire.

In the days before steam-navigation, before railways, before electric telegraphs, the proceedings of statesmen and of warriors had to be regulated by the arrival of news rather than by the dates of occurrences in distant places which despatches recorded. In 1809, “the posts come tiring on.” Rumour goes before, “stuffing the ears of men with false reports.” Parliament rose on the 21st

* Napier. † “Despatches,” vol. iv. p. 344.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 325.

§ See the Speeches of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Ponsonby, in Hansard, vol. xiv.

|| “Supplementary Despatches,” vol. vi. p. 292.

of June; and soon after came official intelligence, in rapid succession, of great events, on the Danube, on the Scheldt, on the Tagus. It is curious to compare the dates of arrival of intelligence in London, and the dates of the events. The Speaker writes in his Diary—"Whilst I was in the country, news arrived—

"July 21.—Of Bonaparte passing the Danube, and defeating the Austrians." The final battle of the campaign, Wagram, took place on the 6th of July. The armistice, which took place on the 10th, was known in London on the 27th.

"August 8.—Of the descent on Walcheren and investment of Flushing." The disembarkation took place on the 30th of July, the expedition having sailed on the 27th.

"August 16.—Of sir Arthur Wellesley's defeat of the French at Talavera." This victory was gained on the 27th of July.

In narrating these events we shall see how the knowledge of them bore upon the measures of the English government; or ought to have borne. Each event had a distinct relation to the others. The course of history is like the progress of a well-conducted fiction, in which no incident is without its bearing upon the plot. But we shall also see what amazing changes have been wrought by the rapidity of communication in our own day. Had steam and electricity proclaimed to the English Cabinet in the middle of July the news of the armistice between Austria and France, it is clear that the most rash administration would not have ordered an expedition to sail on the 27th, as a diversion to Austria, when Austria's war was ended. Assuming that the sailing of the expedition had been countermanded, and the news of the battle of Talavera on the 27th of July had travelled from the Tagus to the Thames at the beginning of August, it is clear that the most supine ministry would have sent to Portugal a large proportion of those troops which were shipped for the Scheldt: the necessary weakening of the British army by the sanguinary battle might thus have been speedily repaired. When the news did come, the opportunity was gone. Earl Temple (afterwards duke of Buckingham) writes to his father,—“We have not the means of reinforcing Wellesley. If half the troops which are now knocking their heads against Flushing were available, an important blow might still be struck in Spain.”* The victory of Talavera, most men thought, would have no permanent results for good, because the French were too strong. Living in the times which knew of no such triumphs of science as we enjoy, the government could form no certain combi-

* "Court and Cabinets of George III.," vol. iv. p. 353.

nations when they attempted large operations upon different points. They could only speculate upon results in detail, and they too often speculated wrongly. It was the folly of that day to attempt too much and too little; to make a show of activity in many quarters without directing a great effort upon one paramount object.

CHAPTER XIV.

The nations of Europe roused to resistance against France.—The battle of Eckmühl.—Napoleon retires to the island of Lobau.—Insurrection of the Tyrolese.—Battle of Wagram.—Austria concludes a Peace.—The Tyrolese subdued.—Expedition to the Scheldt.—The British land in Walcheren.—Flushing bombarded.—Its surrender.—The Marsh Fever breaks out.—Fatal termination of the Expedition.—The battle of Talavera.—Alarm in England.—Disquiet of ministers.—Duel between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning.—The Jubilee.—Question of Parliamentary Privilege.—Committal to the Tower of sir Francis Burdett.—Portugal.—Lines of Torres Védras.—The campaign of 1810.—Almeida.—Battle of Busaco.—Wellington retires within his Lines.

WHEN the Session of Parliament was closed on the 21st of June, 1809, events in Germany justified the assertion in the royal Speech, that the resistance in Spain against the usurpation and tyranny of the French government had “awakened in other nations of Europe a determination to resist, by a new effort, the continued and increasing encroachments on their safety and independence.” M. Thiers candidly says, “The odious act at Bayonne, the difficulties that had arisen in Spain, had all at once, throughout Germany as well as in Austria, excited indignation and restored hope.”* Every man in Prussia, from the peasant to the noble, was ready to revolt. In the countries in alliance with France—in Saxony, in Westphalia, in Bavaria, in Würtemberg, in Baden—the people, oppressed by the presence of troops, by conscriptions, and by taxes, complained that each of their sovereigns had sacrificed his country to his personal ambition. In the Tyrol, the hardy mountaineers, who were attached by old hereditary ties to the House of Austria, bore impatiently the yoke of Bavaria, to which crown they had been annexed, and were ready to rise in insurrection. It was a crisis that was worthy of heroic efforts, if Europe were to be free.

The first great operations of the war gave no very decided advantage to Napoleon, although his bulletins spoke of partial victories as final triumphs. The battle of Eckmühl on the 22nd of April was followed by the entry of the French into Vienna on the 13th of May. But the archduke Charles had reinforced his army, and was advancing rapidly along the left bank of the Danube, to

* “Le Consulat et l’Empire,” tome x. p. 56.

prevent the enemy crossing from the right bank, on which Vienna is situated. In the great stream of the Danube is the island of Lobau, nearly three miles in length, and nearly two miles in breadth. To this island Napoleon determined to transport his army. This was an operation of no common difficulty ; but it was accomplished by incessant labour in constructing a great bridge upon boats, held in their places by anchors, or by the weight of cannon taken from the arsenal of Vienna. From Lobau there was a smaller stream to cross, by a similar bridge, before a landing could be effected on the open plain on the left bank. On the morning of the 21st of May, the army of the archduke Charles saw from wooded heights the army of Napoleon crossing the lesser branch of the river, and pouring into the great level called Marchfeld. As the French formed their line, the village of Aspern was on one flank; the village of Essling on the other flank. On the 21st and 22nd of May, the most sanguinary contest of the war here took place. "It was a battle," says Thiers, "without any result but an abominable effusion of blood." Never before was the all-conquering emperor in so dangerous a position as when the day closed upon this horrible carnage. He could not return to Vienna ; for the river had risen, and the Austrians had floated down the main stream great barks of timber, and numerous fire-ships, which swept away the boats and their bridge. Napoleon could only return to the island of Lobau. Here he retreated, carrying with him thousands of wounded soldiers. The place afforded small means for their cure or comfort ; and there was soon little difference between those who died in the battle-field and those who were borne from it to a lingering death.

Shut up in the island of the Danube, the French emperor was strengthening his position, and waiting for events. They were of a mixed character. The heroic partisan, colonel Schill, and the duke of Brunswick, who had headed the German insurrection in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, had failed. Schill was killed in Stralsund. The duke of Brunswick, with a few troops, embarked for England. The Tyrolese were in active resistance to the Bavarians ; and their first successes gave a new impulse to the sentiment that when the German people should rise against their oppressors, as "the herdsmen of the Alps" had risen, the day of deliverance was at hand. That day was for awhile postponed. Andrew Hofer, the innkeeper in the valley of Passeyr, and three other resolute friends, led the revolt which broke out on the 8th of April. The Bavarians entered the province with 25,000 men. From mountain to mountain the signal fires had been lighted, which called forth the bold peasants to seize their rifles, and march to

attack the Bavarians in the gorges of the hills, and even in the towns which they held in strength. Halle was taken; Innsbruck surrendered after an obstinate defence. After the French occupied Vienna, the Tyrol was invaded by two French and allied armies. The Tyrolese fled not at their presence. They defeated the French and Saxons in the valley of the Eisach. The vanguard of four thousand Bavarians under the duke of Dantzic was destroyed. A new mode of warfare spread dismay amongst the disciplined troops, who thought they were marching to an easy conquest. As they wended their way unsuspectingly through passes where perpendicular rocks rose on either side, voices would be heard from above, shouting. "Let go your ropes." Then would descend masses of rocks and timber, crushing and burying the columns, whilst the unerring rifles picked off the few who fled from the overwhelming ruin. The duke of Dantzic speedily retreated from the dangerous mountains. But Hofer dared to encounter him in a pitched battle, and the innkeeper won the victory.

Such were the tidings that reached Napoleon in the island of Lobau. The inaction of mutual exhaustion was coming to an end. To Napoleon inaction was generally insupportable. He appeared busily employed in constructing massive bridges from the island to the left bank of the Danube; but he was secretly collecting the materials for another work. On the night of the 4th of July the whole of his army crossed the stream, by a bridge hastily thrown over an unguarded point. On the morning of the 5th the French moved in order of battle towards the entrenched camp of the Austrians, which was to resist the passage over the Danube so ostentatiously prepared. The archduke Charles quitted his entrenchments, abandoning the country between Enzensdorf and Wagram. He had lost the opportunity of attacking the French as they crossed the river in that one night, and confronted him as if by miracle. He now retired to a strong position on the elevated table-land of Wagram. From this locality the great battle of the 6th derives its name. The number of soldiers engaged in the work of mutual destruction was between three and four hundred thousand. The French historians claim to have killed or wounded twenty-four thousand Austrians; and admit to have lost eighteen thousand in killed or wounded. But the sturdy resistance of Austria had deranged some of Napoleon's grandest plans of ambition. "He had renounced the idea of dethroning the House of Hapsburg, an idea which he had conceived in the first movements of his wrath."* He would humiliate Austria by new sacrifices of territory and of

* Thiers, tome x. p. 478.

money. The time was fast approaching when the conquering *parvenu* would demand a daughter of the House of Hapsburg in marriage, completing the triumph of his proud egoism by divorcing the woman who had stooped from her rank to wed the Corsican lieutenant of artillery. Austria sued for an armistice; and the armistice led to a peace. Two of the conditions of the peace of Vienna, which was signed on the 14th of October, were more degrading to Austria than the loss of territory. One was that she should give no succour to the Tyrolese who had so nobly fought for her independence. The other was, that she should unite with all the rest of the enslaved continent in the exclusion of the commerce of England, her ally, that was affording the most effectual co-operation by exertions in Spain; and had attempted by a small expedition to Naples, and a vast expedition to the Scheldt, to divert the levies of France from going to the aid of the French armies that were fighting against Austria on the Danube and in Italy. England was ill-timed in her assistance; she was unlucky; but her good-will was not the less sincere. Napoleon returned to Paris; and left his marshals to put down the spirit in Germany which a humiliating peace could not compromise, and which the system of terror could not wholly extinguish. Fifty thousand French and Bavarians marched into the Tyrol; hunted the peasantry from hill to hill; set a price upon the head of Andrew Hofer; and procured his arrest by treachery. He was tried by court-martial at Mantua, and condemned to death. The majority of French officers were averse to the sentence being executed. There was a respite; but an order from Paris left no choice. He was shot on the 20th of February.

The history of the fatal expedition to Walcheren might be sufficiently traced in the Papers presented to Parliament, and in the Minutes of Evidence taken before a Committee of the whole House of Commons.* But time has opened other sources of information. The materials are ample for a narrative, interesting in itself, and instructive for warning against official neglect, ignorance, and presumption. We are enabled to add a few details from an unpublished journal.†

Sir David Dundas succeeded the duke of York as Commander-in-chief, on the 18th of March. On the 24th he was called to a Cabinet meeting. He was informed that an immediate attack on

* See Hansard, vol. xv. Appendix, col. 1 to 639, and vol. xvi. Appendix, col. 1105 to 1130.

† "Narrative of the Expedition," by an Officer employed—MS. of 200 pages, in the possession of the author of the "Popular History."

the island of Walcheren was contemplated; that there were nine or ten sail of the line in the harbour of Flushing, not in a state to proceed to sea; that our navy had a large disposable force; and that fifteen thousand land forces would be necessary for the operation. Could such a force at once be assembled? Sir David Dundas said that such a force could not at once be provided; that the corps which had returned from Spain were in very indifferent health, and their military equipment was in a very defective state. Preparations went on to complete the remains of sir John Moore's army for service; and volunteers from militia regiments were gradually drafted into regiments of the line. But the scheme had assumed a more formidable character, when lord Castlereagh, on the 29th of May, stated to sir David Dundas that his majesty's government felt it their duty to investigate, having formidable means at their disposal, how far it was possible to strike a blow against the enemy's naval resources in the Scheldt, "including the destruction of their arsenal at Antwerp, and the ships of war stationed in different parts of the Scheldt, between Antwerp and Flushing." The answer of the Commander-in-chief, on the 3rd of June, was not encouraging. He thought that an attack upon Antwerp was a service of very great risk. On the 18th of June, lord Castlereagh directed that 35,000 infantry and 1800 cavalry should be held in readiness for immediate embarkation. Sir David Dundas was not consulted as to the appointment of the commander of the expedition, although he knew that it was meant to appoint lord Chatham. There were equally important persons with whom no consultation was held. Sir Lucas Pepys, the Physician General to the forces, was acquainted with the nature of the disorder to which soldiers were subject in the island of Walcheren. The medical officers of the army were not informed where the expedition was going, and therefore could not make any particular preparation. With Mr. Thomas Keate, Surgeon General of the army, there was no consultation. He knew perfectly well the nature of the complaint prevalent in Walcheren at the season when the expedition was about to sail; and had confidence been reposed in him he should have recommended precautions that might have lessened the malady. On the 16th of July, "our trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, John, earl of Chatham," received his instructions, as the commander of a large division of his majesty's forces, to attack and destroy the naval force and establishments in the Scheldt, acting in conjunction with the commander of the naval portion of the armament, sir Richard Strachan. The whole amount of the land-force, according to the list transmitted to lord

Chatham, was 39,143 infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The naval force comprised 35 sail of the line, 5 ships of 50 and 44 guns, 18 frigates, and 160 sloops, gun-brigs, bomb-vessels, gun boats, &c. The army was encamped on Southsea common and on the hills around Portsmouth. The ships of war were assembled at Spithead, ready to take a portion of the troops on board, whilst others were received by transports. The weather was the finest of a fine summer. Gazers from all parts came to look upon the most magnificent expedition that ever left the British ports. The ostentatious preparation was out of harmony with the affected secret of its destination. The French and Dutch knew thoroughly well what was intended. The English army and navy were to be kept in the dark, so that the mystery should not be divulged and find its way to Flushing and Antwerp. Yet the first order issued, whilst the troops were embarking, was one against taking quarters "unsanctioned by the Burgomaster."

On the 25th of July this great armament sailed from Portsmouth to the Downs. During the three days on which it ran down the English shore, every height was crowded with people. "Of all the displays that I have ever seen," says the writer of the MS. Journal, "the finest was that which opened on us as we rounded the South Foreland. The sea was literally covered for miles with shipping, and all was animation. Upwards of a thousand sail were rolling at anchor off Deal, and among them six enormous three-deckers that looked like castles. All England seemed to have collected on the coast. Boats were sweeping in all directions among the fleet. Hundreds of parties from the shore were rowing about among us. The bands of the regiments were playing, bugles sounding and in the heavy swell of a north-east gale flag and cannon signals were perpetually busy. The whole had an incomparable look of spirit and triumph, and was an actual display of power that we proudly felt the world beside could not equal."

On the 28th of July, at daybreak, the first division of the fleet, with sir Richard Strachan, and the earl of Chatham on board, sailed from the Downs. A larger division followed on the 29th: On the 30th twenty thousand men landed on the isle of Walcheren. Middleburgh, the chief town, was immediately surrendered. The French troops were driven into Flushing. Other operations were attended with complete success. Every obstacle was quickly removed that would have prevented Antwerp being taken by a sudden and well-combined movement of the naval and military forces. The French ships at Flushing had withdrawn and gone up the Scheldt. No English squadron pursued. The garrison of Ant-

werp had only 3000 men. Napoleon said to O'Meara that if a few thousand men had been landed at Wilhemstadt and marched direct to Antwerp, it might have been taken by a *coup-de-main*. After the fleet had got up, that was impossible. Bahtz, the key to both channels of the Scheldt, was taken by sir John Hope on the morning of the 3rd, and the whole of South Beveland was in his possession. All the energy of the first operations had no other ulterior object, in the eye of the Commander-in-chief, than the taking of Flushing, and the occupation of Walcheren. It would seem as if the earl of Chatham had known that Napoleon held that Flushing was impregnable; and that it had become a point of honour with him to prove that the great emperor could sometimes be mistaken. From the palace of Schönbrunn, whilst negotiating a peace with Austria, Napoleon wrote on the 6th of October to his minister of war at Paris,—who had apprised him of the appearance off Walcheren of the English armament,—“They will not take Flushing since the dykes can be cut; they will not take the squadron, for it can ascend to Antwerp.”* Ten days later, this provident administrator, who never suffered any circumstances in his vast empire to be indifferent to him, showed how much better he understood what our army would experience than the war minister who directed the expedition. Napoleon then wrote, “Before six weeks, of the fifteen thousand English who are on the island of Walcheren, not fifteen hundred will be left. The rest will be in the hospitals. . . . The expedition has been undertaken under false information, and has been ignorantly calculated.”†

The enemy that was gathering around our troops,—far more dangerous than the batteries of Flushing,—was soon perceptible. The investment of the place was completed, before a bombardment commenced on the 13th of August. The troops slept, for the most part, in the open air. In his MS. Journal the officer writes: “Towards morning we found ourselves wrapped in that chill, blue, marshy mist rising from the ground, that no clothing can keep out, and that actually seems to penetrate to the inmost frame. And this we always found the morning atmosphere of Walcheren,—the island covered with a sheet of exhalation, blue, dense, and fetid.” The positive orders which Napoleon had sent from Schönbrunn, that general Monnet, the commander of Flushing, should cut the dykes, were now carried into effect. On the 11th, the sea-dyke, extending from the right flank of Flushing on the land side to the canal of St. Joostland, was cut. The water spread over the fields, filled the ditches, and forced the besiegers to abandon some parts

* Thiers, tome xi. p. 452—“Lettres relatives à Walcheren.”

Ibid., p. 460.

of the trenches. There was no time to lose. The bombardment commenced upon a scale that was perhaps unequalled in any previous siege. Batteries of heavy ordnance fired incessantly night and day upon the devoted town. The Congreve rocket was employed with fearful effect. Ten line of battle ships, on the morning of the 14th, ranged along the sea line of defences, and kept up a cannonade for several hours. Flushing was on fire in every quarter. At last after three days the governor agreed to surrender, on the condition of the garrison becoming prisoners of war. The occupation of the Dutch fishing town was the prize that cost twenty millions of money. The siege operations were conducted by sir Eyre Coote, lord Chatham "having hoped, had circumstances permitted, to have proceeded up the river."* His lordship, whose vocation, according to an epigram not far from the truth, was to eat, and to sleep, contrived to console himself for his disappointment in not going up the river, to encounter Bernadotte, who had arrived at Antwerp with a great army. He rested happily at Bahtz; where his existence was proclaimed by two turtles sprawling upon their backs in his garden, ready for the art of the commander-in chief of the kitchen who accompanied him.†

And now came the dread event which Napoleon had predicted. Lord Chatham wrote home on the 29th that he was obliged to close his operations with the capture of Flushing. He adds, "I am concerned to say, that the effect of the climate at this unhealthy period of the year is felt most seriously, and that the number of the sick already is little short of three thousand." The morning fogs began to be heavier and more penetrating. The soldiers, who had been kept up by the animation of the siege, now sank, exhausted and despairing. They were carried into close barracks at Middleburgh, where the fever raged more and more, and the barracks all became hospitals. The surgeons were unsupplied with bark and other necessary medicines. The medical officers themselves were seized, and either died or were disqualified for attendance. Proper supplies of medicine and of wine from England were coming as soon as routine could bestir itself. The main army was ordered home, and with them went lord Chatham. But fifteen thousand men were left in Walcheren "for the protection of the island." The despatches of sir Eyre Coote, from the 31st of August to the 23rd of October, contain the most distressing accounts of the progress of the fever. Thousands had died. Four thousand sick had been sent to England. Sixteen hundred more were about to be sent;

* Despatch, 16th August.

† "Court and Cabinets of George III," vol. iv. p. 356.

and then the hospitals would still contain four thousand sick, who must have been abandoned to the French in the event of their landing. Every one who had thought or read knew what would be the consequence of sending forty thousand men to Zealand in August, and of their continuing there for two or three months. Every one suspected what might happen, except the ministry, and especially the Secretary-at-War. Sir John Pringle's book on the "Diseases of the Army" was known to common readers; but it was unknown, or unheeded, in Cabinet Councils, where some members were assiduously engaged in the laudable endeavour to circumvent a colleague, yet leaving him to the consequences of his own incapacity; and others thought that whatever he did was right, as long as he did not go before his party in any large or liberal views. Mr. John Webb, the Inspector of Hospitals, reported to lord Castlereagh, on the 11th of September,—when the ravages had begun, and statesmanship at last had taken counsel of science,—that, independent of the existing records of the unhealthiness of Zealand, every feature of the country exhibited it in the most forcible manner;—the canals communicating with the sea, covered with the most noisome ooze; every ditch loaded with matter in a state of putrefaction; the whole island little better than a swamp; scarcely a place where water of a tolerable quality could be procured; the children sickly, and many of the adults deformed. The endemic diseases of the country, remittent and intermittent fevers, says the Inspector, begin to appear about the middle of August, and continue to prevail until the commencement of frosty weather. He adds one important fact, after describing how the disease had spread in the army with a rapidity almost unexampled in the history of any military operation, that "those men who may be attacked with fever, and recover from it, will have their constitutions so affected by the shock, that their physical powers, when called into action hereafter, will be very materially diminished."* The "Journal of an Officer" describes what was endured by thousands of the sick. After a month's suffering he was carried to Flusing; shipped on board of a frigate; when in the Downs, the ship was telegraphed that the hospitals were full; went on to Spithead; and was borne ashore fainting. "My recovery was long doubtful, and when it at last commenced, it was long imperfect. The venom of the marsh-fever had a singular power of permeating the whole human frame. It unstrung every muscle, penetrated every bone, and seemed to search and enfeeble all the sources of mental and bodily life. I dragged it about with me for years." Such was the

* Hansard, vol. xv. Appendix, col. xii.

end of the great Armada that sailed from the Downs on the 28th of July, with a pomp and power that had never been equalled since another Armada came to a like fatal termination of vain hopes and blind confidence. The calamity which England had sustained had a most serious effect upon the progress of the war in Spain and Portugal. In the summer of 1810, the operations of lord Wellington were fatally crippled by the want of men to supply his losses. His earnest request for more aid from home was thus answered by lord Liverpool on the 22nd of August: "Now, with respect to reinforcements to your army, I am under the painful necessity of informing you that the effects of the fever contracted by our army last year in Walcheren are still of that nature that, by a late inspection, we have not at this time a single battalion of infantry, in Great Britain and Ireland, reported fit for service in the field, with the exception of the infantry of the duke of Brunswick's corps." * Walcheren was evacuated on the 23rd of December. Then came inquiries in Parliament. The ministry made every effort to screen lord Chatham from a vote of censure, which was prevented only by very small majorities. The character of the army and navy was not injured. The disgrace rested with the commander; with the Secretary-at-War; and with the members of the Cabinet, who believed him incapable, and had not the courage to enforce their belief.

After the retreat of Soult from Oporto, sir Arthur Wellesley, at the beginning of July, entered Spain. On the 20th, he made a junction with the Spanish army under Cuesta, at Oropesa. Marshal Victor was in position at Talavera. His outposts were attacked on the 22nd by the Spanish and British; and Victor, retiring to Torrijos, was joined by Sebastiani, and afterwards by king Joseph. Cuesta was obstinate and conceited. Taking his own counsel, he pushed on alone to attack the French, and was driven back to the British army, on the Alberche. With the greatest difficulty he was persuaded not to fight in a position where he would have been destroyed. In a sulky mood, he left to Sir Arthur Wellesley the command of the two armies. The British general retired six miles to Talavera, where he had previously chosen his field of battle, and which he had strengthened by some earthworks. On the 27th, the French crossed the Alberche, and there was a partial contest, in which they were repulsed. On the 28th, the French renewed the attack. From nine o'clock of that morning till noon, the two armies reposed. It was the calm before the storm. The heat was excessive, and the French and English soldiers quitted their ranks,

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 568.

and assuaged their thirst in the little stream that separated their several positions. The scene was suddenly changed. The French drums beat the *rappel*; the eagles were uplifted; the columns formed, and the battle commenced. They first attacked the left, which was weak; then fell upon the right; and later in the day threw their force upon the centre of the line. A formidable battery was making fearful havoc. The centre was giving way, when sir Arthur Wellesley ordered the 48th regiment to descend from the height which they occupied, and meet the brunt of the fight. The scattered masses rallied. The English general hurled a charge of cavalry upon the French columns; and the victory was won. In writing to a friend in India, sir Arthur Wellesley said, "The battle of Talavera was the hardest fought of modern times. The fire at Assaye was heavier, while it lasted; but the battle of Talavera lasted for two days and a night. Each party engaged lost a fourth of their numbers." * To another friend he writes, "We had certainly a most fierce contest at Talavera, and the victory which we gained, although from circumstances it has not been followed by all the good consequences which we might have expected from it, has at least added to the military reputation of the country, and has convinced the French that their title to be called the first military nation in Europe will be disputed, not unsuccessfully." † "This battle," says Jomini, "recovered the glory of the successors of Marlborough, which for a century had declined. It was felt that the English infantry could contend with the best in Europe." Very few Spaniards were engaged. Sixteen thousand English, of which number many had been recently taken from the militia, repulsed thirty thousand French veterans. Napoleon was furious at the results of the battle of Talavera. He wrote from Schönbrunn to general Clarke, that he should express to marshal Jourdan the emperor's extreme displeasure at the inaccuracies and falsehoods in his report. "He says that on the 28th we were in possession of the British army's field of battle—that is to say, of Talavera, and of the table land on which their left flank rested; whilst his subsequent reports, and those of other officers, say the exact contrary, and that we were repulsed during the whole day. . . . Tell him that he might have put what he pleased into the Madrid newspapers, but that he had no right to disguise the truth to government." ‡ The next day the emperor wrote to his Minister of Police a memorandum, to be expanded into articles in the Journals: "Lord Wellesley is beaten in Spain. Surrounded in his rout,

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 431.

† *Ibid.*, p. 387.

‡ "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. ii. p. 66, August 21.

he seeks his safety in a precipitate flight under excessive heat. In quitting Talavera, he has recommended to the duke of Belluno five thousand sick and wounded that he was obliged to leave there. If affairs had been properly conducted in Spain, not an Englishman would have escaped; but nevertheless they are beaten. Comment on these ideas in the journals. Demonstrate the extravagance of the ministers in exposing thirty thousand English, in the heart of Spain, against a hundred and twenty thousand French, the best troops in the world, while at the same time they sent twenty-five thousand others to come to grief (*se casser le nez*) in the marshes of Holland."* In these hints for his journalists of Paris, Napoleon exaggerated the painful facts which the English general readily admitted. He was obliged to retreat, for Soult had suddenly appeared with fifty thousand men. He was surrounded by immense armies; he did leave, to be guarded by Cuesta, fifteen hundred of his sick and wounded; when Cuesta marched away and left his charge, sir Arthur did recommend them to the humanity of the French generals, who acted generously towards them, as sir Arthur Wellesley had acted towards the French at Oporto. He had confided too much in Spanish generals and in Spanish troops. He had trusted too much to the zeal and activity of the commissariat to furnish him supplies. Admiral Berkeley, who commanded in the Tagus, says: "Twice has the army been stopped for money, and twice for provisions. The horses starved, while ships, loaded with hay and oats from England, enough to furnish all the cavalry, were rotting and spoiling in the Tagus. The medical staff is as bad: as our army were dying away for want of medicines, while more than sufficient were in ships in the river."† Nearly half a century was to slide on before such results of "ignorance and delay" were to be counted as monstrous things, that could never again shake the public confidence in official sagacity. The experience of one campaign taught sir Arthur Wellesley great lessons. In India he had acquired the power of regulating the commissariat upon the largest scale; in providing not only for men and horses, but for elephants and bullocks, and all the gorgeous cavalcades of an oriental camp. In his first campaign in Portugal, he had somewhat too much relied upon the War Office, and the Victualling Office, and the Transport Office. Each department did its own work in parallel lines, and never thought that the Division of Labour was worthless without the Union of Forces.

* Thiers, tome vi. p. 461—"Lettres de Napoléon."

† Court, &c. of George III., vol. v. p. 359.

He soon came to look sharply after the most apparently trifling details. But he also came to rely upon himself, and to leave the Spanish generals to their jealousies, and the Spanish juntas to their own conceits. His brother, the marquis (then ambassador in Spain), seeing that he could not bring the native authorities to act "with common spirit, honesty, or decency," advised him to return home.* He remained to show how a resolute will and a clear head can surmount every difficulty.

The battle of Talavera won for sir Arthur Wellesley the name by which we shall henceforth speak of him—Wellington: first Viscount, then Earl, then Marquis, then Duke. By what name he was to be called was almost a matter of chance.† "Talavera" was thought of. Of "Wellesley" his brother wore the honours. "Wellington" was chosen—the household word for all time. In December the British army had crossed the Tagus at Abrantes. When his head-quarters were at Badajoz, in October, lord Wellington had gone to Lisbon, "to arrange finally for the defence of Portugal." He had conceived the grand project of the lines of Torres Védras. In January, 1810, his head-quarters were at Viseu; and he was in constant communication with lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, an officer of engineers, on the execution of this gigantic work. The scheme was not to be paraded before the world. It was to be proceeded with steadily and unostentatiously. He would claim no merit with the English government or the English people, for preparing a stronghold, from which he might go-forth to do battle with armies four times as strong as his own, and retire thither on any emergency, to laugh at their efforts to dislodge him. During the spring of 1810 he steadily devoted himself to the organization of the British and Portuguese armies. He was wholly left to his own resources. The government at home could send him no reinforcements. He had no support in their confidence that he would surmount the difficulties by which he was encompassed. At the end of October, four questions were put to him by lord Liverpool,‡ which required all his prudence and sagacity to answer upon his own responsibility. Wellington thought:—1. That if the Spaniards were commonly prudent, the enemy would require a very large reinforcement before they could subjugate the country: 2. He thought that if the French did not make an immediate attack upon Portugal, they would require an army of seventy or eighty thousand men to succeed, but he believed they would make the attack: 3. He thought that if

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 372. † *Ibid.*, p. 361. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

they made the attack at once they would be successfully resisted : 4. He was convinced that if defeated his army could embark. * At the end of 1809 intelligence had arrived of the defeat of two Spanish armies ; and then lord Liverpool talks as if all the efforts of the British and Portuguese armies for the defence of Portugal would be unavailing. † In March, lord Liverpool apprises lord Wellington, " That a very considerable degree of alarm exists in this country respecting the safety of the British army in Portugal ; " and that he " would rather be excused for bringing away the army a little too soon, than, by remaining in Portugal a little too long, exposing it to those risks from which no military operations can be wholly exempt. " ‡ He could not " recommend any attempt at what may be called desperate resistance. " It must have been a satisfaction to Wellington, who cared very little for " alarm in England, " and was not easily depressed by ministerial timidity, to have received the encouragement of the stout-hearted old king to persevere in the course which appeared right and safe in his own judgment. Colonel Herbert Taylor was then the official secretary to George III., who was nearly or totally blind. He had read to the king a private letter from lord Wellington to lord Liverpool ; and he conveys to the minister his sovereign's sentiments upon the correspondence which had taken place. This letter of colonel Taylor, dated April 21, lord Liverpool forwards to lord Wellington. It contains the following passage : " The king observed that the arguments and remarks which this letter contains, the general style and spirit in which it is written, and the clearness with which the state of the question and of prospects in Portugal is exposed, have given his majesty a very high opinion of lord Wellington's sense, and of the resources of his mind as a soldier ; and that as he appears to have weighed the whole of his situation so coolly and maturely, and to have considered so fully every contingency under which he may be placed, not omitting any necessary preparation, his majesty trusted that his ministers would feel with him the advantage of suffering him to proceed according to his judgment and discretion in the adherence to the principles which he has laid down, unfettered by any particular instructions which might embarrass him in the execution of his general plan of operations. " § The worry from Downing-street continued, especially from the Treasury. In June, Wellington asks this question of the ministry — " Are we at war with France for the existence and independence of the country, and is it advisable to maintain the contest

* " Supplementary Despatches, " vol. vi. p. 423. † *Ibid.*, p. 465. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 493.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

as long as possible at a distance from home? . . . I see more, and must know more, of what is going on here than others; and I certainly have no prejudice in favour of the continuance of our exertions here, founded upon any partiality for the business of guiding them. But I sincerely feel what I write—that if the resources of Great Britain were fairly applied to this contest, as they have been to any other in which the country has been engaged, the French would yet repent the invasion of Spain.”*

When two Cabinet Ministers meet to fight a duel, and one is wounded, the natural consequence is, that the house divided against itself must fall. Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary at War, challenged Mr. Canning, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and they had a hostile meeting on Wimbledon Common on the 22nd of September. Canning was slightly wounded. It is scarcely possible to investigate the causes of this transaction without encountering the difficulties that arise from the partisanship of contemporary narratives. After the lapse of half a century the subject is scarcely worth investigation by a writer who has only to present a rapid view of the more important public affairs. Upon the surface it might appear that Canning had been intriguing for six months to remove Castlereagh from office for some motive of personal ambition. He “was much and unjustly blamed at the time.”† The duke of Portland, the Prime Minister, wrote to the Chancellor in June, “The great object, and indeed the *sine quâ non* with Canning, is to take from lord Castlereagh the conduct of the war.” Lord Castlereagh, in his letter of challenge, complained that Mr. Canning, after receiving a promise that the seals of the War Office should be transferred from their holder, continued to act with him as his colleague, and permitted him to originate the Walcheren enterprise. There seems to be no doubt, however, that Canning several times tendered his own resignation, but was overpersuaded to remain in office,—believing that Castlereagh had been apprised by the duke of Portland, and other members of the Cabinet, of the desire and the intention to make the change which so materially affected the public service. Both the Secretaries of State were injured by the want of moral courage in the head of the government to do a disagreeable act—by telling the truth to take out of the hands of the War Minister the completion of a great enterprise which he had devised. The end of the affair was that Canning and Castlereagh both quitted the administration. The duke of Portland also resigned; and, long broken in health, died

* “Supplementary Despatches,” vol. vi. p. 531.

† Brougham—“Sketches of Statesmen”—Canning.

on the 29th of October. There was many difficulties in constructing a new administration. Mr. Perceval became Premier; the marquis Wellesley came from Spain to be Secretary for Foreign Affairs; lord Liverpool took lord Castlereagh's post as Secretary of State for the department of War and Colonies; the Secretary at War was lord Palmerston.

The 25th of October was celebrated throughout the kingdom as "The Jubilee"—the fiftieth anniversary of the accession to the throne of George the Third. Romilly considered "this Jubilee as a political engine of ministers;" but the people fell into the proposal of the celebration with a very hearty spontaneity. Romilly also thought that when posterity should look at the measures of the king's government, his popularity for many years would appear unaccountable.* The people were not only gay amidst bell-ringing, and bonfires, and dinners in civic halls. There was a feeling of enthusiastic attachment to their old sovereign, manifested amongst the many who pitied his growing infirmities; who sympathized with his sturdy hatred to Bonaparte and French domination; and who were not quite sure that what the wiser called his prejudices were not great public virtues. One thing the people dreaded—that this reign should come to a close; that the example of the domestic virtues that prevailed at Windsor should be succeeded by the license of Carlton House; that the scandals about the princess of Wales—which rival factions were constantly speculating upon as weapons of political offence or defence—should become a source of national danger and disgrace when the unhappy quarrel should be between a king and a queen. Caroline of Brunswick could not be put aside as easily as Josephine Beauharnais. If the time should come, when the Fourth George should turn over the chronicles of the Eighth Harry to search for precedents, it would not suit the genius of representative government, that he should proclaim his will to his assembled family that his wife should be divorced, as Napoleon proclaimed his will at the Tuileries on the 15th of December; that an obsequious senate should confirm the dissolution of the marriage; and that the ruler of England should be free to look around for a Princess to share his throne, after the fashion in which the ambitious Corsican first threw the handkerchief at a Grand Duchess of Russia, and then—a slight hesitation being manifested—at an Archduchess of Austria. Such a crisis was postponed in England by the life of George the Third being prolonged beyond another decade.

When parliament was opened on the 23rd of January, the failure

* "Diary"—October.

of the expedition to Walcheren naturally became a subject of grave inquiry. The Opposition and the country were in ill-humour, and they mixed up their reproofs of the unhappy policy of the Scheldt enterprise with the operations of sir Arthur Wellesley, contending that the government which had given him a peerage must stand or fall by him. They little knew how time would accomplish this result in a different manner from that which they anticipated. The pension which was proposed to be granted to lord Wellington was carried by a very small majority. A constitutional question arose upon a motion of censure, moved by Mr. Whitbread, against lord Chatham, in presenting to the king a narrative of his proceedings in the Scheldt, with a request of secrecy, and without communicating it to the other members of the cabinet. The motion was carried. Lord Mulgrave succeeded lord Chatham in the office of Master-General of the Ordnance. The constitutional law was sufficiently asserted without any further proceedings.

A time of great popular excitement was coming in England. The old question of Privilege, in which the House of Commons had manifested such an impotent tyranny in the case of John Wilkes, was about to be renewed in a struggle with a favourite of the democracy, who was bent upon asserting what he held to be popular rights. Sir Francis Burdett, the member for Westminster, was in 1810 the subject of a contest which had no real bearing upon the liberties of the people, but which gratified the vanity of one who aspired to be their leader. The interest of the war in the Peninsula; the marriage of Napoleon with a daughter of the emperor of Austria, by which his complete ascendancy over the continent appeared to be established; the commercial effects of the Orders in Council; the difficult problem of the depreciation of the Currency which was under discussion;—these matters became of small importance compared with the resistance of the member for Westminster to an order of the Speaker for his arrest. The turmoil was soon over, and as it had no lasting consequences our relation must be very brief. John Gale Jones, the manager of a Debating Society, on the occasion of the enforcement of the Standing Order for the exclusion of strangers during the Walcheren inquiry, issued a handbill, announcing that the Society had decided that the enforcement was “an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and render their representatives objects of jealousy and suspicion.” Jones was brought to the bar; confessed himself the author of the bill: and was committed to Newgate, the House resolving that he having published a paper

containing libellous reflections upon the conduct and character of the House, was guilty of a high breach of its privileges. Sir Francis Burdett, having made an unsuccessful motion for the discharge of Jones, published a violent letter in Cobbett's "Register," in which he contended that the House had no authority to imprison for such an offence. Sir Thomas Lethbridge, on the 27th of March, moved "that the publication of which Sir Francis had acknowledged himself to be the author, was a scandalous libel upon the rights of the House." There was a debate of two nights. Romilly doubted the right of commitment. The Master of the Rolls maintained the right, in which he was supported by some members of the Opposition, but who nevertheless objected to the agitation of the question. During the violence of debate there was an amusing interlude. Sir Joseph Yorke angrily called Whitbread "a brewer of bad porter." There was a furious uproar. Whitbread, with perfect good humour, rose and said, "Mr. Speaker, I rise as a tradesman to complain of the gallant officer for abusing the commodity which I sell;" and the House burst into laughter and approbation.* On the 5th of April, in an adjourned debate, the House divided at six in the morning upon the question whether the paper by Francis Burdett was a breach of privilege, an amendment for postponing the question for six months being rejected by a large majority. But the question whether the baronet should be committed to the Tower, or reprimanded, was carried by 190 against 152, the same morning at half-past seven. In the course of that day the populace began to break the windows of members who had taken part against their favourite. The tumult became serious on the 7th, when sir Francis declared his determination to resist the warrant for his committal, and to defend himself in his own house in Piccadilly. The Riot Act was read; the Guards were called out; several persons were wounded; and troops arrived from the country. On Monday, the 9th, the house of Sir Francis was broken open; and he was conveyed to the Tower, under a strong military escort. On the return of the troops they were grossly insulted and attacked by a furious mob, and several persons were killed when the soldiers at length fired, having had to fight their way through Eastcheap. The subsequent proceedings upon this question of privilege have been succinctly stated by a recent constitutional historian: "Overcome by force, sir Francis brought actions against the Speaker and the Sergeant, in the Court of King's Bench, for redress. The House would have been justified by precedents and ancient usage, in resisting the prose-

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 242.

cution of these actions, as a contempt of its authority; but instead of standing upon its privilege, it directed its officers to plead, and the Attorney-General to defend them. The authority of the House was fully vindicated by the Court; but Sir Francis prosecuted an appeal to the Exchequer Chamber, and to the House of Lords. The judgment of the Court below being affirmed, all conflict between law and privilege was averted. The authority of the House had indeed been questioned; but the Courts declared it to have been exercised in conformity with the law.* When Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of June, the imprisonment of sir Francis came to an end. A procession was announced to convey him home in triumph; but he departed secretly by water, and the mob followed an empty car to Piccadilly.

When Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of June, the royal speech briefly alluded to the Peninsular war. It said, that Portugal, with the assistance of his majesty's arms, had exerted herself with vigour and energy, in making every preparation for repelling any renewed attack on the part of the enemy; and that in Spain, notwithstanding reverses which had been experienced, the spirit of resistance against France still continued unsubdued and unabated. The nation could scarcely have expected from this somewhat cheerless notice of the operations of the British army, with no mention of the British general, that he had been doing some useful work. His retreat to Portugal after Talavera had been denounced in Parliament as having converted victory into defeat. The Common Council of London presented a petition to the House of Commons praying that a pension of 2000*l.* a year should not be granted to Viscount Wellington; conceiving it "to be due to the nation, before its resources shall be thus applied, that the most rigid inquiry should be made why the valour of its armies had been thus uselessly and unprofitably displayed."† The impatient taxpayers, who fancied that Wellington and his army were idling in Portugal, and would soon be obliged to return home, could not readily have believed, even if they had been told, that he had been accomplishing the greatest design that was ever conceived by military genius, for resting the future operations of the war upon no sudden and casual triumph, but upon a comprehensive plan upon which his army's safety might be assured, if decisive battles could not at once be won. There had been six months of comparative inaction, which appeared to superficial observation as six months lost. From January till the end of April Wellington remained in

* May—"Constitutional History of England," vol. i. p. 450.

† Hansard, vol. xv. col. 601.

his head-quarters at Viseu, watching the movements of the French in Old Castile and Leon, who were evidently preparing for an attack on Portugal. There was doubt at home, but there was no doubt in the mind of the sagacious and provident commander. On the 31st of March he wrote to colonel Torrens, "I am in a situation in which no mischief can be done to the army, or to any part of it. I am prepared for all events; and if I am in a scrape, which appears to be the general belief in England, although certainly not my own, I'll get out of it." * The time would come when the Correspondence of lord Wellington would show how profound had been his views and how accurate his calculations, extorting from the, somewhat prejudiced although the ablest of the French historians of this great crisis, a striking eulogy, of which this is the subject: With a rare penetration he had formed a judgment upon the march of affairs in the Peninsula better than that of Napoleon himself. He had appreciated the force of resistance which national hatred, which climate and distance, opposed to the French; the draining of their forces when they arrived in the heart of the Peninsula; the want of unity in their operations under various generals. He entertained the conviction that the vast scaffolding of the grandeur of the empire was undermined in all its parts; that if England could continue to excite and to maintain by her succour the hatred of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, Europe, sooner or later, would throw off the yoke of Napoleon. "This opinion," continues M. Thiers, "which is the highest honour to the military and political judgment of lord Wellington, had become with him an invariable idea; and he persevered in it with a firmness of mind and an obstinacy of character worthy of admiration." All depended, says the historian, upon the resistance which he could oppose to the French when he was driven into the extremity of the Peninsula. He had searched for, and had discovered with the rare accuracy of a *coup d'œil*, a position almost impregnable, from which he could brave all the efforts of the French armies. This position, which he has made immortal, was that of Torres Védras, near Lisbon.†

But it was not alone the rare accuracy of a glance of the eye that determined upon these famous lines. Founded upon personal examination of every part of the ground, during a few weeks of October and November 1809, the Memorandum of lord Wellington to colonel Fletcher, commanding the Royal Engineers, is a masterpiece of large views and minute detail.‡ That Memorandum, altered afterwards in

* "Despatches," vol. v. p. 611.

† "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xii. p. 319 to 320. ‡ "Despatches," vol. v. p. 234.

a few particulars derived from further personal surveys, was sufficiently exact for thousands of Portuguese labourers immediately to be employed, under British engineers, in the rapid construction of works, of which the cuttings of miles of railroad in a mountainous country can furnish but an imperfect idea of their colossal proportions. In one year, these works, behind which the city of Lisbon, the roadstead, the transports, the munitions of war, would be safe from all attack, were sufficiently complete to test the practical grandeur of their conception: A line of intrenchments was first constructed, about twenty miles in advance of Lisbon, running completely across the promontory from Torres Védras on the sea, to Alhandra on the Tagus. The heights of Alhandra, rising perpendicularly from the river, ascended to Sobral, in the centre of the lines. The road to Lisbon, on the bank of the Tagus, beneath the heights, was defended by barricades mounted with cannon. All the sides of the hills towards Sobral that were not sufficiently steep, were cut into escarpments with prodigious labour. Their summits were crowned with forts, where heavy guns commanded all the avenues by which the enemy could approach. At Sobral, from which the hills descended on either side, was a plateau, where works of laborious construction supplied the place of natural inequalities of surface; and the whole of this position was strengthened by a citadel, which could only be taken by a regular siege. The chain of hills from Sobral to the sea was defended in a similar manner, by escarping the sides, by shutting up their gorges with redoubts, by connecting them with forts on their summits. The river Zizambre, which passed Torres Védras to the sea beneath the chain of hills, was rendered impracticable by dams. All the fortifications of these works, stretching thus for twenty-nine miles across the whole breadth of the promontory of Portugal, had their own magazines. Some contained six pieces of cannon; others contained fifty pieces. The arsenal of Lisbon had chiefly furnished the prodigious quantity of ordnance that was required. Some of the garrisons, all of which were permanently occupied by Portuguese, contained a thousand men. All the disposable British forces were to occupy the points of encampment supposed to be most liable to attack. A system of signals along the whole extent of the lines would have brought all the force within them upon a given point in a few hours. A second line of works had been prepared, in case the first line had been forced; and a third series of defences also were formed at the extremity of the promontory to keep an enemy in check had he overcome these stupendous arrangements for an army's safety. These secondary means were unnecessary. The redoubts and

guns in battery of the first line presented such an array of power, that when the leader who had conceived this great work first tried its security in the autumn of 1810, Massena, who had been commanded by Napoleon to drive the English into the sea, at all risks, looked with his fifty thousand men upon the lines of Torres Védras for a month; saw that his proud course was staid; and retired with his starved and dispirited army, to know that effectual barriers could be raised even against the progress of the invincible legions of the Republic and the Empire.

The summer was approaching when Massena took the command of the French forces in Old Castile and Leon. He had seventy-two thousand men under arms in the field. The name by which they were called, "the Army of Portugal," indicated the special service to which they were devoted. Wellington had about fifty-four thousand British and Portuguese. By the great exertions of marshal Beresford, the Portuguese had become valuable troops, and some were brigaded with the British army. In June the French invested Ciudad Rodrigo. It was bravely defended by the Spaniards till the 10th of July. Wellington was not strong enough to attempt its relief. He could only have advanced with thirty-two thousand men, having been obliged to leave nearly a third of his army to prevent the enemy in Estremadura from cutting him off from Lisbon. He saw Ciudad Rodrigo fall. The Spanish general, Romana, in whom the British general had great confidence, was as anxious as Wellington that Ciudad Rodrigo should be relieved; but neither of them could risk the attempt in the presence of a far stronger enemy. On the 15th of August, Massena commenced the siege of Almeida. It was defended by a Portuguese garrison, under the command of an English officer. Wellington moved forward to be ready to seize any opportunity for its relief. On the second night of the bombardment, a magazine, containing all the ammunition of the fortress, blew up; and the garrison were compelled to capitulate, the greater part of the town and the defences having been destroyed by the explosion. This accident disconcerted all the projected operations of the British army. Wellington had no fault to find with the unfortunate event of the surrender of Almeida;—except that he was not informed by telegraph of the misfortune which had happened, when he would have made an effort to have saved the garrison. As it was, he had made all his preparations for falling back.*

On the 26th of September, his army was collected upon the Serra de Busaco, in front of Coimbra. On the 27th the French

ence so fierce; his keenness of appetite so feverish in all that touched his ambition even in the most trifling things; that he must plunge into desperate difficulties. He was of an order of mind that by nature make for themselves great reverses."* There was no one who had a more absolute conviction of this truth than the brother of the marquis Wellesley, who had to enforce, by his unerring sagacity and his indomitable perseverance, the realization of the change of fortune so eloquently predicted.

The Regent had not been appointed more than a fortnight, when his ministers threw in the way of lord Wellington whatever obstacles a weak government could present to a strong mind. The British general had informed lord Liverpool of the probability that the command of the Spanish armies would be offered to him. The Secretary of War answers him that, "it is the unanimous opinion of every member of the government, and of every person acquainted with the finances and resources of the country, that it is absolutely impossible to continue our exertions in the Peninsula for any considerable length of time;" and that "we see no adequate advantage that would result from the command of the Spanish armies being conferred upon you."† The answer of Wellington, however, conceived in the most respectful terms, was the answer of a statesman. It implied his contempt for the whining over expense of a government that was continually frittering away its resources in petty undertakings—a government that had not the courage to do right for its own sake, but made the war in the Peninsula more a party question than a national object; yielding to the clamours of the Opposition, instead of rendering their objections futile by a vigorous policy that would have commanded success. Wellington said that the ministers had it not in their power to form an opinion of the real expenses of the war in the Peninsula; that the first step should be to analyze the charge, and see what the same army would cost elsewhere, at home for instance; that the transports formed a large item of expense, and that if he had been furnished with ten thousand more men in 1810 he would not have kept the transports; that he had sent them away now, because he thought that the events of the campaign had brought the enemy to such a situation that the necessity for an embarkation was very remote. He told the ministry that if the army were withdrawn from the Peninsula, and the French government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the continent, Napoleon would incur all risks to land an army in his majesty's dominions. His indignation at the thought gives

* Hansard, vol. xxv. col. 46.

† "Supplementary Despatches," p. 69.

a great effort to afford some compensation. Wellington continued steadily to retreat before his powerful opponent. There was no sacrifice of men by precipitate flight, no risks encountered by rash resistance. The loss in skirmishes was small. On the 10th of October, the whole army was within the lines of Torres Védras. Massena came up wholly unprepared to find such an obstacle to his further progress. He spent some days in reconnoitring. He scoured the country for provisions; but the country was a desert, behind him and around him. The distresses of his army were most severe, for they had only carried bread for fifteen days. On the 15th of November he gave up all hope of forcing the lines; and began a retrograde movement. On the 8th of December, Wellington wrote one of his unofficial letters, which best exhibits his character and habits of thought: "I have determined to persevere in my cautious system; to operate upon the flanks and rear of the enemy with my small and light troops, and thus force them out of Portugal by the distresses they will suffer, and do them all the mischief I can upon my retreat. Massena is an old fox, and is as cautious as I am. He risks nothing . . . Although I may not win a battle immediately, I shall not lose one; and you may depend upon it that we are safe, for the winter at all events." *

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 2.

CHAPTER XV.

Illness of the king.—Interruption to the proceedings in Parliament.—The Regency Bill passed.—The king's ministers continued in office.—State of Europe at the commencement of the Regency.—Wellington and the Ministry.—Massena evacuates Portugal.—The British army pursues.—Battle of Fuentes de Onoro.—Battle of Albuera.—Restrictions on the Prince Regent about to expire.—His letter as to his choice of a Ministry.—The Administration not altered.—Resignation of the Marquis Wellesley.—Character of the Regent.—Assassination of Mr. Perceval.—Attempts to form a Cabinet of which lord Grey and lord Grenville should be the heads.—The earl of Liverpool Prime Minister.—Luddism.—Repeal of the Orders in Council.—The United States declare war against Great Britain.

THE Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 1st of November, was, by an order made in a council at which the king presided on the 17th of October, to have been further prorogued by Commission to the 29th of November, and a proclamation to that effect appeared in the Gazette. On the 29th of October Mr. Perceval wrote to the Speaker that the calamitous situation of the princess Amelia had so worked upon the king's mind that he was incapable of signing the Commission, and that, according to all usage, such instrument never passes the Great Seal without the king's signature. Mr. Perceval had seen the king on that day. "His conversation was prodigiously hurried, and, though perfectly coherent, yet so extremely diffuse, explicit, and indiscreet upon all the most interesting subjects upon which he could have to open his mind; and, at the same time, so entirely regardless of the presence of all who were about him, that he was evidently labouring under a malady." * From that malady the king never recovered. The "interesting subjects upon which he had to open his mind" had, doubtless, more relation to domestic affairs than to public events. His favourite daughter was dying; and upon her deathbed she is said to have revealed to her father the circumstances of an attachment which, as was believed, had involved a violation of the Royal Marriage Act. The princess Amelia died on the 2nd of November. The king was then under restraint. When told of his daughter's death, he "did not seem to feel or take much notice of it." He had been heard to count over the

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 262.

several times and occasions of his former attacks ; and he ascribed this last to the illness of the princess.*

The meeting of Parliament on the 1st of November could not be postponed. The Chancellor met the Lords ; informed them that there was no Commission to open the Session, and explained the circumstances which had prevented him affixing the Great Seal to such a Commission. Mr. Perceval addressed the Commons ; the Speaker having stated that he had thought it his duty to take the chair, in order that the House might adjourn itself. The adjournment was to the 15th. When that day arrived, the House again adjourned for another fortnight, the physicians having expressed a strong opinion as to the probability of the king's recovery. Another adjournment took place to the 13th of December. On that day a Committee was appointed in both Houses to examine the physicians. On the 20th, the ministers proposed three Resolutions, following the precedent of those of 1788. They affirmed the king's incapacity ; they declared the right and duty of the two Houses to provide for this exigency ; and proposed to proceed by Bills determining the powers to be exercised in the king's name and behalf, to which the Royal Assent should be given in some mode upon which the Houses should determine. The mode which the ministers desired to adopt was a fictitious use of the king's name, —the "Phantom," as it was called. The Opposition contended, as in 1788, for addressing the prince of Wales to assume the royal authority as Regent. The seven dukes of the blood-royal supported the measure of proceeding by Address, when the subject came to be debated in the House of Lords. But the ministerial Resolutions were adopted. They contained restrictions on the power of the Regent, which were offensive to the prince of Wales, and to the party who were considered to be his friends. The limitations upon his authority were to continue only for twelve months ; but they were sufficiently stringent to produce great debate and many divisions, in which the ministers had small majorities. The Resolution which was considered most obnoxious was that which gave the queen very extensive powers over the king's person and the royal household. It was finally determined that the queen should have "such direction of the household as may be suitable for the care of his majesty's person, and the maintenance of the royal dignity." The Parliament having been opened on the 15th of January, by a Commission under the Great Seal, the Regency Bill was passed on the 5th of February. During these proceedings the prince of Wales had been negotiating with lord

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 287.

Grenville and lord Grey as to the arrangement of a new Administration. On the 1st of February, he sent to acquaint these peers that "it was not his royal highness's intention to make any change at present." It had begun to be confidently expected that the king would recover. He had become "much alive to what was passing, and was quite sure," as he told Mr. Perceval, "that it could never enter into the prince's mind to change the ministry,"* On the 4th the prince announced to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their situations those whom he finds there as his majesty's official servants, lest "any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery." The letter added "This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval." On the 6th, the Prince Regent took the oaths before a Privy Council assembled at Carlton House. During several months the king appeared to be occasionally convalescent. His bodily health was good, and he talked more naturally. But it soon became sufficiently clear, whatever might be the expectations that his life might be prolonged, that he was not likely to be able ever to resume the royal functions. The reign of George III. had been virtually closed on the 5th of February, 1811.

At the commencement of the Regency, it would have appeared the most extravagant expectation to have believed that within three years the gigantic power of Napoleon would have been crumbling into ruin,—that, like the ice-palace of the empress of Russia,—

"'Twas transient in its nature, as in show

'Twas durable ; as worthless as it seemed

Intrinsically precious." †

In March, 1811, the empress Maria Louisa presented to the French nation a son, who was saluted by his father as king of Rome. Rome and the southern Papal Provinces were annexed to France ; and the Pope was a prisoner at Savona. Louis Bonaparte, having refused to concur in the tyrannical projects of his brother for enforcing the Continental System upon his Dutch subjects, had surrendered his mockery of sovereignty, and had come to reside at Powys Castle, in Montgomeryshire, upon his parole. The kingdom of Holland was then formally annexed to France. This annexation of the territory of the Zuyderzee was not enough in that direction. Ten additional departments were added to France on the 13th of December, 1810, which comprehended Hol-

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 315.

† Cowper, "Task," book v.

land, Friesland, Oldenburg, Bremen, and all the line of coast to Hamburg and all the country beyond Hamburg to Lubeck. The French empire now consisted of a hundred and thirty departments, containing forty-two millions of people. The millions that were dependent upon the will of the mighty emperor—a godhead with some infatuated English; a “restless barbarian” * with others not wholly given up to party—can scarcely be numbered. The kingdom of Italy, which was under his sway, contained six millions. The kingdom of Naples, in which his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, now ruled, contained five millions. The kingdom of Westphalia, of which his brother Jerome was the sovereign, submitted to the law that was enforced upon his other satellites, that “every thing must be subservient to the interests of France.” Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, he had at his feet the kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, and a train of minor German princes. Prussia was wholly at his mercy. Denmark would obey any command of Napoleon since Copenhagen was bombarded and her fleet carried off. Marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, had been elected by the States of Sweden as successor to the aged and childless Charles XIII., who had succeeded the deposed Gustavus. The French marshal was installed Crown Prince on the 1st of November, 1810. There only wanted the quiet possession of Spain and Portugal, under his brother king Joseph—Austria being his own by family ties, and Russia his ally, in the sworn friendship of her emperor—to make the world his own. England was to perish in the great league of Europe against her commerce; and in the resistance of America to her maritime claims. When Wellington stood within the lines of Torres Védras, and Massena was without, preparing to attack him, the fate of the nations of Europe rested upon the successful defence of this promontory. “The English,” says Thiers, “once expelled from Portugal, all would tend in Europe to a general peace. On the contrary, their situation consolidated in that country, Massena being obliged to retrace his steps, the fortune of the Empire would begin to fall back before the fortune of Great Britain, to sink in the midst of an approaching catastrophe.” † In his place in Parliament, about this time, the marquis Wellesley proclaimed a great truth, which he repeated in 1813: “As Bonaparte was probably the only man in the world who could have raised his power to such a height, so he was probably the only man who could bring it into imminent danger. His eagerness for power was so inordinate; his jealousy of independ-

* Francis Horner—Letter to Hallam—“Memoirs,” vol. ii. p. 115.

† “Le Consulat et l’Empire,” tome xii. p. 412.

ence so fierce; his keenness of appetite so feverish in all that touched his ambition even in the most trifling things; that he must plunge into desperate difficulties. He was of an order of mind that by nature make for themselves great reverses."* There was no one who had a more absolute conviction of this truth than the brother of the marquis Wellesley, who had to enforce, by his unerring sagacity and his indomitable perseverance, the realization of the change of fortune so eloquently predicted.

The Regent had not been appointed more than a fortnight, when his ministers threw in the way of lord Wellington whatever obstacles a weak government could present to a strong mind. The British general had informed lord Liverpool of the probability that the command of the Spanish armies would be offered to him. The Secretary of War answers him that, "it is the unanimous opinion of every member of the government, and of every person acquainted with the finances and resources of the country, that it is absolutely impossible to continue our exertions in the Peninsula for any considerable length of time;" and that "we see no adequate advantage that would result from the command of the Spanish armies being conferred upon you."† The answer of Wellington, however, conceived in the most respectful terms, was the answer of a statesman. It implied his contempt for the whining over expense of a government that was continually frittering away its resources in petty undertakings—a government that had not the courage to do right for its own sake, but made the war in the Peninsula more a party question than a national object; yielding to the clamours of the Opposition, instead of rendering their objections futile by a vigorous policy that would have commanded success. Wellington said that the ministers had it not in their power to form an opinion of the real expenses of the war in the Peninsula; that the first step should be to analyze the charge, and see what the same army would cost elsewhere, at home for instance; that the transports formed a large item of expense, and that if he had been furnished with ten thousand more men in 1810 he would not have kept the transports; that he had sent them away now, because he thought that the events of the campaign had brought the enemy to such a situation that the necessity for an embarkation was very remote. He told the ministry that if the army were withdrawn from the Peninsula, and the French government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the continent, Napoleon would incur all risks to land an army in his majesty's dominions. His indignation at the thought gives

* Hansard, vol. xxv. col. 46

† "Supplementary Despatches," p.

him eloquence. "Then, indeed, would commence an expensive contest; then would his majesty's subjects discover what are the miseries of war, of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had no knowledge; and the cultivation, the beauty, and prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants, would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of the military operations. God forbid that I should be a witness, much less an actor, in the scene."* Lord Liverpool had ventured upon some childish babble about Wellington determining between an offensive or defensive system, and he was thus answered: "In respect to offensive or defensive operations here, if they are left to me, I shall carry on either the one or the other, according to the means in my power, compared at the time with those of the enemy." With this key to his operations, we shall understand, what the public of that time could not understand, why after gaining a victory he was sometimes obliged to retreat. Far less could they understand the nature of the difficulties he had often to encounter: "The people of England," he said after the retreat from Burgos in 1812, "so happy as they are in every respect, so rich in resources of every description, having the use of such excellent roads, &c., will not readily believe that important results here frequently depend upon fifty or sixty mules, more or less, or a few bundles of straw to feed them."†

When Massena retired from before Torres Védras he took up a defensive position at Santarem. He was now really blockaded by the British forces, and had to depend for his supplies upon the bare country behind him. During this state of inaction in Portugal, general Graham, with three thousand English and seven thousand Spaniards, had attacked the French who were blockading Cadiz, and had won the battle of Basrosa, on the 5th of March. On the 6th of March, Wellington, who had long maintained, contrary to the opinion of every person in the army, that Massena would be compelled to retire for want of provisions, received information that he had retired, and immediately put his troops in motion, in three columns.‡ The pursuit of the enemy was conducted with skill equal to that displayed by the French general in ordering his retreat. The course of the French army was marked by the most fearful cruelties. An officer of the English army writes, "There are no enormities, however great, and no wanton barbarities, that have not been committed by Massena's order on people of all classes and ages; nor have they neglected to de-

* "Despatches," vol. vii. p. 329.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 574.

‡ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 85—Letter of an Officer.

stroy a single town or village through which they have passed." * The invasion of Portugal was terminated on the 6th of April, when the French crossed the Agueda into Spain. The allied armies now commenced the blockade of Almeida. The Spaniards had not been able to make a stand against Soult at Badajoz, which was surrendered on the 11th of March. Connected with the possession of these two fortresses, were fought the two great battles of the campaign of 1811. Massena, powerfully reinforced, had returned to raise the blockade of Almeida. The battle of Fuentes de Onoro, in the neighbourhood of Almeida, was fought on the 5th of May. Wellington says of this battle, "It was the most difficult one I was ever concerned in, and against the greatest odds. We had very nearly three to one against us engaged; above four to one of cavalry; and, moreover, our cavalry had not a gallop in them, while some of that of the enemy were fresh and in excellent order. If Boney had been there we should have been beaten." † On the 15th of May, whilst marshal Beresford was besieging Badajoz, very insufficiently provided with the means of carrying on a great siege, Soult came to its relief; and the sanguinary battle of Albuera was fought the next day. The British and Portuguese had to sustain the brunt of that terrible contest. No one who has read the description of the battle of Albuera by sir William Napier can forget the terrible struggles in which "was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights." ‡ On the 18th of May, Soult retired towards Seville. The siege of Badajoz was recommenced, when Wellington arrived at Albuera with two other divisions. But the *matériel* of a siege was still wanting. Early in June Wellington heard that Marmont was marching from Salamanca to join Soult. He hastened back to the frontier of Portugal which was thus menaced. The two French generals united their forces; but they did not venture upon an attack. The British took up their old position upon the Coa; and there was no more fighting in 1811.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 7th of January, 1812. On the 16th, Mr. Perceval proposed Resolutions with regard to the Royal Household, which were framed in the belief that the king's recovery was very improbable, although not altogether hopeless. The Prince Regent, on the 13th of February, addressed a letter to the duke of York, explaining his views with regard to the choice he desired to make of his official servants. The restrictions

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 88.

† *Ibid.*, p. 176—Letter to Wellesley Pole.

‡ "Peninsular War," vol. iii.

of the Regency Bill were to expire on the 18th, and it was generally expected that great changes would take place—that the party long supposed to be in the special interest of the Prince, would return to the possession of that power which they had lost in 1807. These expectations came to an end when the Regent's letter was made public—the letter which Moore parodied so wittily that even the most devoted Tory could scarcely forbear to smile. The sentence, "I have no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify, no objects to attain but such as are common to the whole empire"—which implied that the Regent would make no sweeping alterations in his Cabinet—was followed up by a wish that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed would strengthen his hands and constitute a part of his government. These sentiments were to be communicated to lord Grey, who would make them known to lord Grenville. The answer of those peers, addressed to the duke of York, said, "All personal exclusion we entirely disclaim; we rest on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that we must express, without reserve, the impossibility of our uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such an union." In the case of Ireland, especially, they were firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the system of government, and of the immediate repeal of the civil disabilities on account of religious opinions.

On the 19th of February, the marquis Wellesley resigned the seals as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He had tendered his resignation in January. The main point of difference between lord Wellesley and his colleagues was that they pursued half measures in Spain—that "their efforts were just too short." These dissensions had been going on for two years. "Lord Liverpool usually agreed with lord Wellesley on the necessity and policy of extending our efforts, if practicable; but submitted entirely to Mr. Perceval's statement of the impracticability."* Lord Castlereagh succeeded lord Wellesley as Foreign Secretary.

Three months had passed without the ascendancy of Mr. Perceval's ministry being shaken by the fact that it was not founded upon "the most liberal basis," such as the Regent had affected to desire. It was founded upon Court favour; and that influence was powerful enough to ensure the support of parliament. A tragical event for a while opened the question whether the Tory party, or the Whig party, should conduct the affairs of the State. Neither party would be perfectly free to conduct them upon principles that

* Memorandum in "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 257.

would ensure the support of the reflecting portion of the public, complicated as was the position of the responsible advisers of the Crown, by what was denounced in Parliament as "a base system of unprincipled favouritism known to prevail in the Court. It was notorious," said Mr. Lyttleton, "that the Regent was surrounded with favourites, and, as it were, hemmed in by minions."* The safeguard of a ministry was to be found in the luxurious indolence of the Regent, who did not care to govern with incessant and laborious interference, such as his father had always exerted; who, having the pomp of power to amuse him, did not care what manner of men did the work,—always provided that nothing occurred to disturb his egotistic solicitude for his own personal interest, convenience, or pleasure. The ministers he had chosen had espoused the cause that was most obnoxious to his feelings. The ministers he had not been able to unite in his service had taken a different side. If the question that the people were continually agitating about the wrongs of the princess of Wales could be settled by some bold measure of any ministers, it was possible that his "predilections" might be fixed for the future. As it was, matters were going on smoothly enough, though commercial distress was pressing heavily upon capitalists; though workmen were rising in insurrection against the use of machinery; though perseverance in the Orders in Council was on the point of producing a rupture with the United States, as it had already destroyed the greatest trade which England possessed; though the finances of the kingdom were held to be so crippled, that the fight for national independence could not much longer be maintained. A sudden catastrophe in a moment broke up the official calm.

On the 11th of May, the House of Commons was in Committee in the afternoon, hearing evidence on the Orders in Council. Mr. Brougham had examined a witness, and the cross-examination was proceeding, when a noise was heard from the lobby, like the report of a pistol. That lobby was a large shabby room, with four pillars marking a gangway to the door of the House. The space on each side of the pillars was generally occupied by persons who came to speak to members or to gratify their curiosity. On the left side, generally crowded, was a fire-place and benches. A stone staircase led up to the lobby, which staircase was common to members and to the public. About five o'clock, Mr. Perceval, with his habitual light step, was entering the lobby door, when a shot was fired in the inside of the lobby, and he fell. Mr. William Jerdan, then a Reporter of the Debates, was close by the minister as he entered,

* Hansard, vol. xxii. col. 1163—May 4.

having preceded him up the staircase, but had pushed open the swing door of the lobby to give him precedence. Mr. Jerdan's relation is more interesting than the ordinary accounts: "I saw a small curling wreath of smoke rise above his head, as if the breath of a cigar; I saw him reel back against the ledge on the inside of the door; I heard him exclaim, 'Oh God!' or 'Oh, my God!'" and nothing more or longer, for even that exclamation was faint; and then, making an impulsive rush, as it were to reach the entrance to the House on the opposite side for safety, I saw him totter forward, not half way, and drop dead between the four pillars which stood there in the centre of the space, with a slight trace of blood issuing from his lips. All this took place ere with moderate speed you could count five."* There were about a score of people in the lobby, and the confusion was necessarily extreme. The body was lifted up by Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, and it was carried into the office of the Speaker's secretary. The assassin was now recognized and seized. The discharged pistol was found on him, and another loaded and primed was taken from his pocket. "Except for his frightful agitation," he was as passive as a child. Mr. Perceval had been shot through the heart, and when the unhappy murderer knew that he was dead, he exclaimed, "I am sorry for it." He mentioned that he had received wrongs from Government. He was ascertained to be a bankrupt Liverpool merchant, John Bellingham. Examined by three magistrates, he was committed to Newgate. On the next day a message from the Regent was presented to the House of Commons, recommending that a provision should be made for Mr. Perceval's family. "By common consent, no other business was done. Lord Castlereagh presented the Message, and moved the Address. In most faces there was an agony of tears; and neither lord Castlereagh, Ponsonby, Whitbread, nor Canning could give a dry utterance to their sentiments."† Friends and political adversaries united in a tribute of honest feeling to the private worth of Perceval. "As a private man," writes Romilly, "I had a very great regard for Perceval. We went the same circuit together, and for many years I lived with him in a very delightful intimacy. No man could be more generous, more kind, or more friendly than he was. No man in private life had a nicer sense of honour. Never was there, I believe, a more affectionate husband, or a more tender parent."‡ The regret at his death led to two great public mistakes. The unhappy Bellingham was tried at the Old Bailey on the fourth day after he had

* "Autobiography of William Jerdan," vol. i. p. 234.

† Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 380. ‡ Romilly, "Diary," May, 1812.

fired the fatal shot. The law authorities would not postpone the trial to receive evidence of his insanity that it was stated could be produced; he was hanged a week after the assassination. The feelings of the House of Commons carried extravagant grants to Perceval's family, beyond the proper measure of his services as a public man.

And now was to come another struggle for power. No man was more busy behind the scenes than the Chancellor. He was authorized by the Regent to learn the sentiments of the Cabinet, whether they thought they could carry on the government with any one of their own members at the head of it. They doubted. Could they carry on the government with Wellesley and Canning? Some said No; some said it was difficult; some said it was very improbable; one said it was very dangerous both to prince and country. But they thought that they should have less chance of "public support for a government of their own, if office should not previously have been offered either to lords Grey and Grenville, or to lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning."* The Chancellor believed that Wellesley and Canning would "bite."—"If they don't, we shall try what we can do without them." They did not bite. Wellesley suggested that a Cabinet should not be formed "on an intermediary principle regarding the Roman Catholic claims, exempt from dangers of instant unqualified concession, and from those of inconsiderate peremptory exclusion." This would not suit the intolerance of the majority. He further required that "the entire resources of the empire might be applied to the great objects of the war." This would not suit those who were hankering after little objects, with their due provision of profitable employment for carpet warriors. The existing Ministry then resolved to keep the work in their own hands. Another authority stepped in. The House of Commons determined upon an Address to the Prince Regent, praying him to take measures for forming "a strong and efficient Administration." The Cabinet now tendered their resignations. The Regent confided to lord Wellesley the formation of a government of which he should be the head, suggesting an application to those still holding office to join him. They had all agreed in a refusal. He was then permitted to apply to lords Grey and Grenville; but there were certain limitations proposed to them to which they could not assent. Lord Wellesley then resigned the commission which he had received; and negotiations were opened direct from the Court with lord Grey and Grenville. They were somewhat too peremptory in requiring that the appointment of the

* Twiss, "Life of Eldon," vol. ii. p. 210.

officers of the household should form part of the ministerial arrangements. There was then called into play an amount of political intrigue which it is quite needless for us to unravel. The attempt to change the government was at an end. Lord Eldon, for three weeks, nearly deserted the duties of the Court of Chancery, to be closeted with the duke of Cumberland. Their business was to devise how that influence could be rendered permanent whose leading principle was to oppose the slightest amelioration of cruel laws; to keep the press in subjection by *ex officio* prosecutions and harsh punishments for what was called libel; to resist, or to discourage, the progress of general education; to encourage commerce by restrictions and prohibitions; to encourage agriculture by keeping food dear; to maintain a paper currency that was a transparent delusion; to support the religion of the State by oppressing all who differed from it; to believe "that all advances towards improvement are retrogradations towards Jacobinism;"* to regard, in a word, the interests of government and of people as conflicting. The Regent was stimulated into hatred of the Whigs. Tory politics were triumphant. Though the ministry still mismanaged the war, they derived their almost sole popularity from the successes of lord Wellington, in the only operation of the war that was founded upon a great principle. They preserved their ascendancy in parliament, not by eloquence and courage, as Pitt had maintained his ascendancy, but by that safe mediocrity which, whether in politics or in literature, is a good marketable commodity, in spite of the Horatian belief in its worthlessness. The Earl of Liverpool, on the 8th. of June, declared in parliament that he had been that day appointed by the Prince Regent as First Commissioner of the Treasury. He maintained his position for many years, during which the intellect of the community was gradually undermining the system which first gave him power; till the wiser of his associates proclaimed their renunciation of that system; till England was becoming a different world from the world of George the Third and the Regency.

The Premiership of the earl of Liverpool did not commence under auspicious circumstances. On the 27th of June, a Message was sent to Parliament from the Prince Regent, on the disturbed state of the country. In Lancashire, parts of Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, there was an organized system of conspiracy for the destruction of machinery. This was known as Luddism—a name derived from that of a poor idiot, Ned Lud, who, thirty years before, in a fit of irritation, had broken two stocking

* Canning's Speech, Feb. 1826.

frames. In the autumn and winter of 1811, these riots had commenced at Nottingham, where the hosiers, from the stagnation of trade, had been obliged to discharge many of the weavers. But a new frame had also been introduced, wider than the one which had long been in use, and which consequently required less manual labour. To destroy these frames was the object of the rioters, whose operations had become truly dangerous at Nottingham, in November, 1811. On February 14th, 1812, Mr. Secretary Ryder moved for leave to bring in a Bill "for the more exemplary punishment of persons destroying or injuring any Stocking or Lace Frames." As the law stood, the breaking of frames was punishable with fourteen years' transportation. It was now proposed to make the offence capital. The Bill passed both Houses very rapidly—nothing easier than to enact the punishment of death as a ready solution of every difficulty in legislating against crime. Murders had now accompanied the destruction of machinery. But the offences did not cease, even when Luddites, not murderers, were hanged under the new law. In June, as we learn from the Regent's Message, the riots had become insurrections. Lord Sidmouth was Home Secretary, and he recommended the measures which Parliament adopted, to give powers to the magistracy to search for arms; to provide for the instant dispersion of tumultuous assemblies; and to allow magistrates of neighbouring counties a concurrent jurisdiction, so that the escape of offenders might be more difficult. Gradually the disturbances ceased. A Special Commission was held at York in November, 1812, when many Luddites were convicted, and sixteen were executed.

The insurrections of workmen were essentially connected with the general depression of industry consequent upon the commercial position of England. For four or five years the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, and the Orders in Council of the ministry of Mr. Perceval, had not acted as separate cutting instruments for maiming the trading intercourse of all nations; ~~but they~~ had become terrible shears for the destruction of the only commerce, that of neutrals, by which the subjects of the two great belligerent governments could have their wants supplied by the interchange of their productions. The Orders in Council of November, 1807, which declared France and all its tributary States to be in a condition of Blockade, made all vessels subject to seizure which should attempt to trade with any parts of the world thus blockaded; and all neutral vessels, either going to, or clearing out from, a hostile port, were required to touch at a British port, and pay Custom dues. Their effects are thus described in one of a series

of papers on this question: "Taken in combination with the Berlin decreë, they interdict the whole foreign trade of all neutral nations; they prohibit everything which that decree had allowed; and they enjoin those very things which are there made a ground of confiscation." * In a subsequent article it is maintained that the diminution of our foreign trade, in 1808, amounted to fourteen millions sterling. America was the only great neutral power; and had been a large purchaser of British commodities, previously to the Berlin decree. But when the Orders in Council made the prohibition of the neutral trade still more difficult to be overcome, the complaints of the Americans became loud against our government. France saw the advantage of stimulating their hostility to England, and gave an unofficial assurance that the Berlin decree should not apply to American vessels. The British government would not on that account relax the Orders in Council, insisting that America should demand from France a formal renunciation of the decree. In March, 1808, the legality of the Orders was contested in Parliament. In April, the merchants of London, Liverpool, and other towns were heard at the bar of the House of Commons, through their counsel, Mr. Brougham. This occasion was the true commencement of the great career of the orator and statesman who still flourishes with undiminished energy—in a generation which reads of what he did at the beginning of the century as part of the history of another age. His masterly speech made a sensible impression upon the country. His exertions on this occasion speedily brought Brougham into Parliament. In April, 1809, a new Order in Council was issued, by which the blockade was confined to France itself, to Holland, to part of Germany, and to the North of Italy. A system of licensing vessels to proceed to foreign ports was also introduced. But the position of America was very threatening. Napoleon was too much enamoured of his Continental System frankly to allow her flag to enter his ports,—lest it should cover British merchandise. Had he not clung to this policy—had he not endeavoured to make America the enemy of England without an official abandonment of his own decrees—the democratic party of the United States would have probably compelled a declaration of war against us in 1811. There had been serious quarrels also with regard to the right of search for British sailors serving on board American ships of war. Mutual ill-will was growing up between the two governments. The continued pressure of the Orders in Council appeared likely to lead to immediate hostilities;

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. xii. p. 229.

but the Opposition could not readily produce any effect on Parliament. A motion of lord Lansdowne, which contemplated the entire removal of the Orders, was rejected in the House of Lords on the 28th of February, 1812. A similar motion made by Mr. Brougham was rejected in the House of Commons. On the 3rd of April an Order appeared in the "Gazette," which revoked the Orders as regarded America, on the condition that she should revoke an order which excluded British armed vessels from her ports, whilst those of France were admitted. This was not sufficient. During May and part of June, Committees of Inquiry into the effect of the Orders were sitting in both Houses. On the 16th of June, the examinations being closed, Mr. Brougham moved in the Commons that the Crown should be addressed to recall or suspend the Orders unconditionally. Ministers then conceded the question; and on the 23rd of June an unconditional suspension of the Orders, as far as America was concerned, appeared in the "Gazette." The concession was too late. On the 18th of June the American government had declared war against Great Britain.

This most unhappy quarrel produced conflicts at sea and on land, some of which were honourable to our arms, and others somewhat disgraceful to the mode in which war was conducted towards brethren of the same common stock. Hostilities were not at an end till six months after the period to which the general narrative of this volume extends. We prefer, therefore, to relate the incidents of this war consecutively, in a separate chapter of our concluding volume.

The historian of the Empire pours forth his deep regrets that Napoleon, by timely concessions and courtesies towards the United States in 1811, had not urged the Congress then to sanction such a measure of hostility against Great Britain as was resolved upon in 1812. "Let us figure to ourselves," he says, "what would have been the effect of such a declaration of war a year before, when England, finding herself without allies in Europe, should have seen a new enemy rise up beyond the seas; when the Americans, the only violators of the Continental Blockade, should have given it their ardent co-operation; when it would have been then impossible to reproach Russia with her encouragement of them in this violation, and the war with her would have been without a pretext; when France might have sent twenty thousand men with a new Lafayette, in one of the many squadrons resting idle in our ports; when, in fine, our intact force would have been able, by a last blow struck in Spain, to bring the maritime war to an end! In 1812,

after the disaster of Moscow, the war of America with England was nothing but a useless piece of good fortune for France." *

We may add that the American war of three years, painful as it was, produced no interruption of our resistance to Napoleon; and it excited very little interest in the British public, in comparison with the greater events of that extraordinary time.

* Thiers, tome xv. p. 38.

CHAPTER XVI.

Campaign of 1812 in the Peninsula.—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.—Siege of Badajoz.—Difficulties of Lord Wellington.—Advance into Spain.—Battle of Salamanca.—Siege of Burgos.—Retreat from Burgos.—Invasion of Russia.—Smolensk and Borodino.—Conflagration of Moscow.—Retreat of the French.—Pursued by the Russians.—Continual battles.—Horrors of the Retreat.—Destruction of the French army.—Napoleon's flight.

"How vast will the events of our day appear to those who shall be at a sufficient distance from them to see their real magnitude." Thus thought Francis Horner in December, 1812.* Nearly half a century has passed since the author of this History trusted with "undoubting mind" the new promise of the time that the nations should be free, that his country should be safe. Journalism, in which he then took a humble part, was generally exultant; and the more so, when evil forboders were confident and clamorous. The imaginations of the young and ardent were, however, then too powerfully stirred by the great incidents of the war, to see the essential connexion of one event with another,—how the persistence of the sagacious captain of the Peninsula had roused the resistance of Russia to the all-grasping tyranny of France; how the deliverance of Germany was kindled by the fires of Moscow. We now see clearly, what was then only dimly seen, that Eighteen hundred and twelve was the inevitable "beginning of the end,"—that the end would have been Universal Empire if England had quailed. The great image, whose brightness was excellent, whose form was terrible, whose head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay, was smote upon his feet, and they were broken to pieces: "Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor; and the wind carried them away that no place was found for them."†

On the 1st of January, 1812, lord Wellington announced to lord

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 137.

† Daniel, chap. ii. v. 33, 34. We quote the words of the prophet, not with the least reference to their theological interpretation, but as presenting a grand image of a sudden ruin, when the heterogeneous extremities of a gigantic fabric were shivered.

Liverpool that he proposed to make an attack upon Ciudad Rodrigo. He was about once more to undertake an offensive war in Spain. He was about to lead his army, in the depth of winter, from their cantonments on the Coa, to make a sudden rush upon the strong fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo; and then, if successful, to make a similar assault upon Badajoz. The time was favourable for so bold an enterprise. Napoleon, contemplating the possibility of a war with Russia, had withdrawn sixty thousand troops from Spain. The French marshals, who had separate commands, and were each jealous of the other, were carrying on distinct operations in various provinces, without any paramount unity of plan. The emperor wrote to them precise and peremptory instructions which often were impossible to carry into effect. Their correspondence with king Joseph at Madrid, with each other, and with their own generals, whose divisions were spread over a large extent of country to obtain subsistence, were constantly intercepted by bands of Guerillas, who stopped the couriers, and often cut off the communications for successive weeks. It was difficult, if not impossible, to find a Spaniard who would undertake, for any bribe, to carry a despatch, much less to become a spy. Wellington, apparently inert in his winter quarters, had made all the preparations in his power for the reduction of the two great fortresses that were essential to the progress of a successful campaign. He was still without the necessary means of carrying on a regular siege, but he organized all the resources within his reach, and relied upon the valour of his troops to accomplish what he had not the means otherwise of performing. He wanted abundant artillery; he wanted officers and men experienced in the attack and defence of fortified places. Colonel Jones, one of his most skilful engineers, says that his comrades in the Peninsular war were not more advanced in the art of taking towns than the soldiers of Phillip II. To attack places by battering them in breach at a great distance, and then to hazard all in trusting to the bravery of the storming parties, who were unprotected by works, was the system pursued in the British armies. It was the system, says colonel Jones, of the sieges of the Low Countries, under the duke of Alba and the prince of Parma. We may add, that it was the system of the first siege by Englishmen in which we hear of cannon being used—that of Harfleur. Shakspeare makes Henry exclaim—

“Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more.”

The like cry might have gone through the ranks on those terrible nights when Craufurd led his division to the ramparts of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Picton scaled the walls of the castle of Badajoz.

Marmont had withdrawn a large portion of the garrison from Ciudad Rodrigo, in the confidence that Wellington would not move out of his quarters in an inclement season. The country was covered with snow. The means of transport were insufficient. The Despatches of our untiring general show how he was occupied in collecting carts, and ordering their loading with engineering stores and with shot and shells. His perplexities were great with Portuguese and Spanish carters and muleteers. "What do you think," he wrote to lord Liverpool, "of empty carts taking two days to go ten miles on a good road!"* At last, the preparations were complete. Part of Wellington's army passed the Agueda on the 8th of January. The same day Ciudad Rodrigo was invested; and an external redoubt on a hill was stormed and taken. On the 13th and 14th two convents outside the walls were surprised and carried by assault. Two breaches having been effected on the 19th,—and Marmont being known to be advancing to relieve the garrison,—orders were given to storm that evening. Wellington had arranged all the necessary dispositions for the assault. At seven o'clock three columns under the direction of general Picton, and a fourth column under general Craufurd, marched towards the breaches; whilst a false attack was made by the Portuguese brigade, commanded by general Pack, on the other side of the river. This became a real attack. Picton's division, which attacked on the north, where the chief breach had been made, was twice repulsed before it could penetrate into the town. Craufurd attacked the smaller breach, and was successful; but he was mortally wounded. General Mackinnon, who had led his brigade to the assault, was blown up by the explosion of one of the French magazines on the ramparts. In less than half an hour from the time of the attack the garrison surrendered. The capture of Ciudad Rodrigo was amongst the most brilliant actions of the British army. Their coolness and firmness overcame every obstacle presented by a brave and skilful enemy. It is painful to relate that the troops disgraced their victory by the most frightful excesses. They set fire to some houses; they sacked others with a pitiless fury. They were mad with excitement and with drink. In the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo a thousand of the British and Portuguese were killed and wounded.

In six weeks from the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, the army of the Allies was on its march southward from the Coa to the Guadiana. It would have been sooner on its march had the means of transport been more effective, and the roads more practicable. Time

* "Despatches," vol. viii. p. 536.

was of the utmost importance to Wellington, and secrecy in his plans was not less important to be preserved. He was to attack a place for the deliverance of which three French armies might have been expected to co-operate. His own counsels were well kept; but he had to endure the most vexatious delays from the ignorance and obstinacy of the Portuguese authorities. At Evora he could not obtain a single carriage, and he was thus obliged to postpone the investment of Badajoz for several days beyond the term he had assigned. In the meantime, general Philippon, the French commander, had become aware of the approach of the allied army, and had applied himself to strengthen the works, and to prepare the most deadly means of defence. On the 16th of March, the Guadiana was crossed by Wellington, and Badajoz was invested. On the 26th the Pecurina, a strong fort in advance of Badajoz, was taken by storm. The Pecurina became a position for firing on the works of the town. Regular parallels were formed, and batteries were established to fire upon every assailable point. Forty-eight pieces of artillery were in constant play; and the sap against the outward works was steadily advancing. The corps of Royal Sappers and Miners was then being organized; but at Badajoz they had not assumed the dignity of that name, but were called "Royal Military Artificers."* There were of this corps only a hundred and fifteen, of all ranks, present at this siege. It was the 6th of April before three breaches were practicable, so as to justify the assault. On that evening eighteen thousand men were ready to march to the attack. The night set in dismally, as if to draw a curtain over the sanguinary deeds that were then to be done. The darkness was so great, that at ten o'clock, when the columns began to advance for an assault upon all points at once, they could not be seen at twenty paces distant. The men advanced, most of them with each a sack of hay on his back to throw into the ditch to diminish its height. Some carried ladders. They were at the foot of the glacis when a sudden explosion was succeeded by an avalanche of fiery missiles which descended into the ditch, where the English columns appeared to be in the midst of a volcano. Great was the destruction; but the undaunted men rallied, and again hurried to the breaches. Again they are encountered with bursting shells, hand grenades, and exploding powder barrels. The summit gained, they are met by a *chevaux-de-frise* formed of sabre blades. At each of the three breaches were the same ter-

* See Quartermaster Conolly's interesting history of the "Royal Sappers and Miners," 1857.

rible defences. At the breach of the bastion of the Trinity, the struggle endured for two hours, when three thousand of the besiegers were killed or disabled. One who was present has described "the horror and grandeur of the scene" during two hours: "The constant explosion of shells, mines, and trains of powder; the vivid illuminations caused by the light-balls thrown every five or ten minutes; the incessant peals of musketry and roar of cannon, added to the huzzas of our fine fellows, all united, formed a scene only to be compared to Pandemonium."* At midnight Wellington was watching the terrible scene which was passing. His face was pale, when an officer came to inform him how ill the attack was proceeding. He was anxious, but he was cool. He calmly gave his orders that the troops should be formed again for a fresh assault. But another officer came to say that the division under the orders of Picton, which had been charged to escalate the castle, had taken it. On another side Walker's brigade had also scaled the walls and entered the town. Again were the other divisions led to the attack of the breaches. The defence was feebly conducted after this reverse which the besieged had sustained. The French troops became disorganized. The British advanced to the breaches with the confidence of victory, and found that resistance had ceased. At six in the morning general Philippon capitulated; the garrison surrendering without conditions. The loss of the British and Portuguese was estimated at five thousand men. "When the extent of the night's havoc was made known to lord Wellington, the firmness of his nature gave way for a moment, and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers."† He had more still to endure. He had in some degree to be mixed up with the disgrace of the enormities which these soldiers committed, after the town was in their power, during two days and two nights. But there can be no doubt that he endeavoured to restrain their excesses, however ineffectually. On the day after the assault, he issued an Order which says, "It is now full time that the plunder of Badajoz should cease The Commander of the Forces has ordered the Provost Marshal into the town, and he has orders to execute any men he may find in the act of plunder, after he shall arrive there." A Spanish historian, Count Toréno, says "the exhortations of the officers were powerless; and lord Wellington himself was menaced with the bayonets of the soldiers,

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 311—Letter of Colonel Jones (then Major).

† Napier

who prevented him entering the place to restrain their disorders." * What he could not prevent he severely punished.

On the 13th of April lord Wellington began his march back to the north, with the main body of his army. On the 22nd he was at Penamacor. From this place he wrote a very remarkable letter to lord Liverpool, which explains some of the difficulties with which he had to contend. He should have been in Andalusia, he says, at this moment, at the head of forty thousand men, and should have obliged Soult to withdraw from thence, if Don Carlos de España had acted as he was desired, in respect to Ciudad Rodrigo. That place was now safe. He should determine upon his line of operations during the summer, when Ciudad Rodrigo should have been fully provisioned, and when he should have intelligence of the state of Marmont's preparations to endeavour to take it by other means beside blockade. "When I say I shall determine upon the line of operations which I shall follow, I ought to add, provided I shall have money to follow any operations at all." The Treasury and the Commissary-in-chief had disapproved of his sanctioning bargains for importing specie from Gibraltar, for bills to be granted at a more disadvantageous rate of exchange than the market rate of Lisbon. For a small difference in the percentage the government left the army to starve. The engagements for the payment for meat for the troops it was thought could not be met. "If we are obliged to stop that payment, your lordship will do well to prepare to recall the army, as it will be quite impossible to carry up salt meat, as well as bread, to the troops from the sea-coast." † If the evidence of the indecision and supineness of the government were not conclusive, we could with difficulty believe that after the tremendous loss incurred in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz, no measures whatever were taken to send Wellington reinforcements. There were then sixty-five thousand regular troops at home.‡ It was at that period perfectly clear that there would be war between France and Russia, and that if any decisive effort was ever to be made in the Peninsula the time had arrived for strengthening the hands of the one general who had sagacity and firmness to hold his ground, and to achieve great triumphs, with the smallest means. There seems to have been a constant desire to let lord Wellington experiment upon the possibility of obtaining the maximum of success with the minimum of power.

But lord Wellington went on his course, in no wise disheartened even by neglect and coldness,—by evil prognostications in England,

* Quoted in Brialmont, tome i. p. 469.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 318.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 512.

and by violent jealousies in Spain,—but most of all, by being promised assistance which never came. Lord William Bentinck was to have come from Sicily, with a large body of troops, and to have landed on the eastern coast of Spain, so as to have drawn off some of the French armies that were gathering round the Allies. "We are to find money as we can," writes Wellington on the 15th July, at the most economical rate of exchange; and then comes lord William Bentinck to Gibraltar, and carries off four million of dollars, giving one shilling for each more than we give; and, after all, he sends his troops upon some scheme to some part of Italy, and not to the eastern coast of the Peninsula, as ordered by government, and arranged with me."* Surely the fortitude which could meet such disappointments and difficulties with an equal mind is as greatly to be admired as the military skill which, by an union of boldness with caution, could encounter great risks and achieve victory in the face of danger. Wellington had advanced into Spain on the 13th of June. On the 17th he appeared before Salamanca; had been received in the town with great enthusiasm; and on the 29th had captured the forts by which the interior of the place was defended. Marmont expected that these forts would have detained Wellington fifteen days. They were taken on the fifth day. For the first fortnight of July the French army and the Allied army were on opposite banks of the Douro—Marmont on the northern bank; Wellington on the southern. It was a singular interval of rest in that eager warfare. The French and English soldiers bathed together in the stream, or swam over each to the opposite bank, and talked and interchanged civilities as comrades rather than as deadly foes. On the 16th, two of Marmont's divisions crossed the Douro; and Wellington concentrated his army on the Guareña, an affluent of the Douro. There were various manœuvres of Marmont till the 20th; by which he established his communications with king Joseph and the army of the centre, which was advancing from Madrid to join him. On that day he crossed the Guareña, and advanced towards the Tormes, Wellington closely following his movements. At one time the French and English were moving in parallel lines, within half cannon shot of each other. On the 21st, lord Wellington wrote to lord Bathurst, that the enemy's object was to cut off his communication with Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca; that he had no superiority of numbers over the single army that was opposed to him; that the French possessed double his own force of artillery; that the army of the king was expected to join that of Marmont. "I have therefore determined to cross the

* "Despatches," vol. ix. p. 288.

Tormes, if the enemy should, to cover Salamanca as long as I can; and, above all, not to give up our communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; and not to fight an action unless under very advantageous circumstances, or it should become absolutely necessary." *

On the 21st of July, both the hostile armies crossed the Tormes. Wellington took up a position with his left resting on the southern bank of the river, and his right on one of the two hills called Dos Arapiles. The battle fought on the next day is thus sometimes called the battle of Salamanca, and sometimes the battle of Arapiles.† On the morning of the 22nd, the contest was begun with some sharp skirmishing. The French had been in motion since daybreak. By their first movements they gained a great advantage in obtaining possession of the more distant Arapiles. They there established a battery, which commanded the road to Ciudad Rodrigo. At this point, which commanded a view of the various operations of the field, Marmont placed himself. Wellington, in the same manner, saw from a height behind the village of Arapiles, to which he had moved, the evolutions of the French, which went on till two o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour, under cover of a heavy cannonade, Marmont "extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops and by his fire, our post on that of the two Arapiles which we possessed, and from thence to attack and break our line, or at all events to render difficult any movement of ours to our right. The extension of his line to his left, however, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him." ‡ These are the plain words of a business-like narrative. Words describing the same circumstances, which have all the fire of poetry, move the heart as with a trumpet: "Marmont's first arrangements had occupied several hours, but as they gave no positive indications of his designs, Wellington, ceasing to watch them, had retired from his Hermanito; but when he was told the French left was in motion, pointing towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road, he returned to the rock, and observed their movements for some time with a stern contentment. Their left wing was entirely separated from the centre; the fault was flagrant; and he fixed it with the stroke of a thunderbolt. A few orders issued from his lips like the incantation of a wizard." § Pakenham's division, which was on the extreme right, was directed,

* "Despatches," vol. ix, p. 298.

† These hills were also called the Hermanitos.

‡ Despatch to Earl Bathurst, July 24.

§ Napier.

with two brigades of artillery and some squadrons of cavalry, against the left of the French. The divisions of Cole and Leith, and the divisions of Clinton and Hope, were sent against the French front. The Portuguese brigade of Pack was to retake the more distant Arapiles which the French had occupied. When Marmont saw all these troops come spontaneously to surprise him in the midst of his evolutions, he comprehended the extent of his error, and sought to repair it, by ordering his left to fall back immediately on the centre. "The time was passed; for Wellington, remembering the fine manœuvres of Frederick at Rosbach, and of Napoleon at Austerlitz, had sent half of his troops to engage the left wing, whilst the other half engaged the centre." * The left wing of the French made a disorderly retreat towards their right, leaving three thousand prisoners. Their centre was driven in; but their right remained unbroken. Marmont had been wounded; and general Clausel, who had joined him with his reinforcements, took the command. He rallied the scattered French; formed them into a new position; and made a determined stand, until a fresh attack ordered by Wellington, compelled them to abandon the ground, and to retreat towards Alba de Tormes. Night stopped the pursuit. The victory of Salamanca was one of the triumphs of genius—of its power instantly to seize the opportunity—to watch, and to wait, and then to strike—the power of taking the flood-tide which leads on to fortune. In Wellington this power was not a sudden impulse. It was the concentrated effort of a mind which had previously calculated all the circumstances of his own position and of that of his adversary. "Late in the evening of this great day," says Napier, "I saw him behind my regiment then marching towards the ford. He was alone. The flush of victory was on his brow, his eyes were eager and watchful; but his voice was calm and even gentle." On the morning of the 23rd three battalions of the French rear surrendered to the British Cavalry, who had come up with them. "The battle of Salamanca was incontestably the most decisive that the Allies had then fought in the Peninsula. It established the reputation of the British army, and especially manifested, beyond the possibility of doubt, the brilliant qualities of its general—a solid judgment, a coup d'œil prompt and certain, a vigorous execution, and a rare skilfulness in moving his troops. Thibaudean has said with truth, that the day of the Arapiles marked the end of the French occupation of Spain." †

Napoleon received the news of the battle of Salamanca on the 2nd of September, when he was at Ghiast, about twenty miles from

* Brialmont, tome ii. p. 32.

† *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Borodino. He was enraged against Marmont, the unfortunate duke of Ragusa. Wait, he said to the minister at war, till his wounds are cured, and his recovery is nearly complete; and then ask him, why did he offer battle without the orders of his Commander-in-chief? Why did he not ask for orders as to his conduct, dependent as that ought to have been on the general system of my armies in Spain? "His insubordination has caused all these disasters." * Having entered upon the greatest enterprise of his ambitious career, the emperor of the French thus attempted to regulate the most distant movements of the great machinery with which he had thought to govern the world. This letter was written five days before the battle of Borodino, and twelve days before Napoleon entered Moscow. The intelligence which he had received would also have reached, at the beginning of September, the emperor Alexander. That it would have produced a sensible influence upon the determination of the Russians to resist their invaders, there can be no doubt. The duke of Wellington in later years said, "Salamanca relieved the whole south of Spain at once; changed the character of the war there; and was felt even in Russia." † The indignation of Napoleon against Marmont was in the proportion in which he felt that the moral effects of Wellington's victory were damaging to the prestige of his power. It appeared to him a gloomy presage. It was hailed throughout Germany and in other parts of Europe as the dawn of a new era.

The official account of the victory of Salamanca reached London on the 15th of August. On the 19th, lord Liverpool wrote to lord Wellington to offer his congratulations. He says, "I have never in my life seen anything equal to the enthusiasm which the knowledge of this event has excited throughout the town, and throughout every part of the country from which accounts of its reception have yet been obtained." The news of Wellington having entered Madrid on the 12th of August arrived in London on the 6th of September. On the 17th the triumphant general writes to his friend colonel Malcolm in England, "I am among a people mad with joy for their deliverance from their oppressors. God send that my good fortune may continue, and that I may be the instrument of securing their independence and happiness." ‡ There was a cloud coming over that bright day. He was without money, for drafts upon the English Treasury could not be realized at Madrid. No reinforcements had reached him, to fill up the gap of his loss at Salamanca. Clausei's army in the north had been large-

* "Letters to Joseph," vol. ii. p. 256.

† "Quarterly Review," vol. xcii. p. 526.

‡ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 384.

ly reinforced. Soult, Suchet, and king Joseph might form a junction in the south, and come upon him with forces three times as great as his own. To linger at Madrid was impossible. Leaving two divisions in the capital, Wellington marched on the 1st of September for Valladolid; and, continuing his northward movement, on the 19th entered Burgos. The castle of Burgos, a place of great natural strength, had been carefully fortified, and had a garrison of two thousand men. It was immediately invested; the possession of the fort being absolutely necessary for the security of Wellington's army. For a month the siege proceeded with very doubtful success. Breaches were effected in the first line of works; but the garrison made sorties and occasioned great loss. A breach by mining was also made in the second line; and, on the 18th of October, orders were given to storm it. The attack failed. The army of the north and the armies of the south were advancing to raise the siege. To continue the investment of Burgos would have been fatal. On the 21st, Wellington retired in good order to Placentia. His rear was repeatedly attacked, but there was no serious engagement. The sufferings of the army from the difficulty of obtaining provisions were immense. Their disorganization was proportionate. The failure at Burgos—according to Wellington's own account, written with the noble candour that was ready to acknowledge mistakes—was chiefly caused by one circumstance; he took there the most inexperienced instead of the best troops; and he had not sufficient means of transport. "I see," he says, in a letter to lord Liverpool, "that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege. It was entirely my own act. In regard to means, there were ample means, both at Madrid and Santander for the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was means of transporting ordnance and military stores to the place where it was desirable to use them." By the middle of November the Allied forces were in their old stations within the frontiers of Portugal. Wellington's head quarters were at Ciudad Rodrigo. The campaign of 1812 in the Peninsula was at an end. There will be six months of apparent inaction; and then the results of another campaign, after five years of incessant struggle, will cause the British general's labour and anxiety to be properly appreciated.

The eternal friendship between Napoleon and Alexander which had been sworn at Tilsit, was threatened to be dissolved by causes of which the two emperors at first took little heed. Princes might submit to the Continental decrees of France, but nations were

more difficult to persuade or to coerce. The Russian people, and especially the Russian landholders, who were deprived of the usual markets for the produce of their estates, compelled the government to issue a ukase by which commodities were to be introduced into Russian ports unless they should appear to belong to subjects of Great Britain. This restriction was easy to be evaded, and the trade between the two countries became really opened. Napoleon was haughty and indignant. But Alexander dared not impose any severer law upon his subjects; and he had now the support of Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, who also refused to submit to the dictator, who had seized and confiscated fifty Swedish merchantmen, on the ground of their contraband trade with England. In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Sweden. Napoleon had been gradually collecting large bodies of troops on the Vistula. He had levied the conscription of 1812, although that of 1811 was only just completed. It was clear that an offensive war was in preparation. At the beginning of May, the Russian minister at Paris presented an official note, to the intent that the differences between the governments might be easily settled if the French troops were withdrawn from Pomerania and the Duchy of Warsaw, where they were evidently stationed to threaten the Russian frontier. Bonaparte said he would not be dictated to by any foreign sovereign, and he sent the ambassador his passports. On the 9th of May he left Paris, with his Austrian empress. At Dresden he received the homage of his tributary princes; and there, too, came the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, to offer their contingents for the invasion of Russia. Splendid were the ceremonials with which the vassals did fealty to their liege lord. The numbers of the confederated army which, on the 24th and 25th of June, passed the Niemen, the boundary of the Russian empire, have been variously stated. The lowest estimate places them at half a million of men. A detailed return, extant in the French War-office, gives the numbers as 651,358 infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers; 187,121 horses, and 1372 pieces of ordnance. To meet this mighty force, the Russian armies only comprised 254,356 men.* But there was something stronger than these mighty masses of invaders,—the determination of the Russian people to resist to the last extremity. It was in this spirit that the officers and soldiers of Alexander's army held that to ruin the invader they must retire before him into the heart of Russia without giving battle, and, destroying every thing before him in their retreat, to leave nothing but ravaged fields, so

* These returns are in Sir Robert Wilson's "Invasion of Russia," p. 10 and p. 21.

that the modern Pharaoh and his hosts should perish in the immensity of the void, as the ancient Pharaoh perished in the waters.*

The French armies entered Lithuania without encountering any opposition. They ravaged the country, feeding their horses on green corn; and when the main bodies left it, entirely devastated, they left behind them a hundred thousand men, dead, or in hospitals, or marauding in scattered parties through the districts where the locusts who had passed over had left nothing to be consumed. On the 16th of August they were under the walls of Smolensk, about two hundred and eighty miles from Moscow. The Russians were there in force, and a great battle took place. When the French entered the city it had been evacuated, and they found only burning ruins. The Russians continued their retreat towards Moscow, Napoleon following them. On the 7th of September was fought the sanguinary battle of Borodino. The sun had risen with extraordinary brilliancy, and Napoleon hailed it as the twin sun of Austerlitz. The fighting lasted two days. On each side there were forty thousand killed and wounded. Each army imagined itself lord of the field; but the Russian army continued its retreat to Moscow. †

On the 14th of September before day dawn, the Russian troops commenced filing through the city. They were soon accompanied by all the inhabitants and populace who could find any means of conveyance. "The incidents and the whole scene of the evacuation of a great capital may be conceived better than described. The Russians, however, have preserved so much of their nomad habits, that they were much more quickly packed and equipped for their emigration than the inhabitants of any other European city would have been. The army, indeed, since the first day's retreat from Smolensk, had been accompanied by a wandering nation. All the towns, villages, and hamlets were abandoned as the columns appeared. The old and infirm, the women and children were placed with the moveable effects, and the 'Dii Penates,' on their kabitgas or telegas—one and two horse carts which no peasant is without." ‡ On the same day Napoleon arrived at Moscow with his guards, and was astounded at the solitude which reigned everywhere. "His feelings had been excited to the highest degree of pride and glowing expectation. He had anticipated his reception by a submissive magistracy and humbled people, imploring clemency; and dreamt that in the palace of the Czars he would have it

* Thiers, tome xiii. p. 403.

† Wilson, "Invasion of Russia," p. 130 to 155.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

in his power to promise pardon, protection, and peace to themselves and their sovereign." *

Napoleon took up his residence in the suburb of Moscow. He had commanded his soldiers to bivouac outside the city, but at night many entered, and sought in plunder and riot some compensation for their long endurance of severe privations. That very night the alarm of fire was given in various quarters. The great bazaar with its ten thousand shops was in a blaze. The Crown magazines, with vast stores of wine and spirits, were in a blaze. Not a fire-engine, not a bucket, could be procured. They had all been carried off. The next day the French emperor transferred his quarters to the Kremlin. Day after day the astonished soldiers saw the canopy of smoke and flame spreading over the city of a thousand domes and minarets. On the 21st, the Russian army was established within twenty-five miles of Moscow. They knew that the progress of their invader had been stayed. The conflagration went on, till, of forty thousand houses in stone, only two hundred escaped; of eight thousand in wood, five hundred only were standing; of sixteen hundred churches, eight hundred were consumed.† The Kremlin itself, on the 16th, had become uninhabitable, and Napoleon left it to take up his quarters outside the city. A furious wind carried showers of sparks far and near. On the 20th, when Napoleon returned, a heavy rain had extinguished the flames, but only one tenth of the city was left unconsumed. Only those provisions had escaped being burnt which were left in the cellars of the houses. What was the cause of this terrible destruction? Was it the resolved purpose of a patriotic devotion producing a havoc more awful than any event which history records; or was it accident? There can be no doubt that it was part of the same determined system of resistance which had driven the whole population from the burning villages on the road from Smolensk, and had led forth the inhabitants of Moscow, with the exception of the miserable thousands who were unable to move, to seek for other shelter than in the homes of the devoted city. Rostopchin, the governor of Moscow, "could neither deny nor adopt the act." But that he had a strong conviction of what was public virtue may be gathered from the fact, that he afterwards set fire with his own hands to his magnificent palace in the village of Woronow, when a division of the French were approaching on the 4th of October, and that he affixed upon a pillar these ominous words: "The inhabitants of this property, to the number of seventeen hundred and twenty, quit it at your approach, and I voluntarily set the

* Wilson, "Invasion of Russia," p. 167.

† Wilson, p. 172.

house on fire that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen, I abandoned to you my two houses at Moscow, with their furniture and contents, worth half a million of roubles. Here you will only find ashes." * The French evacuated Moscow on the 19th of October. Snow had begun to fall. An early winter was setting in.

Adequately to describe the incidents of that terrible destruction of the French Grand Army, which occurred from the 19th of October to the 13th of December, when a miserable remnant re-crossed the Niemen, would require a volume—as indeed several separate volumes have been written on that fearful catastrophe. The march of the French was a succession of battles with the pursuing Russians. The troops were skilfully led; their courage rarely failed, even when starving and perishing by the way side with the extremity of cold. Clouds of Cossacks hung upon their path, leaving them not an hour's safety. The most popular narrative, that of the Count de Ségur, has been held to contain many exaggerations. That of sir Robert Wilson has many striking details of horror, amidst a critical military view of the operations of the Russians in which he is not sparing of blame. There is a brief account by Desprez, the aide-de-camp of king Joseph, who was sent to Napoleon to propitiate his anger against his brother, and against Marmont, for the defeat at Salamanca. The emperor kept him at Moscow, and when the evacuation took place, he accompanied the division of marshal Mortier, till it reached Wilna, where the French had staid till the 16th of December, when the Russians were coming upon them. The aide-de-camp, in a letter to king Joseph, dated from Paris, on the 3rd of January, says that the army when he quitted it was in the most horrible misery. For a long time previously the disorder and losses had been frightful; the artillery and cavalry had ceased to exist. The different regiments were all mixed together; the soldiers marching pell-mell, and only seeking to prolong existence. Thousands of wandering men fell into the hands of the Cossacks. The number of prisoners was very great, but that of the dead exceeded it. During a month there were no rations, and dead horses were the only resource. The severity of the climate rendered hunger more fatal.† The truth could not be wholly hidden, even by Napoleon. He could not conceal that of four hundred thousand Frenchmen who had crossed the Niemen in May, with the persuasion of their invincibility, not twenty thousand had returned to the Vistula. The destruction could not be concealed from the bereaved families who mourned their sons and their husbands. On the 3rd of Decem-

* Wilson, p. 180.

† "Letters to King Joseph," p. 245.

ber, the emperor issued his twenty-ninth and last bulletin, which made France and the world comprehend, in some degree, how the invasion of Russia had ended. For the first time he then spoke of his retreat; he avowed such part of his misfortunes as he could not wholly deny; he attributes his calamities to the severity of the weather. On the 5th, in the middle of the night, he quitted his army at Smorgoni, travelling in a sledge, accompanied by Caulaincourt, a Polish interpreter, his mamlook Rustan, and a valet. He arrived in Paris on the night of the 18th of December.

CHAPTER XVII.

German spirit.—The Campaign.—Armistice.—The Battle of Vittoria.—Battle of Dresden.—Death of Moreau.—Battle of Leipzig.—Napoleon's retreat.—Wellington on the Pyrenees.—San Sebastian.—The British army in France.—Battles of Wellington and Soult.—Napoleon prepares for a campaign in France.—Battles with Blücher and Schwarzenberg.—Paris capitulated to the Allies.—Toulouse.—Abdication of Napoleon.—Peace of Paris.—Public joy in England.—The Allied Sovereigns.—Wellington thanked by Parliament.—The Speaker's harangue.

THERE is a description of the state of public feeling in Germany at the beginning of 1813, which shows how the continent was awakening from its torpor. The writer was a Professor in the University of Breslau: "The 29th bulletin had appeared: every artful expression in it seemed to endeavour vainly to conceal the news of a total defeat. The vision of a wonderful agitated future rose in every mind with all its hopes and terrors: it was breathed out at first in tones scarcely audible; even those who had believed that unbridled ambition would find its check in the land which it had desolated, could not realize the horrible destruction of a victorious army,—an army which had for fifteen years, with growing might, excited first the admiration, then the terror, and, lastly, the paralyzed dismay of all the continental nations, and which had at length been overtaken by a fearful judgment, more wonderful than its conquests. But the strange event was there; reports no longer to be doubted crowded in upon us,—the distant voice approached,—the portentous words sounded clearer and clearer,—and at last the loud call to rise was shouted through the land. Then did the flood of feeling burst from hearts where it had been long pent up,—fuller and freer did it flow; then the long-hidden love to king and country flamed brightly out, and the dullest minds were animated by the wild enthusiasm. Every one looked for a tremendous crisis, but the moment was not yet come for action, and while resting in breathless expectation, thousands and thousands became every hour stronger still to meet it." *

The passionate impulses of the people of Prussia were powerful enough to make their sovereign resolve to endure no longer his state of ignominious vassalage. He first made a proposal to Na-

* "Memoirs of Henry Steffens."

pooleon, with the consent of Alexander, whom he met at Breslau, that the French should evacuate Dantzic, and all the Prussian fortresses on the Oder, and retire behind the Elbe into Saxony. The Russian army should in that case remain behind the Vistula. Napoleon contemptuously spurned the proposition. Frederick-William and Alexander then concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive. Austria decided to remain neutral. Hostilities immediately began. The French quitted Berlin and Dresden. The old spirit of Germany, —the spirit of Arminius, which eighteen centuries before had driven the Roman legions beyond the Rhine, had again awakened. Secret Societies had cherished this spirit, and now it no longer needed to be secret. The Preacher called upon his Congregation to arm; the Professor told his Class that they must now learn to fight. At nightfall in every city bands of young Germans shouted forth the songs of Arndt; and every student and every apprentice could join in the chorus of "Was ist der Deutschen Vaterland." In the meantime, France, weeping for her children, still crouched at the feet of her master.

The Senate were now called upon to place at the disposal of the emperor half a million of conscripts. He took the field in the middle of April. He could reckon upon collecting 250,000 troops before Russia and Prussia could concentrate an equal force. But of his forces four-fifths were young soldiers; the other fifth were Germans. He left Erfurt to march upon Leipzig. On the 2nd of May he fought the battle of Lützen, and defeated the combined Russian and Prussian army. His victory gave him possession of Leipzig and of Dresden. On the 20th and 21st of May the two armies renewed the struggle at Bautzen. The slaughter on each side was nearly equal. The Allies retreated; but Napoleon did not attempt to follow up the success which he had achieved at a prodigious loss, which told him that such days as Austerlitz and Jena were not likely to recur. An armistice was agreed upon, to extend from the 5th of June to the 22nd of July. Bonaparte spent this period at Berlin, throwing dust into the eyes of politicians, by pretending to devote himself to ease and pleasure. Talma and Mademoiselle Georges and Mademoiselle Mars were ordered to come from Paris to amuse the emperor. The armistice was agreed to be prolonged to the 10th of August, during which time a conference was to be held to discuss terms of pacification. The negotiations of the Russian, Prussian, and French plenipotentiaries were to commence on the 29th of July at Prague.

It was on the 3rd of July that a London Extraordinary Gazette appeared, containing a Despatch to earl Bathurst from the marquis

of Wellington, dated the 22nd of June, telling of a great event in plain and unboastful words. It told how the French, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having marshal Jourdan as the major-general of the army, had on the night of the 19th taken up a position in front of Vittoria. Wellington described the position, which he reconnoitered on the 20th, "with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it." They did remain; and the Allied army did make the attack on the 21st of June. This was the result: "I am happy to inform your lordship, that the Allied army under my command gained a complete victory; having driven them from all their positions, having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c., and a considerable number of prisoners." Rapid were the operations which led to this event.

Towards the end of the month of May the rains had ceased; the roads which had been broken up became practicable for the march of troops; and seventy thousand British and Portuguese, and twenty thousand Spaniards, commenced their march towards Spain. Wellington had no longer to lament over the sluggishness and mistakes of Spanish generals. The Cortes had conferred upon him the entire command of the Spanish forces. He was Commander-in-chief of all the armies in the Peninsula. There was jealousy amongst the Spanish generals that their separate commands, which had been so calamitous, were superseded by the power of one capable man. He was about greatly to dare. Usually so undemonstrative, he gave vent to the hopes that his plan of a campaign would be successful—that he would never again have to seek in retreat the defences of Torres Védras: "Strong of heart and strong of hand his veterans marched to the encounter, the glories of twelve victories playing about their bayonets, and he, their leader, so proudly confident, that in crossing the stream which marks the frontier of Spain he rose in his stirrups, and waving his hand, cried out, *Adieu Portugal.*"* On the 3rd of June the French retired to Burgos; on the 12th they abandoned the fortress which had cost such a sacrifice of English life. On the 13th the Allied army passed the Ebro. Wellington had now a base for his operations, which rendered an open communication with Portugal no longer necessary. An English fleet was at Santander, and in that city the commissariat established a dépôt, and there were military hospitals formed. On the 18th in the evening it was known in the French camp that the Allies had passed the Ebro; and in the night their army undertook a forced march to

* Napier.

retire, and there was alarm and confusion in their ranks. On the 21st the great victory was gained. The battle of Vittoria dissipated the doubts and overcame the reluctance of Austria to join the Coalition. It broke up the Congress at Prague, where the negotiators were disposed to treat with Napoleon. It prepared the great day of Leipzig, upon which depended the deliverance of Germany and the fall of the French emperor.

On the 18th of July Soult arrived in Spain to take the command of the French army. On the 25th he attacked the British right at Roncesvalles. From that day to the 31st there was a series of conflicts between the two armies, known as "The Battles of the Pyrenees." On the last morning of July the French armies were in full retreat to France by the various passes of the mountains.

On the 14th of June Great Britain had become a party to the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia. She had promised assistance in this great struggle; but no aid could have been more effectual than that which she was rendering in the Peninsula. The Allies at Prague had offered terms to Napoleon which he hesitated to accept till the 10th of August had arrived, and the term of the armistice was out. Then came war, in as tremendous a form as the art of destruction ever assumed. On the 24th, 25th, and 27th of August three battles were fought about Dresden, in which the French had the advantage. General Moreau had been invited to come from America to take part against his old rival. In his first battle, in the presence of Bonaparte, he came to his end. Sir Robert Wilson has recorded this event: *

"As the emperor, general Moreau, lord Cathcart, myself and suite were passing on the right of the centre in the wake of a French battery which still played, a ball came and struck something about us. For a few seconds no effect was seen or heard, but then general Moreau cried 'Oh!' and I perceived him, for I was next on his left, struggling and endeavouring to dismount. I immediately said, 'Sire, general Moreau is wounded.' And almost at the instant I saw him throw himself from his horse, with one leg shattered, and the inside of the left knee all mangled. His horse, which had stood firm till the general fell, now staggered, and threw himself down close to his master. The violent struggles of the horse alarmed general Moreau, who said, 'Keep the horse down;' but the horse died before any one could get near him. Moreau then lifted himself up a little, looked at his legs, and said, '*C'est passé avec moi! mon affaire est faite.*' The emperor, on riding away, ordered him to be carried off the field. Some Cossacks

* "Private Journal," vol. ii. p. 97.

lifted him on their pikes, and removed him to the nearest village. The operation of amputating both legs was performed by the emperor's surgeon, Wiley. Moreau bore it as a soldier, and during the whole day kept a cheerful serenity that proved the possession of extraordinary powers of mind."

Napoleon had achieved at Dresden the last of his great victories. That triumph was followed within a very few days by signal reverses sustained by his marshals. On the 26th of August, Blücher routed Macdonald in the battle of the Katzbach, where the French lost 25,000 men. This battle was fought in a tremendous storm of rain. The river had overflowed, and the two armies contended in the rapid stream and on the inundated banks. The muskets would not go off; and consequently it was an affair of bayonets, in which the heavy Germans had the advantage over the nimble French. On the 30th of August, Vandamme, who had been sent by Napoleon in pursuit of the army which had retired from Dresden, was totally defeated, and was taken prisoner. Bernadotte, who had joined the campaign, and now headed Swedes, Prussians, and Russians, won the victory of Gross-Beeren on the 23rd of August; drove back Oudinot and saved Berlin. Again Bernadotte was successful against Ney in the battle of Dennewitz on the 6th of September. These defeats had materially weakened the large French armies that had marched into Germany in April. They were still more weakened by sickness and by starvation. They had exhausted the resources of Saxony, and men and horses were without food.

On the 8th of October, the king of Bavaria, surrounded by Russians and Prussians, was compelled to join the Allies. Napoleon saw that these reverses were not transitory misfortunes that could easily be retrieved. When he heard of the defeat of Vandamme, he exclaimed:—"This is war:—high in the morning, low at night." The morning had now little sunshine. He determined to fight his way to the Rhine, though all Germany was rising against him. To Leipzig he directed his march. He arrived in its neighbourhood on the 15th of October. The Russians and Prussians were advancing to the same point. On the 16th he was attacked at the village of Wachau, near Leipzig. The action was not decisive; but for Napoleon not to win triumphantly was in itself defeat. On that day Bernadotte had not come up. There was a doubt at the Prussian head-quarters whether the Crown Prince of Sweden would be staunch. The amateur soldier, Professor Steffens, was sent to search for him after the battle of the 16th had begun. "It was not till night," he says, "that I made him out at Landsberg,

in miserable quarters, surrounded by Swedish officers. He lay on a mattress spread on the floor of a desolate, nearly empty room. The dark Gascon face, with the prominent nose and the relaxing chin, was sharply relieved against the white bed-clothes and the laced night-cap." Steffens explained the object of his mission. Bernadotte promised to march directly, and he kept his promise. On the 17th there was a pause. Napoleon had been secretly making propositions for an armistice. His father-in-law and Alexander returned no answer. The great issue must be tried under the walls of Leipzig.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 18th, this tremendous conflict began. One of the Prussian generals called it "Nation's Battle"—(Völkerschlacht). The struggle lasted till night. It was decisive of the fortunes of Napoleon. An important incident of that day has been strikingly told:—"We discerned a large body of cavalry advance from the enemy's lines in perfect order. There were no troops immediately near the point they advanced upon, and we waited quietly for their coming up; no doubt Blücher was advised of their intentions. They proved to be the Saxon cavalry who had left the enemy and come over to us. They stood looking resolved, but, as I thought, humbled before us. The commander came forward and approached Blücher, who received him with dignity. The Saxon officer stated that they had long waited for the moment when they might free themselves from the compulsion of bearing arms against their countrymen; it had come at length. Yet they craved one indulgence; they wished not to fight in that battle. Their unhappy king was in Leipzig, in a house in the great market-place, which would soon be in our power. Blücher addressed them shortly, but very kindly, granted their request, and appointed them a position behind the army."*

The morning of the 19th had not dawned when the French were marching out of Leipzig. Napoleon had directed a bridge to be blown up after his troops had passed. It was blown up too soon, and twenty-five thousand French surrendered as prisoners of war. At two o'clock the sound of cannon and of musketry was no longer heard. The bells of Leipzig were ringing; the people were shouting. The Allied sovereigns entered the city by different gates; and in the great square Alexander and Frederick-William met, and could now feel a confident belief that their great adversary was fallen, never to rise again. He felt himself that his days of unlimited power were over. He must be content with a restricted dominion—to rule France, with the Rhine and the Alps for its

* "Memoirs of Steffens."

boundary. He had thought to have carried her sway beyond the Pyrenees ; but that hope was passing away as a dream. "Perfidious Albion" had been too strong ; the "general of sepoys" had been too skilful. When he reached Freiburg he waited some hours there. He was seen sitting at a window, "his head resting on his arm in silent despair. Berthier sat opposite to him in a similar state. Neither spoke ; and officers who entered were silently ordered, by a wave of the hand, to leave the room."* He won the battle of Hanau against the Bavarians who had endeavoured, near Frankfort, to intercept his retreat. It was his last success on German ground. He rested six days at Mayence ; having crossed the Rhine with about one-sixth of the army that he had led forth to conquer.

When Napoleon passed the Rhine on the 22nd of November, to escape from the pursuing armies of the Allies, lord Wellington had planted his foot on the soil of France. His army was in cantonments between the sea and the river Nive. His head-quarters were at St. Jean de Luz. When Soult had crossed the Pyrenees and Wellington was in possession of the passes, the French marshal addressed a proclamation to his army, in which he said that his orders from the emperor were, "to chase the enemy from those lofty heights which enabled him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and drive them across the Ebro." A sergeant of the 42nd has written a pleasing description of the view from the Pyrenees at sunrise ; when the British army exultingly looked upon "the gay regions of France :

"The view from the summits of these mountains at that early hour, when the sun began to gild their tops and to throw his cheering rays on the white canvas which speckled their sides, was grand beyond description. The valleys below were hidden under an ocean of white wreathing mist, over which the hills, like a thousand islands, raised their rocky summits amid the pure serenity of a cloudless atmosphere ; the white tents of a British army spotted their sides, while ten thousand bayonets glittered around. The drums, fifes, bugles, and wild warlike strains of the Highland bagpipe, drowned the notes of a hundred useless instruments that offered their softer sounds to the soldiers' ears. Flocks of vultures hovered around to feed on the bodies of men who had fallen in sequestered spots by the hostile bullet, and were left to wolves and birds of prey, along with the carcasses of the exhausted animals that had failed in bearing their oppressive burdens to the expectant camp."†

* Steffens.

† "Retrospect of a Military Life," by James Anton, p. 61.

Before the British army had left its position on these heights and had descended into France, there had been serious business accomplished. One place of great strength was to be theirs before the Allies could feel secure in their advance. On the 31st of August the town of San Sebastian was taken by storm by our troops under the command of general Graham. The loss to our forces amounted to 2500 men. Cruelly was the army neglected previous to this siege; and much of the loss incurred may be attributed to the mismanagement of the departments, in not providing adequate *matériel*, and in refusing naval assistance. The Admiralty, of which lord Melville was the head, was especially blameable. The remonstrance of lord Wellington must have sent a shiver through the Board-room at Whitehall. "I complain," he writes, "of an actual want of necessary naval assistance and co-operation with the army. . . . I know nothing of the cause of the evil. It may be owing to a general deficiency of naval force for all the objects to which it is necessary to attend on an extended system of war. It may be owing to a proper preference of other services over this." It is almost impossible to believe that lord Melville should have had the astounding effrontery to write to Wellington that *his* needs were the last thing upon which he—the great manager of Scottish corruption, cared to occupy himself. On the 8th of September, the Castle of San Sebastian, which had held out after the town was taken, capitulated. General Rey, who had nobly defended the place, saw that a longer resistance would have been useless, when preparations were making for its assault. He displayed the white flag upon the walls, and sent an officer to propose terms. Write down what you please, said sir Thomas Graham—a garrison that has made such a defence is not conquered. The French officer demanded the honours of war, and that the wounded should be sent by transports to France.

On the 31st of October, the French garrison of Pamplona, having lost all chance of relief, surrendered as prisoners of war. Their number amounted to 4000. Wellington could now safely move his whole army into France. His proclamation previous to this step was distinguished by that rectitude which is the highest prudence. He told his officers and soldiers "to remember that their nations were at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation would not allow them to be at peace, and wanted to force them to submit to his yoke, and not to forget at the same time that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal had been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers, and their cruelties towards the unfortunate and

peaceful inhabitants of the country. To avenge this conduct on the peaceful inhabitants of France would be unmanly, and unworthy of the allied nations."

On the 18th of November, before Wellington could effect the passage of the Nivelle, he had to fight. The French were driven beyond the river, and then the Allied armies took up their position at St. Jean de Luz. Soult withdrew to his entrenched camp at Bayonne. The justice and moderation of the British commander, as exhibited in his proclamation to his troops; in his determination to pay for every supply, and to punish every attempt at plunder, had produced the best results. The troops, British and Portuguese, had behaved well. Their dreadful excesses after the capture by assault of a fortified town—of which San Sebastian had afforded one of the worst instances—were no longer exhibited in their quiet cantonments. "The natives of this part of the country," Wellington writes, "are not only reconciled to the invasion, but wish us success, afford us all the supplies in their power, and exert themselves to get for us intelligence. . . . The inhabitants, who had at first left their habitations, have in general returned to them, and they are living very comfortably and quietly with our soldiers cantoned in their houses." * Lord Wellington, in the course of a month, became straitened for room in his position on the right bank of the Nivelle. He determined to cross the Nive, and establish himself between that river and the Adour. General Hill forded the river on the 9th of December, and the French posts were withdrawn to Bayonne. Then Soult resumed the offensive, and a series of obstinate engagements took place on the 10th, 11th, and 13th, in which all the attacks of the French were repulsed. In these engagements Soult first brought force to bear on the British left, under Hope, and then threw all his strength upon the British right, under Hill. Wellington was ready to give aid to this brave and skilful general, in the battle of the 13th, when 13,000 men were opposed to 30,000. But the aid was not required. Soult withdrew to his camp at Bayonne; and Wellington, well pleased, exclaimed, "Hill, the day is all your own." From the middle of December, 1813, to the middle of February, 1814, there was an interval of rest in the hostile camps at the feet of the Pyrenees.

On the 14th of November, the Senate of France presented an Address to Napoleon at the Tuileries. In his answer he said, "A year ago all Europe marched with us: now all Europe is marching against us. It is because the opinion of the world is formed by France or by England. We should have every thing to fear but

* "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 300.

for the energy and power of the nation." The Senate placed at the emperor's disposal 300,000 conscripts. From September, 1805, to this 15th of November, the Senate had given him authority to devote to what was called the glory of France no less a number than two million one hundred and three thousand of her sons.* In the year 1813, the Senate had granted to Napoleon one million one hundred and forty thousand conscripts. In a Declaration of the 1st of December, the Allied Powers said, "they did not make war on France, but against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire." On the 21st of December, the first corps of prince Schwarzenberg crossed the Rhine at Bâle. Blücher crossed the Rhine on the 31st. On the 29th, Napoleon's brother Joseph wrote to him, "The violation of the Swiss territory has laid France open to the enemy." He wished the emperor to be persuaded that his heart was wholly French. He was also aware of what he owed to Spain. He saw his duties, and he wished to fulfil all of them. Napoleon put a crushing hand upon Joseph's maudlin epistle: "France is invaded: all Europe is in arms against France, and above all against me. You are no longer king of Spain. I do not want Spain either to keep or to give away. I will have nothing more to do with that country except to live in peace with it, and have the use of my army."† He had found out the full truth of what he himself said, "Spain is the cancer of the Empire." He had concluded a treaty on the 11th of December with the ex-king Ferdinand, recognizing him as king of Spain and the Indies, on the condition that he should make the English abandon his territories. He knew the character of that weak and treacherous Bourbon. He saw in his restoration to the crown of Spain that future of superstition and tyranny, which would produce civil war; destroy the seeds of liberty and patriotism that had been sown; and give France at some not distant day the power of destroying the boundary of the Pyrenees. He made other arrangements with reference to the future. He released the Pope from his confinement at Fontainebleau. He made a pretence of calling out the National Guard; but he was afraid of them. The people showed no disposition to resist the invaders of their country, as in the first days of the Revolution. If the invaders were to be driven back it must be by the mere military strength which he could still wield, and by his own wondrous energy. In the third week of January he made his preparations for a final struggle. He

* "Histoire Parlementaire," vol. xxxix. p. 526.

† "Correspondence with Joseph," vol. iii. p. 255.

appointed the empress as Regent, and his brother Joseph as his Lieutenant. He had 70,000 men in the field; and he set out for Paris, on the 25th of January, to put himself at their head, at Chalons.

There were two columns of the Allies marching on Paris,—one by the valley of the Seine, the other by the valley of the Marne. On the 29th of January, he fought the battle of Brienne with Blücher,—a battle which cost him 5000 killed and wounded, and 3000 prisoners. This battle decided nothing. He wrote to his brother,—"Since the battle of Brienne, the Allies have had great respect for our armies. They did not believe we had any." He thought that this opinion might hasten the peace.* A Congress was to be held at Chatillon. Negotiations went on, whilst Napoleon, placing himself between Blücher and Schwarzenberg, could prevent their junction, and attack either of them as he saw that opportunity might favour him. Never did he display more activity. The greatness of the stake stirred him into almost preternatural energy to win the game. His confidence in his good destiny led him to reject the terms which he probably might have obtained at Chatillon. Lord Aberdeen, the negotiator for England, was anxious for peace. But Napoleon would not forego the condition that the Rhine should be the frontier of France. The four Powers saw that only a firm agreement amongst themselves would prevent a peace which would throw away all the successes which they had obtained. They bound themselves by the treaty of Chaumont, of the 1st of March, to continue the contest with Napoleon if he should not agree to their conditions. He would still have been the sovereign ruler of France,—emperor; or king, as Talleyrand wished him to be called. The succession of the throne would have been guaranteed to his family. Some in England thought him mad to hesitate. Others, and those the majority, feared that he would become reasonable. Lord Colchester enters in his Diary of the 22d of March, "General apprehension of preliminaries of peace having been already signed at Chatillon; an almost universal dread of any pretended peace with Bonaparte." Those who hoped for peace through negotiation with him, and those who dreaded it, were not long kept in suspense. By a rapid and daring movement, Napoleon placed himself in the rear of the Allied forces. But they marched boldly for the capital. They fought a hard battle; and on the 30th of March occupied the entire line of defence which protected Paris on the north-east. On the 31st of March Paris capitulated. Marmont and Mortier had fought in

* "Correspondence with Joseph," vol. ii. p. 258.

vain outside the barriers. The people within had neither the means nor the inclination to defend themselves.

Whilst this final struggle was proceeding in the north, Wellington was making head against Soult in the south. On the 27th of February was fought the battle of Orthez. Soult was beaten, and was pursued to the Adour. His losses in fight were great, but desertion thinned his ranks more extensively than the charges of the English bayonets. The conscripts threw away their arms. The spirit of the French was broken; for their enthusiasm had long ceased to be national; and the pride of conquest had faded away since the charm had been broken. On the 8th of March, two divisions of the army of Wellington were to occupy Bordeaux, which was laid open by the battle of Orthez. When marshal Beresford marched to that city, his prudent chief gave him especial caution not to commit himself to any premature adoption of the cause of the Bourbons. These were Wellington's words on the 7th of March: "If they should ask you for your consent to proclaim Louis XVIII., to hoist the white standard, &c., you will state that the British nation and their allies wish well to Louis XVIII.; and as long as the public peace is preserved where our troops are stationed, we shall not interfere to prevent that party from doing what may be deemed most for its interest: nay, further, that I am prepared to assist any party that may show itself inclined to aid us in getting the better of Bonaparte. That the object of the Allies, however, in the war, and above all in entering France, is, as is stated in my proclamation, Peace; and that it is well known that the Allies are now engaged in negotiating a treaty with Bonaparte. That, however I might be inclined to aid and support any set of people against Bonaparte while at war, I could give them no further aid when peace should be concluded; and I beg the inhabitants will weigh this matter well before they raise a standard against the government of Bonaparte, and involve themselves in hostilities." *

Soult had retreated to Toulouse. On the 9th of April, Wellington crossed the Garonne. On the 10th he attacked Soult in his entrenched camp on a range of heights on the eastern side of the city. It was a battle in which the two great commanders put forth all their strength against each other, with no adequate results for the loss of eight thousand men. It was a useless battle; for the war was ended. The Senate had declared that Napoleon had forfeited the throne. A Provisional Government had been formed. The emperor of the French had abdicated on the 4th of April.

* "Despatches," vol. xi. p. 557.

The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had been in Paris four days. National guards were not there to make a last desperate effort for national independence. The fickle Parisians shouted with white cockades in their hats, and ladies from every window waved white handkerchiefs, as Alexander and Frederick William rode slowly along the Boulevards. Soult has been unjustly accused of having fought at Toulouse, out of mere pride and obstinacy, when he knew that the fate of Napoleon was decided. Wellington in the House of Lords absolved him from the odious charge that he knew of the abdication. News did not then travel quickly to the French provinces. There was then no uninterrupted line of railways from the Seine to the Garonne.

But was any one of those conflicts useless, which Wellington had sustained so gloriously since he passed the Nive in the beginning of December? Was there any one of that series of battles and marches without a sensible effect upon the great issue of the war? Wellington was as effectually fighting against Bonaparte, as if he had met him face to face upon the heights of Montmartre. The tyranny would have been far more difficult to put down—it would have been perhaps impossible even to limit its range—had not Wellington held two of France's greatest generals in check, with their large number of fighting men, in the south, whilst Blücher and Schwarzenberg were engaged in a very difficult struggle with the masterly strategy of Napoleon in the north. If Soult and Suchet had been free to fly to the relief of their emperor, in all probability he would not have set out on his journey to Fréjus on the 20th of April, there to embark for the island of Elba, of which he was to be the ruler, in full sovereignty. It was a change from the magnificent empire which he might have possessed in peace, had his mind been of that lofty character which "makes ambition virtue." He stood upon one of the hills of Elba, and could behold at once the whole extent of his sea-girt dominions. "Ah," said he, "it must be confessed that my island is somewhat small."

On the 23rd of April, three days after Napoleon had left Fontainebleau, a Convention between Count d'Artois and the allied powers was signed at Paris, by which it was stipulated that all hostilities should cease; that the foreign armies should evacuate the French territory; and that the boundaries of France should be the same as on the 1st of January, 1792. On the 3rd of May Louis the Eighteenth entered Paris. "*Vive le Roi!*" was shouted as loudly for the unwarlike king, as "*Vive l'Empereur!*" had been shouted during ten years for the magnificent conqueror. Louis was to give the French a representative government. His was not so showy a

career as that which looked to the glory of accomplishing the Universal Monarchy. The Peace of Paris between France and the Allied powers was ratified on the 30th of May. A Congress to be held at Vienna was to confirm its conditions, and to re-organize Europe.

There were three months of public joy in England, such as never had been witnessed—we will not say in a generation, or in the memory of man, but to parallel which we must look back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Henry the Fifth rode into London after the battle of Agincourt, and Elizabeth went in a chariot to St. Paul's to return thanks for the destruction of the Armada. The weather was of extraordinary beauty. The spring had put forth its earliest blossoms, when intelligence reached London that the Allied armies were in Paris, and that Napoleon had abdicated. There were illuminations for three nights. Most men said, with Wilberforce, "This hath God done." * Some, and those of the most temperate, were, with Horner, "of the small minority of those who dread the consequences of the restoration of the Bourbons." † Others, stronger in their opinions, thought, as Robert Hall thought after Waterloo, that these events had "put back the clock of the world six degrees." ‡ A few, even more extreme in their views, said, with sir Robert Wilson, "the good old cause, as it is called, triumphs. Its insignia of victory are the fetters of tyranny and superstition. The power of Bonaparte could, at the farthest, not have continued more than thirty years. Death assured the termination of his iron rule at that period." § The question is, were not the unreflecting multitude right? They shouted, at the top of their voices, when Louis the Eighteenth made his solemn entry into London, previous to his departure for France on the 23rd of April, when the Prince Regent accompanied him to Dover. They shouted with redoubled ardour on the 7th of June, when the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had arrived in the capital endeavouring to be private, but hearing from their residences the tumultuous greetings of a people who had never been accustomed to restrain their feelings. The first public assemblage to which they went was Ascot Races. || They saw the English in their holiday garb, and they thought that there was no poverty in the land.

* Letter in "Life," April 9, vol. iv.

† "Memoirs," vol. i.—25th February.

‡ Works, vol. i. p. 170.

§ "Private Journal," May 1810, vol. ii. p. 363.

|| The author of this History, then at the height of a young man's excitement, went early to the course, and observed a melancholy-looking foreigner walking alone before the arrival of the Regent's cavalcade, and having bought a roll and a piece of cheese at a booth, was munching it with satisfaction. In half an hour he was in the Royal Stand—the King of Prussia.

They had a day's respite from ceremonial. Then came the grandeur. Degrees conferred at Oxford, in which Blücher was included—a speech in Latin, and recitations in Greek. Civic banquets in London followed; then grand reviews; and after three weeks of feasting and uproar, a return to the continent, to see how the Peace of Paris was to be best worked for their individual advantage. Dumouriez, who had seen the beginning of this crisis, but had not quite seen the end, wrote to Wilberforce, "We must wait till the bustle is past to behold men wise, and to hear them speak reasonably." * There was one public demonstration which the coldest reasoning could not despise. The duke of Wellington landed at Dover on the 28th of June, and he was borne on the shoulders of the men of Kent to his inn. The conqueror was uplifted, like an ancient hero upon his shield.

There was a more solemn recognition of the feelings of the nation for which Wellington had fought, which he had perhaps saved by his sagacity and endurance. The House of Commons resolved upon an Address of thanks and congratulation. He was to be thanked and congratulated by a committee of fifteen members, as in the case of the duke of Marlborough. He expressed his desire to come to the House in person, and there to tender the expression of his gratitude. He came on the 1st of July. The House was crowded. The lobby was filled. Universal huzzas were heard as he approached. As he came within the bar the whole House rose. A seat was put for him, and the members resumed their places. Modestly, as was the nature of the man, he expressed his gratitude. They had animated his exertions by their applause; they had filled up the measure of their favours by conferring upon him the noblest gift that any subject had ever received. The confidence of the government; his own reliance on the support of his gallant friends, the general officers of the army, and on the bravery of his officers and troops,—these had enabled him to carry on the operations of the war, so as to acquire the approbation for which he now made his humble acknowledgments. Then the Speaker stood up and said:

"My lord,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed, but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

"The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations.

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p.

These triumphs it is needless on this day to recount ; their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

"It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause. It has been that generous and lofty, spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory ; that moral courage and enduring fortitude which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken ; and that ascendancy of character which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments. But this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction that amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a Leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence ; and when the will of Heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth.

"It now remains only that we congratulate your Grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed ; and we doubt not that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests in peace."

CHAPTER XVIII.

War with the United States.—Federal government.—States composing the Federal Union.—The Democratic Party.—War declared.—Remonstrance of Massachusetts.—Popular violence.—Extravagant hopes.—Effects of the War upon American commerce.—Cotton.—Two invasions of Canada defeated.—Employment of Indians by the British.—Naval successes of the Americans.—Larger build of the American frigates.—The single combat of the Shannon and the Chesapeake.—Campaigns in Canada.—Barbarous system of warfare.—American difficulties.—Threats of secession by New England States.—Prophetic fears of Jefferson.—Peninsular troops sent to America.—Attack upon Washington.—Non-warlike buildings destroyed.—Failure of sir John Prevost at Plattsburg.—Sir Edward Pakenham's attack on New Orleans. His defeat and death.—Retreat of the British.—The War ended by the news of the Peace of Ghent.

THE Diary of Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, for the month of March, 1815, contains brief but remarkable entries which may suggest some notion of the agitation of the public mind when the news came of two most unexpected and untoward events.

"March 8th.—News arrived this day of the failure of the attack on New Orleans; and the loss of general Pakenham, general Gibbs, and 2500 men killed and wounded."

"March 10th.—News arrived of Bonaparte having escaped from Elba, and landing at Antibes, with 1000 men."

The second startling piece of intelligence, following so close upon the announcement of a great defeat of the British army in America, might have suggested to many a belief that the treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States, signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, had not been ratified; that the escape of Bonaparte had been anticipated by his democratic friends in America; and that a war in both hemispheres would make the peace as perishable as "The Temple of Concord," splendid with lamps and fireworks for a few hours, upon which the people had gazed in the Green Park on the night of the 1st of August. The Peace of Ghent had nevertheless been duly ratified. In the days before steam communication, news from Europe did not reach the United States in less than seven or eight weeks. Fort Mobile, at one of the mouths of the Mississippi, had been surrendered to the British on the 11th of February. The news of the conclusion of peace between the plenipoten-

tiaries at Ghent was received in the States on the 14th of February.

We now propose, as intimated in our previous volume, to review the progress of this unhappy war with the United States.* To render this narrative more intelligible, we shall take a brief view of the position of the Union at the period of the rupture with Great Britain, in June, 1812.

The Federal government as then constituted, and as still subsisting, entered upon its functions in 1789. On the 21st of February, 1787, Congress had declared that it was unable to conduct the government under the articles of the first confederation of 1777. Each of the thirteen States had then its separate legislature, each being, in fact, an independent republic assuming an absolute sovereignty. There was no sufficient central authority to act for the whole of the States as composing one nation. An assembly of fifty-five members, with Washington as its president, framed the second constitution, by which the authority is divided between the Federal government and the States. The object aimed at was, that each State should continue to govern itself in whatever concerned its internal affairs, but that the Union should represent one compact body, providing for the general exigencies of the people. The Constitution did not attempt to prescribe the government of the separate States, each of which had its own constitution. The nature and duties of the Federal government were defined with an exactness which shows how comprehensive was the prevision of the able men who drew up the articles which during a very long period maintained so many conflicting interests in tolerable harmony. The Federal government was endowed with legislative, executive, and judicial powers. All legislative authority was vested in a Congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate was composed of two members from each State, whether large or small. The House of Representatives was composed of a varying number from each State, according to the amount of population. With the Congress abided the power of raising an army and navy, of declaring war, of making peace, of levying taxes for the common defence and welfare of the United States. The executive power was vested in an elective President of the United States, who, in some particulars, was to act under the advice and with the consent of the Senate. The judicial power of the Federal government was vested in one supreme court, in district courts, and in circuit courts.

The sovereignty of the people, which had been nurtured

* *Ante*, p. 326.

amongst the original settlers, became the guiding principle of the revolution which established the independence of America. The most conspicuous leaders of that revolution were men of old family and of competent fortunes; but the democratic element, progressively increasing in power, gradually weakened and finally destroyed the influence derived from property and from ancient associations. The English laws of entail enabled estates, especially in Virginia, to be transmitted from generation to generation. Estates tail were abolished in Virginia in 1776: in other States the English entail laws were wholly suppressed; and in others were greatly modified. The desire for free circulation of property, in accordance with the general principles of equality which pervaded the American government, caused the rejection of the English laws respecting descent. "If a man dies intestate, his property goes to his heirs in a direct line. If he has but one heir or heiress, he or she succeeds to the whole. If there are several heirs of the same degree, they divide the inheritance equally amongst them, without distinction of sex." *

In 1790 the Federal Union comprised the New England States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut; the Middle States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland; the Southern States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Vermont had been added to the original Federation of thirteen States—indicated by the stripes of the American flag. These States, with about 100,000 settlers in Tennessee and Kentucky, had, in 1790, according to the census, a population of about 4 millions; in 1800 the population was nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions; in 1810 it was nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The rate of increase in twenty years was very large in the States composing the Union in 1790; but a million of people had been added in 1810 by the families that had penetrated into the wilds of the West and South-West. Communities rose up, in regions almost unknown to the founders of the American republic, to claim their place in the Union as independent States, having a sufficient amount of population to entitle them to that distinction. Kentucky was admitted to the Union in 1792; Tennessee in 1796; Ohio in 1803. Louisiana, which had been purchased from France in 1803, became a member of the Federation in 1812. These States added largely to the democratic element in the government. In 1790 there were nearly 700,000 slaves in the Union; in 1800 they approached 900,000; in 1810 they amounted to nearly 1,200,000.

* Kent's "Commentaries," quoted in De Tocqueville, "Democracy in America," vol. i. p. 283.

Of the old States, the four Southern, with Maryland, contained, almost exclusively, the Slave Population. The coloured race were soon abundantly found amongst the swarms of the new Western States, particularly in Kentucky and Tennessee. In the ratio of Representatives to Population, three-fifths of the slaves were added to the whole number of free persons in each State. The slaves, uncared for by legislation, augmented the legislative power of the slave-owners. Universal Suffrage had one exception—"Blacks excluded."

Such was the community that, in 1812, declared war against Great Britain.

John Adams, the second President of the United States, was elected upon the retirement of Washington after his eight years' service, at the end of 1796. According to the American constitution, the President might be once re-elected on the expiration of his first term of four years. Adams was not so re-elected, although he had filled the office of Vice-President for eight years under Washington. Each of these eminent men was opposed to the extreme Democratic party, of which Jefferson was the most distinguished representative. The contest between the Federalists and the Democrats was the most violent that the Union had beheld; and it ended by the election of Jefferson as President by a majority of one vote of the electoral body. Jefferson himself described this event of 1801 as a pacific revolution, as real as that of 1776—a revolution not in the form of the powers, but in the principles, of the government, which had compelled the vessel of the state to float out of the monarchical current in which a faction, as if possessed—a faction composed of Anglicised Royalists and Aristocrats—had detained it during the sleep of the people. The revolution of 1801, he held, had carried the vessel of the state into its natural course—the Republican and Democratic course.*

During the Presidency of Washington it was with great difficulty that he could prevent the sympathies of the people with Republican France from plunging America into war with England. There had been a French and an English party since the Union of the States in 1789. It is pointed out as remarkable, that most of the veterans who bore arms against England during the Revolution had become of the English party. This party included the majority of the wealthy and the educated. But the universality of suffrage more and more compelled every candidate for power to become the partisan of France.† When the Democratic party

* Cornelis de Wit, "Thomas Jefferson, Etude Historique." Paris 1861.

† Simond, "Tour in Great Britain," vol. i. p. 329.

became supreme under Jefferson from 1801 to 1809, and afterwards under James Madison, although it might have been conceived that the despotism of the Consulate and the Empire would have revolted the genuine friends of liberty, the commercial derangements arising out of Bonaparte's Milan and Berlin decrees were tenderly dealt with, whilst the results of the counter measures of the British Orders in Council created in the majority an exclusive bitterness of feeling against this country.* The injuries inflicted upon American commerce by the decrees of Napoleon called forth no warlike manifestation of American resentment. The Orders in Council of England, in connection with the assertion of our claim to a right of search for British sailors in American trading vessels, produced a hostile Message to Congress of the American President on the 1st of June, 1812. This was the prologue to the Act of the 18th of June of the Senate and House of Representatives, by which war was declared "to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their territories." Five days after the date of this declaration of war, and before the Message of Madison could have been known in England, our government had unconditionally suspended the Orders in Council as regarded America. A conditional revocation of the Orders appeared in the "London Gazette" of the 3rd of April. This holding out the hand of fellowship did not produce a corresponding demonstration. The great Democratic party were bent upon war.†

To attempt to arrive at an impartial estimate of facts from the counterpleas of two parties in a civil cause, is a very difficult and unsatisfactory task. To judge between two angry nations by the accusations and recriminations of their manifestoes, would be an attempt still more embarrassing to the historian. The Message of the American President of the 1st of June is such an ex-parte manifesto; ‡ the Declaration of the Prince Regent, relative to the causes and origin of the war with America, of the 9th of January, 1813, is a state paper of a similar character.§ There is, however, a very remarkable document of American origin, which, although coming from a community whose interests were deeply opposed to the war, may furnish some evidence to test the value of the rival pleas of the two belligerent governments.|| On the 14th of June, 1813, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts addressed a Remonstrance to the Senate and Representatives of the United

* *Ante*, p. 264.

† *Ante*, p. 326.

‡ "Annual Register" for 1812, p. 424.

§ Hansard, vol. xxiv. p. 363.

|| "Annual Register," 1813, p. 409 (State Papers).

States in Congress assembled, in which it was contended that, "the promptness with which Great Britain hastened to repeal her Orders, before the declaration of war by the United States was made known to her, and the restoration of an immense amount of property, then within her power, can leave but little doubt that the war, on our part, was premature; and still less, that the perseverance in it, after that repeal was known, was improper, impolitic, and unjust." The Legislature of Massachusetts maintained that the United States had never induced Great Britain to believe that the impressment of her own seamen on board of American ships was a reasonable ground of war. It held that the evil of impressment had been grossly exaggerated;* and that an honest and fair proposal to exclude the subjects of Great Britain from the American service would have produced an honourable and advantageous arrangement of the whole question. The Prince Regent, in his Declaration, avers, that the complete subserviency of the government of the United States to the ruler of France was the real cause of the war; "that from their common origin, from their common interests, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The Remonstrance of the Legislature of Massachusetts echoes this charge in words of glowing eloquence: "If war must have been the portion of these United States; if they were destined by Providence to march the downward road to slavery, through foreign conquest and military usurpation, your remonstrants regret that such a moment and such an occasion should have been chosen for the experiment; that while the oppressed nations of Europe are making a magnanimous and glorious effort against the common enemy of free states, we alone, the descendants of the pilgrims, sworn foes to civil and religious slavery, should voluntarily co-operate with the oppressor to bind other nations in his chains."

The policy of Jefferson during the eight years of his Presidency, and that of Madison during the first three years of his tenure of office, was not to draw the sword against either of the two great belligerents who interfered with the peaceful course of American commerce by their decrees and counter-decrees. Their weapons were embargoes and tariffs. Gradually the war-party in the States

* Simond says that one half of the crews of American ships were British seamen, having false protections, and yet not one in a hundred was impressed. He himself owned twenty-four American vessels, and had not ten sailors impressed out of them during the war, although a great number were British-born. ("Tour," vol. i. p. 334.)

became irresistible. Six months only were wanting to the completion of the term of Madison's Presidency; he would not be re-elected if he did not yield to the popular voice, whose passionate expression, in the Slave States especially, was no evidence against its real strength. In a mixed government the violence of the multitude has a counterpoise in the sagacity and prudence of the more educated classes. In America, when two generals, friends of Washington, who had advocated peace, were conveyed to prison to shelter them from the mob, and when the mob broke open the prison, fractured the skull of one, and killed another on the spot, the lesson was very intelligible to waverers between war and peace. Jefferson himself dreaded going to war, because "the licentious and lying character of our journals, but more than this, the marvellous credulity with which the members of Congress received every current lie," would produce constant embarrassment to the government in the conduct of the war. The newspapers had become a new power in the Federation, "indispensable to the existence of freedom, and nearly incompatible with the maintenance of public order."* Yet their rapid and excessive multiplication had neutralized their influence. In 1775 there were 37 newspapers in the thirteen States; in 1810 there were 358 in the Union. Jefferson, however "quaker" was his general policy, looked upon the probable issue of the war of 1812 with an almost childish confidence. The United States had only to create a marine to free the seas from the ascendancy of Great Britain. Upon American ground they would be irresistible. The invasion of Canada would be only a march. To carry Halifax would be merely an affair of a few months. New York might be burnt by the British fleet, but could not the government of the Union, in its turn, cause London to be burnt by English mercenaries, easily recruited from a starving corrupt population? No truce, no intermission, before Canada was obtained as an indemnity for a thousand ships seized by British cruisers, and for six thousand seamen carried off by impressment. No sheathing the sword before full security for the future was obtained for every man sailing under the American flag. All this accomplished,—peace with Great Britain, and war with France. Such were the dreams of the man who drew the first Declaration of Independence, and who believed that nothing was beyond the power of a democratic government.† The warlike impulses of this de-

* De Tocqueville, vol. ii. p. 20.

† These opinions are supported by a reference to five letters of Jefferson, of January, June, and August, 1812, to be found in "Works of Jefferson," vol. vi. See De Wit, "Thomas Jefferson," p. 356.

mocracy were sensibly mitigated by the sudden pressure of taxation for the general purposes of the Federal government, in addition to the local taxation of each State. In the four years ended 1811, the expenditure upon the Military and Naval Establishments was about 24 millions of dollars. In the four years ended 1815, they had reached 102 millions of dollars. The Public Debt had been more than doubled between 1813 and 1816, as compared with the four previous years.

The injurious effects to the commerce of both countries which resulted from the British Orders in Council, the American Embargo Acts, and the war, are manifest in the returns of exports of British produce to the United States, and of the total exports from American ports to all countries. In 1807 the United States imported nearly twenty-nine millions of pounds' worth of foreign merchandise, and exported twenty-two millions and a half of home and foreign produce. In 1811 the imports and the exports were less by one half. In 1814 the total imports from all parts of the world amounted only to 2,700,000*l.*, and the total exports to 1,440,000*l.* The internal resources of America were indeed very great, in her unlimited amount of territory, in the adventurous industry of her people, and in the rapid multiplication of the communications between the several States. In 1790 there were under 2000 miles of Post Routes, with 75 Post-offices. In 1815 there were nearly 44,000 miles of Post Routes, with 3000 Post-Offices. But the American population would never have quadrupled in half a century without the stimulus of foreign commerce. The great Cotton cultivation of the Southern States was at the period of this war very imperfectly developed, and their slave population was consequently less identified with the ruthless tyranny of the demand for labour than with the milder servitude under the original planters. It might have been supposed that the interruption of our cotton supply by the war of 1812 would have produced an essential derangement of that great branch of our manufacturing industry which had enabled us in a considerable degree to support the pressure of the continental war. But at that period the imports of American cotton were comparatively trifling. The first arrival of cotton wool from America was one bag from Charleston delivered at Liverpool in 1785. In 1791 only 2,000,000 lbs. of cotton were grown in the United States; in 1801 the crop was about 40,000,000 lbs.; in 1811 the crop was estimated at 80,000,000 lbs. The exports of cotton, which had been 62,000,000 lbs. in 1811, were reduced to 28,000,000 lbs. in 1812, and to 19,000,000 lbs. in 1813. When we compare these figures with the 961,707,264 lbs. of raw cotton imported into the United King-

dom from the United States in the year ending 31st of December, 1859, we may estimate the danger and difficulty of a diminished supply now, as compared with the period when the commercial intercourse of the two countries was wholly suspended, except through the extensive operation of that contraband trade which no blockade or embargo could prevent.* It is a singular fact, as showing the notions of commercial policy which prevailed at that period in the legislative mind, that Earl Darnley, in the House of Lords on May 14, 1813, complained that "American cotton, on a system that could not be too severely reprobated, had, until lately, been allowed to be imported, to the great detriment of our own colonies and to the great advantage of the territory of our enemies.† The cotton-spinners of York at the time addressed a petition to the House of Commons, in which they said, that having learnt that petitions had been presented to the House in favour of a prohibition on the exportation of cotton-wool, the growth of America, they prayed the House not to adopt any measures which would assist the efforts of foreign nations to supplant our cotton manufacture, and which would prove the entire ruin of the trade of the petitioners.‡

In the Remonstrance of Massachusetts the Congress is asked, "Must we add another example to the catalogue of republics which have been ruined by a spirit of foreign conquests. . . . Were not the territories of the United States sufficiently extensive before the annexation of Louisiana, the projected reduction of Canada, and the seizure of West Florida?" Within a fortnight after the declaration of war, the American general Hull set out for the invasion of Canada with a force of 2800 men. On the 12th of July he crossed the river Detroit, and captured the small open town of Sandwich. From this place he issued a proclamation threatening a war of extermination if the savages were employed in resisting his advance. The English commander, major-general Brock, had, however, collected a force of 700 British regulars and militia, and 600 Indians, with which he repulsed Hull in three attempts against Fort Amherstburg, and compelled him to recross the river to Detroit. On the 16th of August Hull capitulated with 2500 men to Brock and his little army. A second attempt to invade Upper Canada was made by the American general Wadsworth, who, on the 13th of

* For the preceding statistical facts regarding the United States at the time of the War, we have consulted "Geography of America," published by the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; Porter's "Progress of the Nation;" Macgregor's "Commercial Statistics," vol. iii.; the "English Cyclopædia," art. United States; and the "American Almanac," for 1862.

† Hansard, vol. xxvi. col. 180.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

October, carried Queenstown, with a large force. In the defence of Queenstown, general Brock, the gallant English commander, fell; but reinforcements of English troops having arrived, Wadsworth was totally defeated, and surrendered with 900 men. At the time of Hull's capitulation to Brock, the American fort in the small island in Michillimackinac was taken by a force of English, of Canadians, and of Indians.

The employment of Indians in the first American war, had aroused the eloquent wrath of Chatham, when he exclaimed, "Who is the man who will dare to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage?" Not only American but English writers denounce their employment in the war of 1812, as a stain upon our national reputation. Certainly it is to be apprehended that whenever the Indians were acting in detached bodies, as allies of the British and Canadians, their warfare was marked by the reckless destruction of life and property, and by their accustomed cruelty to the vanquished enemy. It is not clear, however, that the charge is unexceptionably just that the British brought into the conflict "savages of too low an order to be under military command."* It is but fair to state that in the last despatch of general Brock, addressed to sir George Prevost, Governor in chief of the British provinces of North America, he says, that many of the Indian nations had been engaged in active warfare with the United States, notwithstanding the constant endeavours of the British government to dissuade them from it; that from the breaking out of the war, they took a most active part; and that they were led in an attack upon Hull at Detroit by an English colonel and an English captain. "Nothing," adds general Brock, "could exceed their order and steadiness. A few prisoners were taken by them during the advance, whom they treated with every humanity. Such was their forbearance and attention to what was required of them, that the enemy sustained no other loss in men than what was occasioned by the fire of our battery."† This might have been an exceptional case, in which the common ferocity of Indian warfare might have been controlled by one of the most honourable and the most lamented of the British officers in America. The savages fighting under him cannot be described as of "too low an order to be under military command." The British authorities undoubtedly put arms into the hands of the Indian chiefs when the war broke out. The crime was not in arming these daring warriors, with the intent to bring them under the common subjection of the soldier to

* H. Martineau, "Introduction to History of the Peace."

† London Gazette, October 6th, 1812, in "Annual Register."

his officer; but in leaving them when they were armed to their own uncontrolled action, in which "forbearance" would have been accounted by them weakness and not virtue.

The early successes of our land forces could scarcely have been expected. The number of regular British troops in Canada was about 4500 men; the militia of the two provinces was not more in number. The American regular army was equally small. But the prowess of the American militia had been capable in the former war of gaining victories over the disciplined troops of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. The politicians of London were surprised at the victories of 1812. They saw a great host of the militia of the Northern States ready to fight with the warlike enthusiasm of democratic populations. They were unacquainted with the philosophical demonstration, "that when a democratic people engages in a war after a long peace, it incurs much more risk of defeat than any other nation." The first successes of our armies in America begat a confidence that the duration of the war would be attended with similar triumphs. There was surprise when our troops in Canada were beaten. There was universal indignation when, in the last year of the war, the choicest of the Peninsular troops were routed at New Orleans. It was not understood that the chances of success for the army of a democratic people are necessarily increased by a prolonged war; and that such an army, if not ruined at first, would become the victors.*

At the commencement of the war of 1812, the naval force of the United States consisted of four frigates and eight sloops, manned by 6000 seamen. The British navy comprised, of ships in commission for sea service, a total of 621; of these, 102 were ships of the line; of frigates, from 44 guns to 32, there were 111; of smaller frigates, sloops, gun-brigs, and cutters, there were more than 300. † What, thought the people of this country, could the petty American navy effect against such a force? The London Gazette, of the 6th of October, announced the capture of Detroit and the capitulation of Hull. The London Gazette, of the 10th of October, contains a despatch from vice-admiral Sawyer, enclosing "a letter from captain Dacres, of his Majesty's *late* ship *Guerrière*, giving an account of his having sustained a close action of near two hours, on the 19th ult., with the American frigate *Constitution*, of very superior force both in guns and men (of the latter almost double), when the *Guerrière*, being totally dismasted, she rolled so deep as to render all further efforts at the guns unavailing, and it became

* See De Tocqueville, vol. iv. chap. xxiv.

† See Tables to James's "Naval History."

a duty to spare the lives of the remaining part of her valuable crew by hauling down her colours." The American frigate *Constitution*, which captured the *Guerrière*, was of 1533 tons, whilst the English frigate was of 1092 tons. On the 16th of October the American brig *Wasp* captured the British sloop *Frolic*, each being of 18 guns, but the American vessel much superior in tonnage. Both these small vessels were captured soon after the action by the British ship of the line *Poictiers*. Another disaster quickly followed the loss of the *Guerrière*. The British frigate *Macedonian*, after a most gallant fight, was captured by the American frigate *United States*. As in the case of the *Guerrière*, the tonnage of the *Macedonian* was nearly a third less than the tonnage of the enemy's frigate. Again, on the 29th of December, the *Java*, of 1092 tons, was captured by the *Constitution*. The British sloop *Peacock*, which struck to the American brig *Hornet* on the 14th of February, 1813, was the fifth ship of our navy, numbering 621 vessels in commission for sea service, which had hauled down its colours in engagements with four ships of that navy which comprised only four frigates and eight sloops. The people of this country were in astonishment, and almost in despair, at this unexpected result. The glory of our navy had departed. "The charm of its invincibility had now been broken; its consecrated standard no longer floated victorious on the main." * France and other nations rejoiced, saying that England's maritime tyranny was at an end. The Admiralty was assailed by denunciations of its incapacity and neglect. It was answered that our naval force on the American stations at the commencement of the war was in no degree insufficient; that from Halifax to the West Indies there were stationed ships seven times more powerful than the whole of the American navy. Our government was evidently ignorant of the great inequality in the comparative size of what were called American frigates. The *Constitution*, the *United States*, and the *President*, were intended for line-of-battle ships. Although only single-decked vessels, they had the same tonnage and capacity for carrying men as the greater number of British two-deckers. They were ships of the line in disguise. The Americans no doubt knew that the captain of a British 32-gun frigate was bound to fight any single-decked ship, and that he would be liable to a court-martial if he shrank from such an engagement. Our government, which prescribed the rule, shut its eyes to the inevitable danger. Scarcely a frigate of our navy in the Atlantic was sailing with a consort. As in the outset of every other war, and too often during its continuance, the British Admiralty was

* Earl Darnley in the House of Lords, May 14, 1813—(Hansard, vol. xxiv. col. 182.)

the slave of routine. It neither built frigates, nor cut down line-of-battle ships, capable of meeting these enormous American vessels called frigates. It sent the captains and crews of ordinary frigates to fight single-handed against such disparity of force. There were numerous fast two-deckers that might have been employed on the American stations, ready for meeting these vessels on equal terms. The Admiralty believed that a frigate was a frigate, and ought to contend with any other frigate. The government was, in truth, too busy with the European war to pay much attention to an enemy regarded with an official feeling approaching to contempt.

Seven years only had elapsed since the glories of Trafalgar, when the British navy felt degraded and humiliated by these unforeseen triumphs of an enemy with whom that generation of seamen had never measured their strength. A spirit of emulation was quickly roused. The commanders and crews of ships in the Atlantic knew that it would not be enough to make prize of merchant vessels and sweep privateers from the seas, but that the honour of the British flag would be impaired unless some achievement could restore its old prestige. There was a captain of a frigate on the Halifax station whose chivalrous feeling prompted him to some exploit in which, with an equal enemy, he might rely upon a sound ship and upon well-trained men. Captain Broke, of the *Shannon*, had, by careful training, brought his crew into the highest state of efficiency. He had been long watching the frigate *Chesapeake* in the harbour of Boston. These frigates were of nearly equal strength in their weight of metal and their number of men. Captain Broke, in his desire to fight a duel with the American frigate, had sent away his consort, the *Tenedos*, and had then despatched a courteous challenge to captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake*, in which he says:—"I request you will do me the favour to meet the *Shannon*, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags. All interruption shall be provided against." This challenge was sent on the 1st of June, and immediately afterwards the *Shannon* lay-to under Boston lighthouse. Captain Lawrence had not received Broke's letter when he sailed out of the harbour, followed by many seamen and other inhabitants of Boston in barges and pleasure boats, who expected that this daring demonstration of the hostile frigate would be followed by its speedy capture. At half-past five in the afternoon the American hauled up within hail of the *Englishman* on the starboard side, and the battle began. After two or three broadsides had been exchanged, the *Chesapeake* fell on board the *Shannon*, her mizzen chains lock-

ing in with her adversary's fore-rigging. Broke immediately ordered the two ships to be lashed together, and the select men to prepare for boarding. His own pithy narrative tells the result more effectively than any amplification. "Our gallant bands appointed to that service immediately rushed in, under their respective officers, upon the enemy's decks, driving everything before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance. The firing continued at all the gangways, and between the tops, but in two minutes' time the enemy were driven sword in hand from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British union floated triumphant over it. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole of this service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action." This single combat, fought on the anniversary of Howe's great victory, had as much effect in restoring the confidence of England in her naval arm as if an enemy's squadron had been brought captured into her ports. Captain Broke sailed off with his prize for Halifax, where captain Lawrence, who had fought his ship with real heroism, died of his wounds, and was followed to the grave by the officers of the Shannon.

The details of the campaigns in Canada would have small interest for the present generation. The vicissitudes of this warfare, the advance of the Americans one week and their retreat the next, the skirmishes, the surprises, scarcely excited the attention of the public of this country, coming close upon the stimulating narratives of the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, or the march of Wellington from Torres Védras to Madrid. The battle of "Chrysler's Farm" could scarcely compete in interest with the victory of Salamanca. In 1813 the British were compelled to evacuate York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. The Americans there burnt the public buildings; which act was alleged as a justification for a more memorable and more disgraceful act of retaliation by the British at Washington. In an attack upon Burlington, the Americans were compelled to fall back upon Niagara, and lost a great part of their army in a series of unsuccessful actions. The British on the Detroit frontier were forced to retreat in confusion. On Lake Ontario our troops, under sir George Prevost, were repulsed in an attack upon Sackett's Harbour. On Lake Erie the superior force of the enemy destroyed our flotilla; and the Americans, obtaining the command of the lake, became masters of Upper Canada. Ten thousand men then marched from different points upon Lower Canada, where the action near Chrysler's Farm took place, and the American army, totally routed, precipitately crossed

the St. Lawrence. General Hull sustained another severe defeat on the 25th of December. In this campaign, when the American general evacuated Fort St. George, by the express orders of his government he burnt the Canadian village of Newark. The order said, "The exposed part of the frontier must be protected by destroying such of the Canadian villages in its front as would best shelter the enemy during the winter." When the British troops under colonel Murray defeated the Americans at Buffalo, that village was burnt as well as the village of Black Rock; and the Indians were let loose on the surrounding country to take vengeance for the conflagration of Newark. Sir George Prevost then issued a proclamation lamenting the necessity which had compelled these reprisals, and deprecating a continuance of so barbarous a system of warfare. His retaliation had some effect upon the Americans in putting a stop to what an officer of that government called the "new and degrading system of defence, which, by substituting the torch for the bayonet, furnished the enemy with both motive and justification for a war of retaliation."* The disgrace remained to both sides. The retaliatory spirit was strangely exhibited during this year in another form. Twenty-three prisoners of war were sent to England to be dealt with as British subjects. The American general then ordered into close confinement twenty-three British soldiers, as hostages for the safety of the twenty-three who were liable to be dealt with as traitors. Our government selected forty-six officers and non-commissioned officers—prisoners in England—to be regarded as hostages for the safety of the twenty-three prisoners in America. The affair went off with menaces; and, on an exchange of prisoners, the British who had fought against their country, and the hostages, were silently released.

The desultory, indecisive, and useless fightings in Canada had produced not the slightest effect upon the relative positions of Great Britain and America. The English, however, had learnt not to underrate the courage and enterprise of their enemy; the Americans had learnt that Canada could not be conquered in a day's march, and that a handful of disciplined troops might defend the country against numerous bands imperfectly organized. The naval successes of the United States were almost wholly at an end after the first year. Our government learnt a little caution and providence, and gave up the false confidence that any English frigate could fight a vessel whose tonnage was as three to two. The merchant service of both countries sustained severe losses; but American commerce suffered still more from the restrictive meas-

* Armstrong (American Secretary-at-War)—quoted by Alison.

ures of the American government. The interruption to the dealings of North and South with neutral states was so serious, that in March, 1814, the President proposed to Congress the repeal of the Embargo and Non-Importation Acts. The British government proclaimed a blockade of the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, nearly 2000 miles in extent, and abounding in harbours and navigable inlets. The President, on the 29th of June, proclaimed that such a blockade was not a regular or legal blockade, as defined and recognized by the law of nations, and that it formed no lawful prohibition or obstacle to friendly and neutral vessels to trade with the United States. We have shown that in 1814 the total exports of the United States had fallen to less than a million and a half in value. The government had almost wholly lost, in the excessive falling off of imports, its great source of revenue—the Customs. It resorted in 1814 to taxes on excisable articles, to licences, and to stamps. The system of loans, coupled with the issue of Treasury notes was also adopted; and the public debt was very quickly doubled. The Democratic party was depressed, and almost hopeless. Jefferson himself began to speak with bitterness of the ruin of the planters, of the weight of the taxes, of the silly boasts of the press.* The personal lot of this distinguished man was truly pitiable. He said, that as for himself this state of things would compel him to make the sacrifice of all tranquillity, of all comfort, for the rest of his days. From the total depreciation of the products which ought to procure him subsistence and independence, he should be, like Tantalus, dying of thirst, with the water up to his shoulders. The New England States began openly to complain of that preponderance of the Southern States which had forced the Union into war. Very early in the contest Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused to send their contingents to the army of the Union; and now Massachusetts proposed to confer with delegates from other New England States, “to take measures if they think proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, to revise the Constitution”—in other words, to break up the Union. Six years later, the question of preponderance between the North and South was again agitated, upon the discussions on the admission of Missouri to the Union; in which struggle the great question was involved, whether slavery should be established in that State, or excluded by the terms of admission. The confidence of many thoughtful persons in the United States in the duration of the Union had been shaken by the divisions of Federalists and Republicans, which had reached a

* Letters of Jefferson, in the sixth volume of his Works.

climax in the war of 1812. Jefferson, one of the most foreseeing of the founders of the Republic, did not regard these divisions with alarm, because they existed in the bosom of each State. What he regarded with alarm was the coincidence of a line of demarcation, moral and political, with the geographical line. The views of a sagacious statesman are sometimes prophetic. The idea of a line of geographical demarcation involving a different system of politics and morals, once conceived, he thought could never be effaced. He believed that this idea would appear, on every occasion, renewing irritation, and kindling in the end hate so mortal, that separation would become preferable to eternal discord. He had been, he said, of those who had had the firmest confidence in the long duration of the Union; he began much to doubt it.*

On the 31st of May, 1814, two thousand four hundred gallant troops, the soldiers of Wellington in the Peninsula, were on board a fleet in the Garonne, waiting a favourable wind to sail for America. They consisted of the Forty-fourth and the Eighty-fifth regiments, and had marched from Bayonne when the white flag hoisted on the citadel had announced that the war with France was at an end. The squadron sailed for Bermuda, where they were joined by other forces. The troops, amounting to about 3500 men, were under the command of general Ross. Admiral Cockburn commanded the fleet. These officers were experienced and energetic. Their political discretion may be doubted, although their first dangerous and unjustifiable measures might have been under the positive direction of the government at home. Having taken possession of the Tangier Islands in the Bay of Chesapeake, they invited the negroes in the adjoining provinces, with a promise of emancipation, to join the British forces. Seventeen hundred men fled from their plantations, and were marshalled in the English ranks. This incitement of the negro population to revolt was a measure that the most uncompromising hostility and the nearest danger could scarcely justify. The British government had to pay a heavy fine to the owners of the slaves; the amount of which was referred at the Treaty of Ghent to the emperor of Russia. He awarded a compensation of 250,000*l*. On the 14th of August admiral Cockburn officially announced to Mr. Monroe, the American Secretary of State, that it was his purpose to employ the force under his direction "in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable." He added that this was in retaliation for a wanton destruction committed by the army of the

* Works, vol. vii. quoted by De Wit. See Miss Martineau, "History of the American Compromises."

United States in Upper Canada.* The announcement was afterwards withdrawn. The spirit of it was unhappily preserved, to diminish the lustre of a brilliant attack upon the capital of the United States.†

The British squadron having ascended the river Patuxent, the army was disembarked at the village of Benedict, with the intention of co-operating with admiral Cockburn in an attack on a flotilla of gunboats. The army commenced its march on the 20th of August, and in three days had advanced to within sixteen miles of Washington. Admiral Cockburn had during this time taken and destroyed the whole of the flotilla. On the 23rd general Ross determined to make an attempt to carry Washington. He put his troops in motion on the evening of the 23rd, and on the 24th defeated the American army, amounting to between eight and nine thousand men. The catastrophe is related in few words by general Ross:—"Having halted the army for a short time, I determined to march upon Washington, and reached that city at eight o'clock that night. Judging it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, so that the army might retire without loss of time, the following buildings were set fire to and consumed:—the Capitol, including the Senate-House and House of Representatives, the Arsenal, the Dockyard, Treasury, War-office, President's Palace, Rope-walk, and the great Bridge across the Potomac: in the dockyard a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop-of-war, were consumed. The object of the expedition being accomplished, I determined, before any greater force of the enemy could be assembled, to withdraw the troops, and accordingly commenced retiring on the night of the 25th."

The indignation of the American people was naturally extreme at an event which was not unjustly characterized in a proclamation issued from Washington on the 1st of September. The President therein accuses the invading force, that during their possession of the capital of the nation, though only for a single day, "they wantonly destroyed the public edifices, having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military

* Alison, in quoting this announcement, makes admiral Cockburn say, that it became his duty to do this "under the new and imperative character of his orders."

† The duke of Wellington had ever scrupulously respected private property, and had spared defenceless places. When the Prince de Joinville, in 1844, suggested the bombardment of Brighton in the event of a war, the duke wrote to Mr. Raikes—"What but the inordinate desire of popularity could have induced a man in his station, a prince of the blood royal, the son of the king, of high rank and pretensions in that profession of the service, to write and publish such a production—an invitation and provocative to war, to be carried on in a manner such as has been disclaimed by the civilized portions of mankind."—(Raikes' "Correspondence," p. 366.)

annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and others repositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation, as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science." In England there was a general feeling that, however brilliant had been the attack upon Washington, the destruction of non-warlike buildings was something more than a mistake. It was an outrage inconsistent with civilized warfare, which was not likely to produce "on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of a war in which they have been so wantonly involved." Such was the thoughtless and undignified language of the Prince Regent's speech on opening the Session of Parliament on the 8th of November. A more sober view of this demonstration of the calamities of war was taken by a high military authority at the Horse Guards. "It may tend to disunite and to spread alarm and confusion, but I incline to think that it will give eventually more power to the Congress. A nation may be overpowered and compelled to peace, but it must be a most contemptible set to be frightened into one."* Lord Grenville, with dignified earnestness, lamented a departure from a system of forbearance which had been pursued even by Napoleon during a conflict of twenty years, in whose hands nearly all the capitals of Europe had been, and in no instance, except in that of the Kremlin of Moscow, were any unmilitary buildings destroyed.† We had done, said Mr. Whitbread, what the Goths had refused to do at Rome, when Belisarius represented to them that to destroy works of art was to erect a monument to the folly of the destroyers.‡ He maintained that the outrage at Washington had conciliated to the American government those parts of the United States which were before hostile to it; had put in motion battalions of militia which before were not allowed to march. It had united all. It had made determined opposition to England a common interest.§

Whether to the destruction of the public buildings of Washington may be attributed the extraordinary vigour which seemed now to be infused into the military character of the American democracy, it is certain that after that event the course of the war was one of almost unvarying success to their arms. In a battle on the 11th of September, which was the prelude to an attack upon Balti-

* Sir Willoughby Gordon, Letter to the Speaker, October 1st, 1814—Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 520.

† Hansard, vol. xxix. col. 17.

§ "Hansard, vol. xxix. col. 47.

‡ See Gibbon, chap. xliii., A.D. 506.

more, general Ross was mortally wounded; and colonel Brooke who succeeded to the command, although gaining a victory, was compelled the next night to retreat to the ships which were intended to co-operate in the assault. The Americans had sunk twenty vessels in the Patapsco river, which effectually prevented the British squadron rendering any aid. But a more serious blow was inflicted upon the army in Canada. Our forces there, under sir George Prevost, had been augmented till they had reached sixteen thousand regular troops, who had arrived from the South of France, with the full conviction on the part of our government that the war would be speedily concluded by this array of veterans against undisciplined masses. Nine thousand of the soldiers of the Peninsula were to act in co-operation with a flotilla on Lake Champlain. This little fleet of a frigate, a brig, a sloop, and twelve gunboats, was ill-manned and equipped. The American squadron on the lake was very superior in strength. The troops under Prevost were to attack the redoubts of Plattsburg, whilst our flotilla was engaged with the vessels in the bay. Captain Downie led his ship the *Confiance* gallantly into action; but when a heavy fire opened from the American line, the gunboats, which had few British sailors on board, took flight like scared wild fowl. The frigate, brig, and sloop were left to bear all the brunt of the contest. The *Confiance* made a brave fight, as did the brig and sloop; but they were finally compelled to strike. Meanwhile, Prevost lingered in making the land attack; and his troops did not reach the point of assault till the fleet had surrendered. He had been thus instructed by earl Bathurst: "take care not to expose his Majesty's troops to being cut off; and guard against whatever might commit the safety of the forces under your command." He obeyed his instructions to the letter. The command of the lake was lost; and therefore it was useless to attack Plattsburg. A violent outcry was raised against our commander of the forces in Canada. He resigned; and demanded a court-martial. Wellington thought Prevost was right to retire after the fleet was beaten.* He died before the court-martial commenced. His defence of Canada, with a small force, against repeated incursions of an enemy whose numbers were long thought by the Americans to be irresistible, ought to have saved his memory from the obloquy which has been attempted to be thrown upon it by some writers.†

On Christmas Day, 1814, general sir Edward Pakenham, one of

* "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 224.

† A writer in the "Quarterly Review," No. LIV. is amongst the bitterest of his accusers. Alison has ably and generously defended him.

the most brave and skilful of the officers who had served under Wellington in Spain, joined the army that was encamped a short distance from New Orleans, preparing for an assault upon that city. The British government had not unjustly deemed that the capture of a place situated within a hundred miles of the mouth of the Mississippi, and which therefore was the chief emporium of the commerce of the "Great Water," would be an important success, and have a material influence on the favourable conclusion of a peace. Sir Edward Pakenham, accompanied by general Gibbs, had arrived from England to take the chief command of the army, which, after the fall of general Ross, had been under the orders of general Keane. Pakenham found this army, having achieved no final success at Baltimore, now placed in a situation of considerable danger and difficulty. On that Christmas-day the officers dined together, but their festivity was not cheered by any pleasant retrospect of a past triumph which could give them confidence in an approaching victory. New Orleans was an unfortified town, then containing only about 17,000 inhabitants—one-tenth of its population in 1860. The forts on the Mississippi were too strong to enable an armament to sail up from its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. But a hostile force having passed from Lake Borgne into Lake Pontchartrain, might land at either of two creeks. The Bayou of St. John was too well guarded to render a landing easy. The Bayou of Catiline, about ten miles from the city, was more practicable; but an army having landed would find itself planted on open swampy ground, with the Mississippi on the one side of the city, and a morass on the other side, preventing any assault except from the unfavourable ground on the bank of the lake.

On the 13th of December the troops embarked in small boats, and began to enter Lake Borgne. They had here to encounter a powerful American flotilla, which was finally defeated. A portion of the troops was now landed on a barren place called Pine Island, where it was determined that the whole army should assemble. It was the 21st before all were got on shore in this wretched desert, where, without tents, or huts, and unable to find fuel, the troops were exposed to rain by day and to frost by night. Pine Island was eighty miles distant from the creek where it was proposed to disembark. Only about one-third of the troops could be conveyed at once in the open boats, which only could navigate those shallow waters. It was necessary therefore to arrange for the landing in divisions. The advanced division, consisting of 1600 men, successfully disembarked at the Bayou of Catiline, having surprised the American sentinels. General Keane was in command of this

division. No enemy was to be seen. Deserters came in, saying that the inhabitants of New Orleans were favourably disposed towards the British. Everything appeared to promise safety, and general Keane marched into the open country without waiting, as had been arranged, for the other divisions to join him. He ordered the troops to encamp near the Mississippi. The men had eaten their supper in the belief that their rest would not be disturbed, when a large vessel dropped her anchor in the river, and furled her sails opposite the camp. A cry was at last heard, "Give them this for the honour of America!" and a broadside of grape swept down numbers of our unprepared soldiers. The night was dark as the schooner continued to fire from the river. On the land side the rattle of musketry was now heard. Our troops had found some shelter from the fire of the schooner, but now they were surrounded by a superior land force. After a severe struggle, without any possibility of forming the men, the enemy retreated. We had lost five hundred killed and wounded in this deadly strife. The second division of the army, which had embarked about twelve hours after the first division, heard the firing in the stillness of the night, as the boats were crossing the lake. By great exertion the whole army had been brought into position on the evening of the 24th. The next day Pakenham arrived to take command, and was received with such hearty cheers as manifested the confidence of the soldiers in a Peninsular commander.

The first object of the general was to construct a battery, by which, firing red-hot shot, he destroyed the schooner on the river. On the 27th he advanced his whole force to attack the American army. It was advantageously posted, being defended in front by a broad canal, and by formidable breastworks. The road by which the army marched was not only commanded by batteries, but by a flotilla on the Mississippi. The British ranks were greatly thinned by this conjoint fire. It was thought necessary to pause before further operations. All this effectual resistance had been evidently planned by some officer of high military talent. That officer was general Jackson, who became President of the United States in 1829. The British army was inactive on the 28th, 29th, and 30th. The enemy was strengthening his lines, which were so formidable, that Pakenham resolved to construct breaching batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, brought up from the vessels on the lake. During the night of the 31st six batteries had been completed, the material of which was not earth, but hogsheads of sugar taken out of the warehouses on the plantations. One of the other great products of Louisiana was employed by the Americans. Their para-

pets were constructed of earth and bags of cotton. It was soon found that our defences of sugar-hogsheads were wholly unavailing. In the first six days of January, a bold and ingenious attempt was made by the British commander to deepen a canal which ran across the neck of land lying between the Bayou of Catiline and the Mississippi, so that boats might be brought up from the lake, and a portion of the troops carried across the river to attack the battery on its right bank. The morning of the 7th was arranged for a general attack. The army had been reinforced by the arrival of two battalions under general Lambert, and its whole number was now little short of 8,000 men. A series of disasters disturbed, at the critical moment, the arrangements which appeared to have been made with a tolerable certainty of success. As the boats went up the canal, its banks crumbled in, blocked up the passage, and permitted only a few of the smaller boats to reach their point of destination. The main body of the army was to have attacked the works on the left bank at five o'clock on the morning of the 7th, simultaneously with the projected attack on the right bank. Pakenham waited till his patience was exhausted, and then determined to commence the assault without this support. The advantage of a sudden storming in the darkness of a January morning had passed away. It was broad daylight when the Americans saw the British column of three regiments marching on to the edge of the glacis. They were halted at the moment when a dash might have succeeded; for the scaling-ladders and fascines had been forgotten. A terrible fire drove them back in disorder. Pakenham, seeing that nothing but daring and endurance would carry the day, rallied his troops, and, leading them again to the attack, fell mortally wounded. General Gibbs and general Keane were also struck down. The command devolved upon general Lambert, who prudently resolved to draw off the troops. Our loss had amounted to two thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. An armistice of two days was agreed upon, for the purpose of burying the dead. On the 18th of January, the retreat of the British army commenced; and was so safely effected, that the troops re-embarked on the night of the 27th, with all the artillery and stores, except eight heavy guns. An insignificant triumph, in the capture of Fort Boyer, near Mobile, closed our military operations, on the 12th of February. The news of the conclusion of peace at Ghent arrived the next day.*

* These unfortunate operations are detailed with great spirit in "A Narrative of the Campaigns at Washington and New Orleans, by an Officer who served in the Expedition" (Rev. G. R. Gleig).

The Peace of Ghent was concluded by three British commissioners, lord Gambier, Mr. Goulburn, and Mr. Adams; and by four American plenipotentiaries, Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Henry Clay, Mr. J. A. Bayard, and Mr. Jonathan Russell. The objection made in October by Mr. Madison to the terms proposed by Great Britain, had led the negotiators on each side to effect a compromise. It was fortunate that it had been effected before the American people, intoxicated by the triumph at New Orleans, should have lost their anxious desire that hostilities should come to an end. The American government, by this peace, had not obtained a concession upon the two principles for which it went to war—that the flag covers the merchandise, and that the right of search for deserters is inadmissible. It was agreed that each government should use their efforts to put down the slave-trade. Difficult questions of boundary were left unsettled to give rise to future disputes. But in this war of three years the people of both countries had learnt by their commercial privations how desirable, if not indispensable, was a free intercourse between two great communities, having each so much to offer for the satisfaction of the other's wants, and both associated by natural ties of blood and language which the coldest politicians cannot wholly ignore. The mistakes in the conduct of the war were pretty equal on both sides. The defeats of the Americans in the invasion of Canada had in some degree lowered the European opinion of their military qualities. Plattsburg had shaken the confidence of the English public in the effect likely to be produced by a large employment of regular forces against imperfectly disciplined troops. The final disaster of our arms led to a more impartial estimate of what a democratic people is capable of effecting after a few years of rash and ill-understood warfare. A calm and sagacious writer has said, "The success, which was too late to affect the negotiations at Ghent, was sufficiently striking to be worth more to the American people than a good peace. It is in reality to the victory of New Orleans that a great part is due of the moral impression which has been left upon the world by the war of 1812,—a war imprudently engaged in, feebly conducted, rarely successful, very costly, perfectly sterile in diplomatic results, and, nevertheless, finally as useful to the prestige of the United States as fruitful for them in necessary lessons." *

* Cornelis de Wit, "Thomas Jefferson," p. 359.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Hundred Days.—Landing of Napoleon near Cannes.—Retrospect of the Restoration of the Bourbons.—The Charter.—The French army.—The treaty of Paris published.—The escape of Napoleon from Elba.—Declaration of the Powers assembled in Congress.—Advance of Napoleon.—He is joined by Labedoyère and Ney.—Flight of Louis XVIII.—Napoleon at the Tuileries.—British Parliament declares for war.—Napoleon organizes his army.—Crosses the frontier.—Joins his army at Charleroi.—Wellington's position.—He marches from Brussels.—Battle of Ligny.—Battle of Quatre Bras.—The field of Waterloo.—Positions of the two armies on the night of the 17th and morning of 18th of June.—The Battle of Waterloo.

ON the high road, midway between Cannes and Antibes, and close to a lane leading to a landing-place in the Gulf of St. Jean, are two cabarets, one on the left side of the road, the other on the right, which have set up rival claims to immortality. The Cabaret on the left bears this inscription, "Napoléon I., au Golfe de Jouan —débarkua i Mars, reposa dans cette même propriété." The cabaret on the right thus asserts its pretensions :—"Chez moi se reposa Napoléon I. Venez boire passants, célébrez son nom." In the year whose great event these signs pretend to record neither of the wayside public houses had been built. A miserable column, erected a few years since, repeats the one inscription which is the nearest approach to truth—that Napoleon rested "in this property." He had sat down under an olive-tree of this estate. He had successfully achieved his perilous voyage from Elba, from which he had embarked on the morning of the 26th of February, with his Guards, in seven small vessels. He once more stood on the soil of France, at three o'clock in the afternoon of that memorable 1st of March. The little army bivouacked that evening on some land that was then outside the town of Cannes on the east. An attempt was made to seduce the garrison at Antibes, but the commander of the fortress arrested the soldiers who had been employed on this mission, and threatened to fire upon any others who should approach. Cambronne, one of the generals who accompanied Napoleon, went into the town of Cannes to demand of the maire six thousand rations for the troops. The demand was very unwillingly complied with, for the presence of the ex-emperor excited the hatred of the people, who were tired of wars

and revolutions. Some said, if he came into the town they would shoot him. At four o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of March, the troops, in number about eight hundred, with Napoleon at their head, attended by his old companions in arms, Bertrand, Drouet, and Cambronne, commenced their march north on the road to Grasse; and possibly skirted Cannes on the east side, which quarter has been almost entirely built since 1815.*

This landing in the Gulf of St Juan on the 1st of March was the introductory scene to the great drama called "The Hundred Days." These count from the 13th of March, when Napoleon assumed the government, to the 22nd of June, when he abdicated.

The secret departure from Elba was not known to the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and to the representatives of the other European powers assembled in congress at Vienna, till the 7th of March, when the duke of Wellington received a despatch from lord Burghersh, the British minister at Florence, announcing the astounding fact. It was some days afterwards before the landing near Cannes and the march towards Grasse were known at Vienna. † Such was the slowness of communication, that on the 5th of March it was not known in Paris that the emperor had quitted the territory all too narrow for his ambition. Let us, before proceeding to relate the progress and issue of this great adventure, take a retrospect of the events that had followed Napoleon's abdication of the 4th of April, 1814,—eleven months of false confidence and hollow peace.

The 4th of June, 1814, was an exciting day for Paris; an important day for the future tranquillity of France and of Europe. A Constitutional Charter was that day to be promulgated by the restored king; and, on the same day, the last of the allied troops were to quit the capital. Louis XVIII. was to be left in the midst of his subjects, without the guarantee for his safety which some associated with the continued presence of the armed foreigners. The Charter created a Chamber of Peers, of about one hundred and forty members, named for life by the king. These took the place of the servile flatterers of Napoleon, called the Senate. The composition of this new body was an approach to impartiality in the union of Members of the old noblesse with a remnant of the Senate, and of Generals of the army before the revolution, with Marshals of the Empire. By the Charter, a Representative body

* We are indebted for these particulars to a friend resident in Cannes; and we give them to clear up the obscurity which prevails in some accounts as to the localities of that eventful debarkation.

† "Wellington's Despatches," vol. xii. p. 266. Despatch to Castlereagh, 12th of March.

was also created, with very sufficient authority, and especially with the power of determining the taxes to be levied on the people. But if the value of a representative system was held to be in some degree proportionate to the amount of population by which it is elected, some might have doubted if the limitation of electors to those who paid 300 francs direct taxes yearly, thus restricting the nomination wholly to the more opulent class, guarantee for the impartial working of the Constitution. The Charter also provided for civil and religious freedom, for trial by jury, for the liberty of the press. The exclusive privileges of the old monarchy,—the inequalities before the law,—which produced the revolution of 1789, were no more. The letter of the ancient feudalism had perished. But its spirit lingered in the very date of this Charter. It was held that Louis XVIII. began to reign when Louis XVII., the unhappy son of Louis XVI. was released by death from his miseries. The Charter, "given at Paris in the year of grace 1814, in the nineteenth year of our reign," was an emanation of the royal bounty. The king was declared by the chancellor, in his speech of the 4th of June, to be "in full possession of his hereditary rights," but that he had himself placed limits to the power which he had received from God and his fathers. The compromise was as distasteful to the Republicans as the real advantages of the Charter to the people were hateful to the Royalists. An acute observer, who was present at the ceremony of the promulgation of the Charter, writes,—"In England such a government would be held to be an execrable despotism, impudently mocking the forms of freedom. I am inclined to believe, however, that it contains nearly as much liberty as the French can bear." * The dissatisfaction which very soon followed the government of Louis "the desired," did not arise out of the greater or lesser amount of liberty bestowed by the Charter; but out of the manifold contradictions between the acts of the government and the character and habits of the French people. All had been changed since 1792, but the notions of the restored Royalists had undergone no change.

The Constitutional Charter was in some degree the work of the king himself, inasmuch as he had greatly modified a Charter presented to him by the Senate, which he found busy upon a constitution after Napoleon's abdication. The substance, and even the forms, of liberty, having perished during the Consulate and the Empire, the change was great when freedom of speech and of writing were possible; when a Senate and a Representative body

* "Lord Dudley's Letters," p. 42.

could debate without reserve and vote without compulsion. But a quarter of a century of revolution and military despotism had really unfitted the French to comprehend the value of the partial liberty which they had regained. The desire for liberty had almost wholly disappeared in the passion for equality which the revolution had generated. A Constitutional Monarchy, represented by a gouty old man who could not mount his horse—who had been brought back by foreign armies—was a poor compensation to the national vanity for the glory of living under a ruler who, for the greater period of his power, had only gone forth to new conquests,—who led kings captive, and who filled France with spoils of subject cities. The one surpassing folly of the restored government was the belief that France, and especially Paris, could forget Napoleon. When our Charles II. returned to St. James's under the protection of the army of Monk, it was held that his reign commenced on the terrible 30th of January, on which his father had perished before the Banqueting House at Whitehall. It was in England determined to ignore the twelve years of the Commonwealth. But it was easier for the Stuarts to take their place as a matter of absolute right and necessity—for the loyalists had always been an enduring power even during the supremacy of Cromwell—than for the Bourbons to re-enter the Tuileries as if they had been excluded for twenty years by a mere dominant usurpation which had died out. The very existence of Monsieur, and of the Comte D'Artois, had been as completely forgotten by the people, as they had become alienated from the emigrant nobility, who had fled from their ancient chateaux, and whose lands had passed into the hands of small proprietors who hated the name of Seigneurs in the dread that the quiet possession of what they had bought as national domain might be disturbed. The egregious folly which believed that a nation could altogether forget, was exhibited in the attempt to destroy every symbol of the rule of Bonaparte. The Parisians laughed at the littleness which set the upholsterers to work in defacing the N., which was multiplied on the carpets and hangings of the Tuileries; but they were angry when the white flag took the place of the tricolor. The anger of the bourgeoisie was perhaps of little consequence. They grumbled and sneered at the ordinances of the police, which forbade shops to be opened on Sundays and fête days. Wine sellers, restaurateurs, and billiard-table keepers, thought that no tyranny could be equal to that of closing their establishments during the hours of divine service. The government was right in its desire that a decent show of respect for religion should take the place of

the old license ; yet it was not so easy to change the habits of a generation. The discontent of the idle pleasure-seeking Parisians would not have brought back Napoleon, had not offence been given to a much more powerful and united body. The army felt more acutely than the people the suppression of the tricolor. The men hid their old cockades in their knapsacks ; the officers, when the cockades and the standards were required to be given up, concealed the eagles, or burnt the standards, which they had followed to victory. Thousands of old soldiers were pouring into France, released as prisoners of war, or turned out from the fortresses of provinces once annexed to the empire. The distinctive numbers of the regiments were entirely changed, so that the peculiar glory and heroism of each regiment were lost in the renown of the general mass. The army was reduced with imprudent haste ; officers of the regiments retained by the restored government were put upon half pay, and their places were supplied by young men who had seen no service, or by ancient gentlemen whose only merit was to have emigrated. Numerous Invalides were turned out from their refuge in Paris to exhibit their wounds and proclaim their wrongs in the provinces. The power which had so long dominated over France was not judiciously reduced ; its vanity was outraged by unnecessary affronts. The head of that wondrous military organization which had so long kept Europe in terror was his own master, in an island within two days' sail of the shores of France, unwatched and uncared for, as if he had utterly gone out of the minds of his idolators. The symbols of his authority had disappeared from the palaces and public buildings of France ; but a symbol was invented to indicate that with the return of spring the hero would come back to chase the Bourbons from their throne, and to repair the disasters of the last year of the empire. Little prints of groups of violets were handed from hand to hand, in which the outline of a well-known face might be traced in the arrangement of the flowers. *Père la Violette* was the name by which the expected one was now recognized ; and before the violets were come, this sign had passed from soldier to soldier. As they looked proudly and significantly around them, and talked mysteriously in spite of the police, men fancied that a crisis was approaching, and that the Bee might once more replace the Lily on robes of state and on chairs of sovereignty. The army might gain in a renewed power to dominate at home and to plunder abroad. But what would the people gain who, in less than a year after they had rejected Napoleon, had begun to sympathize with the desire of the army for his return ? Some of the more sober amongst French-

men saw, in spite of the ultra-monarchical tendencies of such as the Comte D'Artois and his faction, an almost certainty that genuine liberty and real prosperity would be established when false glory had lost its charm; that a spirit of Christian tolerance would take the place of the irreligion which the restored priestcraft had thought to supplant by a bigoted formality. These reasoners did not understand the nation whose restless propensities had been confirmed by fifteen years of aggressive despotism, succeeding ten years of sensitive democracy—a nation most difficult to govern, because “always deceiving its masters, who fear it either too little or too much.” *

The Treaty of Paris, ratified between France and the Allied Powers on the 30th of May, was published at the same time that the Charter was promulgated. Thiers describes with a touching sensibility the pain produced amongst all classes by a knowledge of the terms of this treaty: “They recognized the cruel hand of the stranger, above all, in the limitation of our frontiers.” The maledictions of the nation, he says, “fell chiefly upon England and upon Austria.” † It could have been no matter of surprise to any Frenchman of ordinary intelligence that the prolonged resistance of Napoleon to the moderate demands of the Allied Powers, in 1813 and 1814, had ended in the limitation of France to her ancient frontiers. Whilst Bonaparte was at the head of a powerful army, and the event of a conflict on the soil of France was full of uncertainty, the Allied Powers published their celebrated Declaration of Frankfort of the 1st of December, 1813, in which they said, “The Allied Sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy. . . . The Powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew.” Lord Aberdeen had concurred with Metternich in approving this declaration. Lord Castlereagh, on the contrary, thought this gratuitous engagement previous to the opening of a negotiation was most inconvenient and blameable. ‡ In the conferences of Chaillon of March 1814, the final terms proposed to Napoleon as the conditions on which he should be recognized as Emperor, were the cession of the whole of the conquests made by France since 1792. Napoleon rejected these terms, and was compelled to abdicate. While these negotiations were pending, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia concluded the “Treaty of Union, Concert, and Subsidy,” known as the Treaty of Chaumont, which de-

* De Tocqueville—“Society before the Revolution.”

† “Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire,” tome xviii. p. 192.

‡ Letter from the Hague, Dec. 14.

clared, that if the French Government should refuse the conditions contained in proposals for a general peace, the solemn engagement thus entered into was intended "to draw closer the ties which unite them, for the vigorous prosecution of a war undertaken for the salutary purpose of putting an end to the miseries of Europe, by re-establishing a just balance of power." The restoration of the ancient dynasty was naturally associated with a return to the ancient territorial limits of France. It was this association that, in addition to other grievances, real or imaginary, made the Bourbons obnoxious to a generation incessantly familiar with conquest, and proportionately stimulated into a belief that France "was the inevitable arbitress of the destinies of the world.

The duke of Wellington succeeded lord Castlereagh as the British Minister at Vienna, when the labours of the Congress were approaching their termination. The main points were concluded.* There were only some formal acts to be done. The sovereigns and the ministers of the larger states were about to separate, when their departure for their several countries was arrested by the news of the great event of the return of the ex-emperor to France.

The position of Napoleon at Elba was that of an independent sovereign. He had many soldiers around him devoted to his interests. He had cruisers by which he could keep up a correspondence with Italy and with France. During the sitting of the Congress, the evident danger arising out of his vicinity to the Continent was constantly present to the minds of some of the diplomats; although they heard that the monarch of the little island appeared not only resigned to his fate, but interested in the improvement of his dominions and the prosperity of his people. His occupations of directing new buildings and of planning new roads did not deceive every one; and there was serious talk of conveying him to some more secure place—some inaccessible island of the Atlantic—where the shadow of the eagle's wing would cease to frighten the timorous birds. The emperor of Russia, however, insisted upon the literal fulfilment of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. It was with him a point of honour to leave Napoleon undisturbed; to surround him with no spies; to let him feel that he was in no sense of the word a prisoner. Sir Neil Campbell was sent in April, 1814, by the British government to Elba, with instructions to "pay every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in Elba it is the wish of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection." He was to remain there as long as Napoleon might desire his presence. Sir Neil

* See Chapter XX.

Campbell lived on the most friendly and familiar terms with the ex-emperor; occasionally went away to Florence or to Leghorn; and having no apprehensions of danger, did not consider that he was called upon to exercise any peculiar watchfulness. But in the middle of February his suspicions were excited, and he went to Florence to consult with the British ambassador there as to the necessity of having some adequate naval force about the island. French historians have generally some recondite theory at hand to account for very natural occurrences. M. Capefigue thinks that there was a complicity on the part of England in the return of Napoleon. He believes that England, which had been an absorbing power in Europe during the imperial epoch, now seeing that Russia was too paramount, conceived that she might recover the first rank in a new struggle with Napoleon. The English cruisers therefore shut their eyes during the passage of Bonaparte to the Gulf of St. Juan.* Always, *perfidè Albion*.

Upon the 13th of March, "the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris assembled in Congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force," published a declaration which at once put an end to all possibility of terminating this issue without a trial of strength more or less severe. The declaration contained these emphatic words:—"By thus violating the convention which had established him in the Island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither truce nor peace with him. The Powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world; he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance."

In a despatch of the duke of Wellington of the 12th of March, he writes: "It is my opinion that Bonaparte has acted upon false or no information, and that the king will destroy him without difficulty, and in a short time. If he does not, the affair will be a serious one, and great and immediate effort must be made."† On the 4th of April, Wellington had arrived in Brussels to devise measures for the defence of the Netherlands. The "affair" had become "a serious one." Napoleon had marched from Cannes to Grenoble without encountering any opposition in the thinly-populated mountainous regions of Dauphiny. He had been in com-

* "Les Cent Jours," tome i. p. 128.

† "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 268.

munication with Labedoyère, who was an officer of the garrison at Grenoble, and this young colonel was ready with the men he commanded to hoist the tricolor. General Marchand, the governor of Grenoble, who was firm in his allegiance to the sovereign of the Restoration, sent out a detachment to observe the force that was approaching. Napoleon alone advanced to meet them, exclaiming, "I am your Emperor; fire on me if you wish." The soldiers threw themselves on their knees, and amidst shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur*," joined his ranks. Labedoyère and his men swelled the number, and Napoleon entered Grenoble amidst the cheers of the soldiery and the citizens. On the 12th of March he was at Lyon. From this city he issued decrees which assumed that he was already in possession of the supreme authority. By these the Chambers of Peers and Deputies were dissolved; the returned emigrants were banished; titles of honour, except for national services, were abolished; and emigrant officers who had received commissions from the restored government were struck off the list of the army. On the 14th of March, Marshal Ney, who on the 7th had taken leave of the king with the assurance that he would bring back Bonaparte in an iron cage, published a proclamation to the army at Auxerre, which thus begins:—"Officers and Soldiers, the cause of the Bourbons is irrevocably lost: the legitimate dynasty which the French nation has adopted is about again to mount the throne." It was in vain that in the two Chambers at Paris Napoleon was denounced as a public enemy, and that the benefits of a charter under a constitutional monarch were set forth in contrast with the principles of a military despot. The troops could no longer be relied upon. On the 19th of March the king, by proclamation, dissolved the Chambers. On the 20th, after midnight, Louis and the royal family left the Tuileries. On the 25th, his Court was established at Ghent. Napoleon was at Fontainebleau on the 19th. On the 21st he slept in the palace of the Tuileries, having been borne up the grand staircase by an enthusiastic crowd, and welcomed in the familiar saloon by ladies of his old court, who showed upon him bouquets of violets. The wives and daughters of his marshals and generals had been neglected or openly affronted by those who had come to the levées of the restored monarch with an imprudent contempt of a revolutionary aristocracy; the ladies of the imperial court had now their revenge.

On the 6th of April the Prince Regent sent a message to the two houses of Parliament, that the events that had recently occurred in France had induced his royal highness to give directions for the augmentation of the land and sea forces. It was also an-

nounced that the Prince Regent had lost no time in "entering into communication with the Allied Powers for the purpose of forming such a concert as might most effectually provide for the general and permanent security of Europe." The Treaty of Vienna of the 23rd of March had bound the Allied Powers to make war together upon Napoleon, and to conclude no separate peace with him. The resistance in the British Parliament to the determination to engage in this war was very feeble. In the debate on the Address for arming and acting in concert with our Allies, Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, to implore the Regent to use his utmost endeavours to preserve peace. It was rejected by a majority of 220 against 37. A second motion for an Address, praying the Crown not to involve the country in a war upon the ground of excluding a particular person from the government of France, was rejected by a majority of 273 against 72. The enormous sums demanded by the government were voted almost without inquiry. When a budget was brought forward on the 14th of June, which included a total charge of eighty-one millions, of which thirty-six millions were a loan, there were "not more than seventy persons present in the house, though late in the evening." *

Napoleon, on the 30th of April, had issued a decree convoking the Electoral Colleges for the nomination of Deputies to the Chamber of Representatives. The greater number of the people abstained from voting. It was necessary to do something striking, and Napoleon determined to revive the old revolutionary fête of the Champ de Mai. It was in this assembly of two hundred thousand of both sexes that he announced that the wishes of the nation having brought him back to the throne, his whole thoughts were turned to the "founding our liberty on a Constitution resting on the wishes and interests of the people." This Constitution was called "Acte additionel aux Constitutions de l'Empire." It was a very literal copy of the Charter of Louis XVIII., and had been forced upon the emperor by a party who believed that a limited monarchy, with representative institutions, might be a successful experiment whether under a Bourbon or a Bonaparte. Napoleon had addressed letters to the European potentates, professing his moderate and peaceful intentions. No faith could be placed in his professions, and his letters were unanswered. There could only be one solution of the question between Napoleon and the Allied Powers. In the Champ de Mai he exclaimed, "The princes who resist all popular rights are determined on war. For war we must prepare." The Chambers commenced their functions, not in the

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 546.

old spirit of the Empire, but as if they were really trusted with power, as portions of that Constitution to which the emperor had sworn in the Champ de Mai. His real security depended little upon the state of public opinion and upon the subservience of the legislature, but upon the efficiency with which he could reorganize his army.. Devoting all his energies to this task, he was very soon prepared with a bold plan of operation. He would not wait for the attacks of his enemies, but would pass the French frontiers, and engage with some portions of the allied armies before they could unite. On the 11th of June, having appointed a Provisional Government to act in concert with the Chambers, he left Paris in the evening. On the 13th he was at Avesnes. On the 15th he had crossed the frontier, and was at the head of 122,000 men, at Charleroi in the Netherlands.

Most of the garrisons of the Netherlands had been strengthened by the vigilance of the duke of Wellington; Charleroi was amongst the weakest. In addition to the general belief that Napoleon would remain on the defensive, the uncertainty as to the line of operations which he would choose if he determined on the offensive by an invasion of the Low Countries, forbade a concentration of force upon any one of the available points of the frontier. It was open for Napoleon to attack the Prussians by the Meuse; to enter by Mons, to drive back Wellington upon Antwerp; or to advance by the Sambre upon the point of junction of the two armies. The four Prussian corps of Blücher was at Charleroi, at Namur, at Dinant, and at Liège. The army of Wellington, consisting of British, Netherlanders, and Hanoverians, was distributed in cantonments, a large reserve occupying the environs of Brussels, where the duke had established his head-quarters. The troops under his command, however separated, could easily unite; and they had the most precise directions how to act in the case of the French passing the frontier. The statement that Wellington had received false information from Fouché upon Napoleon's movements, and was therefore surprised when Napoleon was upon the Sambre, is thus contradicted by the duke's intimate friend, lord Ellesmere: "I can assert on the duke's personal authority, and on that of others in his confidence at head-quarters, that the duke neither acted on nor received such intelligence as that supposed from Fouché or any one else: that he acted on reports received from his own outposts and those of his allies, the Prussians, and on these alone." The surprise is supposed to be confirmed by the fact that Wellington attended a ball at Brussels after hostilities had begun. Upon this, lord Ellesmere says, "it is only necessary to

state that Napoleon's advance was known to the duke long before the period fixed for that festivity; that the question whether it should be allowed to proceed had been fully discussed and decided in the affirmative. It was held that a recall of the invitations would create premature alarm among the population of Brussels, and premature encouragement to a pretty numerous party in its walls disaffected to the cause of the Allies." The Despatches of Wellington sufficiently prove that he was perfectly aware of the advance of Napoleon when he went to the ball. At half-past nine on the evening of the 15th, he wrote to the duke de Berri, that the enemy attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin that morning, and appeared to threaten Charleroi. "I have ordered our troops to prepare to march at break of day." The duke had issued the most precise directions for the several positions which the whole of his army were to take up that night; every separate direction concluding with the emphatic words, "to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice."* For the troops, who were immediately under his eye, the order was, "to be in readiness to march from Brussels at a moment's notice:" that moment arrived even before the break of day. The duke quietly supped with the gay assembly at the duchess of Richmond's; he and his generals gradually retired; the drums beat the alarm; the bugle-call gave the signal for "mounting in hot haste;" the bagpipes summoned the Highlanders; the artillery was rumbling through the streets; the measured tread of infantry, and the sharp rattle of cavalry, were heard in every quarter of the old town. The whole scene was changed from revelry to war before the "last light had fled" from that "banquet-hall." The reserve at Brussels were all on the march through the forest of Soignies, on the road to Quatre Bras, in the morning twilight. The duke of Brunswick had gone forth, heading his gallant countrymen in their sombre livery of grief for his father's death at Jena. The prince of Orange had marched to the front the moment he left the ball-room. The duke of Wellington was soon up with his men, who cheered him as he passed. He well knew the ground where his great struggle was to be made. He could calculate with exactness the moment when the divisions would join him upon the road towards the enemy.

There was an interval only of a few hours before the march from Brussels, and the gathering of other divisions on the roads which led to Quatre Bras, were succeeded by a battle. The Prussians, under general Ziethen, who had been driven from Charleroi on the 15th, had retired upon Fleurus. Marshal Blücher had con-

* "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 472.

centrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, with the villages of St. Amand and Ligny in front of his position. If Wellington is considered by some to have been tardy in concentrating his troops in the neighbourhood of the Sambre, Napoleon is equally liable to reproach in having believed that Blücher was concentrating his troops about Namur, and in having neglected to attack the separate corps early in the morning of the 16th, before they had nearly all united. Bulow's corps, however, had not come up to join Blücher, when Napoleon attacked him in front, expecting that Ney would also have attacked him in the rear. The movement of Ney was interfered with by the timely arrival of Sir Thomas Picton's division at Quatre Bras, in company with the Brunswickers and the contingent of Nassau. Wellington had himself ridden to Sombref, and had conferred with Blücher before the battle known as that of Ligny had begun. He had returned to Quatre Bras by four o'clock, and then took the command of his own army. The battle between the French and the Prussians lasted for three or four hours. Although Blücher maintained his position, he was so weakened by the severity of the contest, that he marched in the night and concentrated his army upon Wavre. The British also maintained their position, "and completely defeated and repulsed," says the duke, "all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it." Our loss was severe, amounting in killed, wounded and missing, to more than 2,500 men. The duke was very composed after this first trial of strength. The Spanish general, Alava, saw at the close of that day his old companion in the Peninsular war sitting by the road-side; and to his surprise was asked, "Were you at Lady —'s party last night?" *

The movement of Blücher rendered a correspondent movement necessary upon the part of Wellington. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th he retired from Quatre Bras upon Waterloo, a distance of about seven miles. Between Waterloo and Wavre was a distance of about ten miles, through a country of difficult defiles. On the 17th the French made no attempt to pursue Blücher. A large body of French cavalry followed the English cavalry under lord Uxbridge; and at Genappe they were charged by the first Life Guards. In the course of the day Napoleon moved forward his army upon the same road over which Wellington had marched earlier in the morning. Wellington had taken up his position in advance of the village of Waterloo, near Mont St. Jean, where the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles crossed. On the night of the 17th, and early in the morning of the 18th,

* Lord Ellesmere—"Life of Wellington."

Napoleon collected his whole army, with the exception of a corps which had been sent under Grouchy to observe Blücher, on a range of heights in front of the British position.

The battle field of Waterloo has been described again and again by observers capable of impressing us by the spirit or the accuracy of their pictures. The poet, the historian, and the tactician, have made every point in some degree familiar to us. Byron says, "I went on horseback twice over the field, comparing it with my recollection of similar scenes. As a plain, Waterloo seems marked out for the scene of some great action, though this may be mere imagination. I have viewed with attention those of Platea, Troy, Mantinea, Leuctra, Chæronea, and Marathon; and the field around Mount St. Jean and Hougomont appears to want little but a better cause, and that undefinable but impressive halo which the lapse of ages throws around a celebrated spot, to vie in interest with any or all of these, except, perhaps, the last mentioned."* Before Byron had gone over the field, it had been called "this modern Marathon."† During the lapse of nearly half a century, it is not the "undefinable but impressive halo which the lapse of ages throws around a celebrated spot," which has made this ground such an object of curiosity to English visitors of the continent. Neither are there many who think that its interest requires "a better cause." So many of our countrymen have traversed this battle field, and have thus acquired a knowledge which no description can convey, that we shall only attempt briefly to indicate a few of its peculiar aspects in connection with a very general narrative of the leading events of the great day of the 18th of June.‡

On the ground which we call the field of Waterloo (although the battle was fought about a mile and a half in advance of that village), Wellington had taken up his position, with a certain knowledge, derived from several previous examinations, of its capabilities for defence. "He used to describe the line of ground between the farm of La Haye Sainte and Hougomont as resembling the curtain of a bastion, with these two positions for its angles."§ The first care of the duke was to occupy with sufficient force these two angles, Hougomont, near the Nivelles road, in front of the right centre, and La Haye Sainte, close to the Genappe road, in front of the left centre. The right of his position was thrown back to a ravine near Braine Merbes, which was occupied; and its

* Notes to "Childe Harold," canto iii.

† Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 152.

‡ The author visited the field in May, 1861, in company with his friend, Mr. W. Harvey.

§ Lord Ellesmere.

left extended to the chateau of Frichermont, situated on a height above the hamlet of La Haye. The undulating plain upon which the army of English, Belgians, and Germans looked from the ridge on which they stood on the evening of the 17th was covered with crops of grain, of potatoes, and of clover. It had rained incessantly through the day; as night advanced the torrents of rain were accompanied with thunder and lightning. The troops had to bivouac upon the wet crops, whilst the generals and their staff obtained shelter in the adjacent villages. Wellington had his head-quarters in a house opposite the church at Waterloo. At three o'clock in the morning of the 18th he was writing to sir Charles Stuart at Brussels, with a calm confidence in the result of the almost inevitable struggle of that day. "The Prussians will be ready again in the morning for anything. Pray keep the English quiet if you can. Let them all prepare to move, but neither be in a hurry or a fright, as all will yet turn out well." At the same hour he wrote a long letter in French to the duke de Berri, in which he says, "I hope, and moreover I have every reason to believe, that all will go well." At the time of writing this letter, only a portion of the French army had taken up their ground on the opposite side of the valley, and he thought it possible that the main attack might be made at Hal, on the great road from Mons to Brussels. He had there stationed 7000 men, in addition to a large number of troops under the command of the Prince of Orange. The possible success of the enemy there, appeared to him "the only risk we run."* His army was a little superior in number to that of Napoleon, but it was inferior in artillery. There was however a far greater disparity. Wellington commanded an army of various nations, who had never before fought together; and even some of his British troops were new levies. In the summer of 1814, a large number of his famous Peninsular soldiers had been sent to America. Napoleon, on the contrary, had an army which he could wield with the most perfect assurance of unity of action, composed in great part of veterans who had returned to France at the peace. When Napoleon saw the English in position before the forest of Soignies, he exclaimed, "At last I have them; nine chances to ten are in my favour." He was of opinion, in which his generals agreed with him, that it was contrary to the most simple rules of the art of war for Wellington to remain in the position which he occupied; that having behind him the defiles of the forest of Soignies, if he were beaten all retreat would be impossible. Extensive and compact as that forest was, Wellington knew that there were many roads through it, all con-

* "Despatches," vol. xii. pp. 476, 477.

verging upon Brussels, most of which were practicable for cavalry and for artillery, as well as for infantry. "The duke," says Lord Ellesmere, "was of opinion that his troops could have retired perfectly well through the wood of Soignies, which, like other beech woods, is open at bottom; and he was still further satisfied that, if driven from the open field of Waterloo, he could have held the wood against all comers till joined by the Prussians, upon whose co-operation he throughout depended and relied." The greater number of military authorities agree that the position of Mont St. Jean was well chosen, and suitably occupied.*

General Jomini has described as one of the advantages of the position of Wellington, that all the movements of the French could be seen from it. There was a drizzling rain on the morning of the 18th; but occasionally the sun broke through the clouds, and displayed the French columns deploying to take up their ground. Amidst the inspiring airs of the numerous bands which in the French armies were always to encourage the spirits of the soldier, three lines were formed, of infantry and cuirassiers and lancers, with the artillery on the crest of the ridge. To the French the British army offered no such magnificent spectacle, the greater number being concealed by the undulations of the ridge on which they stood. They had taken their ground silently in two lines, with the artillery in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They stood noiselessly, except when one loud hurrah was raised as the duke rode along the lines between nine and ten o'clock. Large detachments were in the inclosures of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte.

The bells of the neighbouring churches were summoning to worship on the Sabbath morn when 150,000 men were thus preparing to destroy each other. The clock of Nivelles struck eleven as the first cannon was fired from the French centre. On the left of their line the quick fire of musketry was soon heard from the column advancing to attack Hougoumont. This property (the Château-Goumont—corrupted into Hougoumont) was a comfortable residence of a Flemish yeoman, with farm buildings, and a garden extensive enough to be misnamed an orchard, which was inclosed by a wall on the east and the south sides. This inclosure of about two acres was laid out in straight walks and planted with well trimmed trees. The formal garden is now laid down to grass. The ruins of the château, which was burnt, with the exception of a chapel attached to it, have been cleared away. A humble dwelling, formerly the gardener's house, now stands amidst some sheds and other rough buildings, the inclosed space being entered by a pair of wooden gates,

* Brialmont—"Histoire de Wellington," tome ii. pp. 412, 413.

closing up the passage of the yard. There is not much here to see, if we look cursorily upon this dilapidated residence. If we examine it carefully there is abundant evidence of the nature of the struggle which here took place during seven or eight hours of that eventful day. The loop-holed walls show where the defenders of Hougoumont fired upon the attacking enemy; the dints of the assailing shot are still visible on many a brick. One portion of the gate, too injured for repair, is now hung up as a memorial. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say, "this Belgian yeoman's garden wall was the safeguard of Europe, and the destiny of mankind perhaps turned upon the possession of his house."* Six thousand French, under the command of Jerome Bonaparte, commenced their attack upon the English light troops which were in the wood around the château. This wood was defended with an obstinacy which was attested by the bullet marks upon every tree. The wood was, however, carried by the French, and the light troops had now to defend the walls of the garden and the gates of the yard. Some preparation had been made for this in the loop-holes which had been knocked out, and by scaffolding, from which the defenders could fire. This deadly contest was prolonged without any result till two o'clock, when Napoleon ordered that a battery of howitzers should play upon the building. It was soon in flames, but there was no relaxation in the resolute defence of the farm-yard by the 1st and 2nd Foot Guards. By a vehement rush the French had burst open the gates, but they were finally closed by a prodigious exertion of personal strength, in which Colonel Macdonnell, was amongst the most efficient of the stalwart heroes. The prolonged defence of Hougoumont had a decided influence in deranging the plans of Napoicon. "The general opinion was, that after having taken the post of Hougoumont, he would then render himself master of La Haye Sainte, and afterwards decide the battle by a violent attack of his reserve upon the enemy's centre."†

The difficulties attending the attempt to give an intelligible description of a great battle, such as that of Waterloo, have been well set forth by Wellington himself. He had been applied to by one whom he evidently held in great respect—probably Walter Scott—to give him information as to particular events and instances of personal heroism, for the purpose of a connected narrative description. "The object which you propose to yourself is very difficult of attainment, and, if really attained, is not a little invidi-

* Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 134.

† Brialmont (quoting French authorities), tome ii. p. 415.

ous. The history of a battle is not unlike the history of a ball. Some individuals may recollect all the little events of which the great result is the battle won or lost; but no individual can recollect the order in which, or the exact moment at which they occurred, which makes all the difference as to their value or importance." * Wellington's own official description of the progress of the contest is in the most general terms. He says that the attack upon the right of our centre (Hougoumont) was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line. Repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, either mixed, or separate, were made upon us. In one of these the enemy carried the farm house of La Haye Sainte. The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful. They were repeated till about seven in the evening, when a desperate effort to force our left centre was defeated. Having observed that the French retired from this attack in great confusion; that the arrival of general Bulow's corps had begun to take effect; and that marshal Blücher had joined in person with the corps of his army, he (Wellington) determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point. These official generalities have far less interest than some of the familiar and pithy sentences addressed by the duke to personal friends. To lord Beresford he writes, on the 2nd of July, "You will have heard of our battle of the 18th. Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were what the boxers call gluttons. Napoleon did not manœuvre at all. He just moved forward in the old style, in columns, and was driven off in the old style. The only difference was, that he mixed cavalry with his infantry, and supported both with an enormous quantity of artillery. I had the infantry for some time in squares, and we had the French cavalry walking about us as if they had been our own. I never saw the British infantry behave so well." †. It has been truly said, "there is nothing in the history of battles more sublime than the generalship which could order, and the patient valour that could sustain such a method of fighting as this." ‡ The desperate attempts to pierce our line were defeated by that unequalled firmness of the British infantry, which, it is reported, led Soult to say to the emperor, "Sire, I know these English; they will die on the ground before they will leave it."

This devoted endurance during seven or eight of the most trying hours was sustained throughout by the presence of the duke at

* "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 590.

† *Ibid.*, p. 529.

‡ Miss Martineau—"Introduction to the History of the Peace," p. cccxcv.

every point of danger, and by his constant care to spare his troops as much as possible, by repressing the natural anxiety of men in battle to be actively employed. The character of a part of the ridge upon which the British line was placed has been materially altered by removing the earth for a considerable distance to form the materials for an enormous mound, on the top of which is the Belgian lion. Behind this natural parapet the duke had placed several regiments, the men lying down concealed from the French, who were advancing to attack. "Up, Guards, and at them!" were the words that in a moment presented a wall of bayonets to the confident French. For four or five hours the British commander had to endure the agony of disappointed expectation. He had counted upon being joined by Blücher about one in the afternoon, according to a message which he had received when the battle had begun. Two o'clock,—three o'clock,—four o'clock,—five o'clock,—six o'clock,—came, but no sign of the expected aid on his left: there was nothing for it but to endure. General Picton had been killed before the battle was half over. When Wellington was told that of Picton's division of 7000 men only 1500 remained, he replied, "They must stand in their place till the last man," and they did stand. A general officer asked that his brigade, reduced to a third, should be relieved. "It is impossible," said the duke, "he and I, and all of us, are called upon to die in the place which we occupy at this moment." Surrounded by his men in a square charged by the French cavalry, he exclaimed, "Stand fast, 95th! we must not be beaten, my friends. What would they say of us in England?" This stoical fortitude it was difficult for him always to sustain. Looking upon the carnage around him, he said, "There are yet some hours left for cutting these brave fellows in pieces: please God that the night or the Prussians would arrive before that is effected!"

The official despatch of Wellington contained these words: "I should not do justice to my own feelings, or to marshal Blücher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them." Blücher had arrived precisely at the time when his co-operation in another part of the field was a warranty for the success of the attack by Wellington which produced the final result. Brialmont cites these words as an example of the perfect equity and noble disinterestedness of which the duke had given so many proofs; but he protests against the injustice by which some historians have attempted to rest upon this avowal an opinion that to Blücher is to be attributed the honour of the victory. When

the corps of Bulow, Brialmont says, arrived, the position of Wellington was serious, but it was not desperate. If Blücher had not debouched upon the left of the position, fortune might have declared against the Allies. If the Prussians arrived in the nick of time, and decided the victory, that was owing rather to Wellington than to the initiative of their own general. It is impossible to refuse to Wellington the title of the conqueror at Waterloo, for it was he who settled the joint measures for the day of the 18th; who chose, and who occupied, the field of battle; who directed during seven hours the whole of the operations; and who ordered the decisive attack at the moment when the Prussians, according to their promises, debouched on the right of the enemy.*

At six o'clock in the evening there was no point at which the allied army had yielded, or which had not been recovered from the possession of the French. It was seven o'clock when the emperor made his great attack upon our left centre. It was at this moment that the issue of the conflict was doubtful. The duke, however, rapidly collected his men from all points, to meet this apparently overwhelming force. An observer of the scene says, "To the most dinning and continual roar of cannon and musketry I have ever known, there succeeded a sudden pause and silence. It was but momentary,—they had turned, and now fled, pursued by our troops."† The Prussians had outflanked the movements of the reserve corps acting against them, and were now pressing on the main body of Napoleon's army. It was then that he was convinced of the worthlessness of the fatal delusion in which he had indulged throughout the day,—that Grouchy, with his thirty-thousand men was at hand, and that the Prussians could not come up before he had beaten "that Wellington." The rout and panic of the French became universal. For a moment Napoleon hoped to arrest this flight by forming a square of the last regiment of his Guards, and by raising a battery with some dismounted cannon. A ball from this battery carried off the leg of lord Uxbridge. In the obscurity of the twilight the fugitives saw not this rallying point, and hurried on, a disorganized and helpless crowd. In the last square formed by the Guard, Napoleon was about to throw himself, there in all likelihood to die. Soult turned Napoleon's horse, exclaiming, "Ah, Sire, our enemies are already too fortunate." The emperor fled with the mass. The square, however held firm, to allow time for their leader to escape. Cambronne and other officers remained in the square. "Surrender!" was the cry

* "Histoire de Wellington," tome ii. pp. 440—445.

† Letter from sir Robert Gardiner in Ward's Memoirs," vol. i. p. 493.

of their assailants. Cambronne threw himself into the ranks of his enemies, and perished. One last cry of "*Vive L'Empereur*" was heard amidst the smoke and clash of arms. "Nothing more is heard; the Guard is dead, the Empire is finished." *

At nine o'clock, Wellington and Blücher met near La Belle Alliance, which was in the centre of the French position. The Prussian general Gneisenau pursued the flying French, to whom all chance of rallying was impossible. Wellington joined in the pursuit, but the fatigue of his men compelled him to stop between Rossomme and Genappe. It was at Genappe that the carriage of the emperor was taken, to form a show in London. During the pursuit Wellington rode with the advanced guard. Colonel Hervey, who was with him, advised him to desist, as the country was growing less open, and he might be fired at by some stragglers from behind the hedges. "Let them fire away," he replied, "the battle is won, and my life is of no value *now*." † Under the brilliant moon which succeeded the lowering day, Wellington rode across the battle-field to his quarters at Waterloo. As the heaps of dying and dead lay around him, the emotions must have rushed upon him which he so beautifully expressed the next day, in a letter to the duke of Beaufort: "The losses I have sustained have quite broken me down, and I have no feeling for the advantages we have acquired." To the earl of Aberdeen, in a letter dated the same day, he said, "I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me, and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me." ‡

The total loss of both armies in this tremendous battle is thus stated:—British and Hanoverians, 11,678; Netherlanders, 3,547; troops of Brunswick, 1000; of Nassau, 1000; Prussians, 7454. Total, 24,679. Of the French army, 18,500 were killed or wounded, and 7800 made prisoners.§

* Brialmont, tome ii. p. 429.

‡ "Despatches," vol. xii. pp. 485, 489.

† Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 134.

§ Brialmont, tome ii. p. 431.

CHAPTER XX.

Napoleon's return to Paris.—His abdication.—On board the *Bellerophon*, at Plymouth.—Sails for St. Helena.—Specimens of the truth of History.—The Allies take possession of Paris.—Return of Louis XVIII.—Definitive Treaty with France.—Settlement of Europe previously arranged by the Congress at Vienna.—Holy Alliance.—Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Execution of Labedoyère.—Escape of Lavalette.—Execution of Ney.—The Battle of Algiers.

AFTER the fatal night of the 18th of June, Napoleon had travelled with all haste to Paris, where he arrived at four o'clock on the morning of the 21st. The Chamber of Representatives met at noon on that day, and declared its sitting permanent. Its manifest intention was to assume the executive power, and to compel Napoleon to abdicate. Lucien Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the Chamber to urge the claims of his brother upon the gratitude of France. Lafayette replied, that "during the last ten years three millions of Frenchmen had perished for a man who would still struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Now our duty is to save our country." During the 22nd Napoleon was urged to abdicate. He resisted for some time, exclaiming, "The Chamber is composed of nothing but Jacobins and ambitious men. I ought to have driven them away." He yielded at last, and dictated his abdication in favour of his son Napoleon II.; and in this document, in which he said "My political life is ended," he invited the Chambers to organize a Regency. The Chambers sent a deputation to thank Napoleon for the sacrifice which he had made to the independence and happiness of the French nation; but he replied that he had only abdicated in favour of his son, and that if the Chambers did not proclaim him, his own abdication would be null. Instead of appointing a Council of Regency, it was determined by the Chambers that the government should be put into the hands of a Commission of five members. This was indirectly to set aside Napoleon the Second. The provisional government required that Napoleon should leave France, and embark at Rochefort for the United States. He demanded that the government should give him two frigates for his passage there. The frigates were placed at his disposal, and their commanders were ordered to set sail within twenty-four hours after he was on board,

if the English cruisers were not in the way. Bonaparte arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July. Finding that he had no chance of escaping by sea, he sent Las Cases and Savary to captain Maitland, who commanded the Bellerophon, to ask for leave to proceed to America, either in a French or a neutral vessel. The reply of captain Maitland was, that his instructions forbade this; but that if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there, without entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with.

In the house of a gentleman at Plymouth we have looked with no common interest upon a portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte, painted under very extraordinary circumstances. At the end of July, the British ship of war Bellerophon is at anchor in Plymouth harbour. On board is the ex-emperor of the French, who, on the 13th of July, had addressed a letter to the Prince Regent from Rochefort, in which he said, "I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British nation" (*m'asseoir sur les foyers*). The Bellerophon, with Napoleon and his suite, had sailed from Rochefort on the 14th of July. Whilst the British government was in a state of indecision as to the final disposal of its fallen enemy, he was not permitted to land, nor was any person from the shore allowed to enter the vessel. But round the Bellerophon numerous boats, filled with curious observers, were perpetually rowing, and to these gazers Bonaparte seemed rather disposed to show himself than to remain in the privacy of his cabin. The opportunity of making a portrait of this remarkable man was not lost upon a young artist, a native of Plymouth. Charles Eastlake, now President of the Royal Academy, was sketching that stout figure and superb head from one of the boats surrounding the ship of war; and when Napoleon perceived the object of the artist, he would stop his walk upon the deck, so as to afford him the opportunity of proceeding successfully with his work. The Bellerophon remained a fortnight in Plymouth Roads, and then Napoleon was removed to the Northumberland, which sailed for St. Helena.

On the 31st of July, lord Keith, with sir Henry Bunbury, the Under-Secretary of State, had announced to Napoleon the resolution of the British government, that the island of St. Helena should be his future residence. He protested that he was not a prisoner of war, although he subsequently acknowledged that he had made no conditions on coming on board the Bellerophon. The question as to the *status* of the ex-emperor under the law of nations gave rise to very grave discussions amongst English jur-

ists. Lord Campbell says, "I think lord Eldon took a much more sensible view of the subject than any of them—which was, 'that the case was not provided for by anything to be found in Grotius or Vattel; but that the law of self-preservation would justify the keeping of him under restraint in some distant region, where he should be treated with all indulgence compatible with a due regard for the peace of mankind.'" * The probability is, that if Napoleon had fallen into the hands of the Prussians, who were near Paris on the 29th of June, the question of his fate would have been disposed of in a much more summary way than could arise out of any discussion upon the law of nations. On the 28th of June, Wellington wrote to sir Charles Stuart, "General — has been here this day, to negotiate for Napoleon's passing to America, to which proposition I have answered that I have no authority. The Prussians think the Jacobins wish to give him over to me, believing that I will save his life. — [Blücher] wishes to kill him; but I have told him that I shall remonstrate, and shall insist upon his being disposed of by common accord. I have likewise said, that, as a private friend, I advised him to have nothing to do with so foul a transaction; that he and I had acted too distinguished parts in these transactions to become executioners; and that I was determined that, if the sovereigns wished to put him to death, they should appoint an executioner, which should not be me." † The Prussian general Muffling states in his "Memoirs," that having been appointed to obtain the concurrence of Wellington in the design of Blücher that Napoleon should be shot in the place where the duke d'Enghien had been killed, Wellington had replied—"Such an act would disgrace our names in history, and posterity would say of us, 'they were not worthy to have been the conquerors of Napoleon.'" The prisoner of St. Helena repaid this conduct by bequeathing ten thousand francs to the man who had attempted to assassinate Wellington, during his residence in Paris as the commander of the Army of Occupation. French historians have attempted to justify this odious testamentary expression of Napoleon's hatred of his victor, by attributing to Wellington that he instigated the banishment to St. Helena. It is now known that, as early as May, 1814, the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna decided, in a secret conference, that if Napoleon should escape from Elba, and should fall into the power of the Allies, a safer residence should be assigned him, at St. Helena or at St. Lucia.

* "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. ccii.

† Wellington's "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 516

The assumption that the Sovereigns wished to put Napoleon to death was the interpretation which, in the excitement of that time, many persons attached to the declaration of the Allied Powers of the 13th of March, that he had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; adding, "as an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance." Lord Eldon, referring to this declaration, says that the Allies have "considered him as out of the pale of the law of nations, as the *Hostis humani generis*, as an outlaw (without knowing very well what they mean by that word), as a robber and freebooter, who might be put out of the world." * M. Thiers, in a spirit very different from that of the impartial historian, argues, with regard to the words of the 13th of March, that "the obvious conclusion is, that whoever could seize Bonaparte ought immediately to shoot him, and would be considered as having rendered to Europe a signal service." † The declaration of the Allies was signed by the plenipotentiaries of eight powers, who had been parties to the Treaty of Paris of the previous year. Talleyrand and three others signed on the part of France; Wellington and three others on the part of Great Britain. When Wellington insisted, against the opinion of Blücher, that Bonaparte should "be disposed of by common accord," he rightly interpreted the words of the declaration of the 13th of March:—"comme ennemi et perturbateur du repos du monde, il s'est livré à la *vindicté publique*." It is established by the papers of Talleyrand that the precise words of the declaration were proposed by Talleyrand himself. Yet M. Thiers attributes to Wellington that he was the instigator, upon his own responsibility, of the measures which the Allies took in this crisis, including, of course, this declaration against Napoleon. This eminent writer, in a mistaken view which we are unwilling to characterize by any harsher name, further represents the duke of Wellington as plunging the British nation into a war without the authority of his government, for the gratification of his own personal ambition. Lord Wellington, he says, who had replaced lord Castlereagh, relying upon his great services and his popularity in England, hesitated not to take his resolution. Although he had received no instructions, he judged that it was worth while to renew the war, to maintain the state of things that England was about to establish in Europe. "He had a confused hope of increasing his own glory in this new war; and he was not afraid of involving his government, convinced that no one would dare to disavow him in

* "Life of Eldon" (Letter to Sir William Scott), vol. ii. p. 279.

† "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," tome xix. p. 275. 1861.

England, whatever might be thought of his conduct." * One of the duke's objects in going to Belgium in April, says M. Thiers, was that he might be nearer London, "to uphold the courage of his own government, and to compel it to ratify the engagements which he had made without being authorized." † The English Cabinet, he concludes, if it had been present at Vienna, would not have engaged in the war as easily as the duke of Wellington, for they were aware that public opinion was opposed to it. The opinions thus expressed by M. Thiers, that the war against Napoleon was urged on by the personal ambition of the duke of Wellington, that the British government was reluctant to engage in it, and that the British people were decidedly opposed to it, are quite upon a par with the belief of the same historian, that Bonaparte returned from Elba entirely changed,—a lover of peace, an upholder of liberty, a friend to the free expression of opinion, a ruler who would vindicate the choice of the people by equity and moderation. Of his good faith no one ought to have doubted. "He gave to the world, after so many spectacles of such instructive grandeur, a last spectacle, more profoundly moral and more profoundly tragic than any which had gone before; genius, vainly, though sincerely, repentant." ‡ When statements and opinions such as these are boldly put forward, we may give their author the benefit of that charitable scepticism which thinks that "the Historian, affirming many things, can, in the cloudy knowledge of mankind, hardly escape from many lies." §

On the 7th of July the English and Prussian armies entered Paris, and took military possession of all the principal points, under a convention signed on the 3rd of July, by which the French army was to evacuate Paris and to retreat beyond the Loire. Louis the Eighteenth made his public entrance, escorted by the National Guards, on the 8th of July. To the firm moderation of Wellington it is wholly due that the Parisians were not doomed to suffer any humiliation beyond that of the presence of foreign armies. He calmed Blücher's thirst for vengeance by exhortation, and even by stronger modes of remonstrance. When the Prussian general had begun to mine the bridge of Jena, with the intention to blow it up, because that monument proclaimed a defeat of the Prussian arms, "the duke of Wellington," says a French historian, "interfered by placing an English sentinel on the bridge itself. A single sentinel. He was the British nation; and if Blücher had blown

* "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," tome xix. p. 361.

† *Ibid.*, p. 366.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

§ Sir P. Sidney—"Defence of Poesy," p. 33, "Poetical Works," ed. 1720.

up the bridge, the act was to be held as a rupture with Great Britain." *

The definitive treaty between France on the one part, and Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, on the other, was signed on the 20th November, 1815. Its object was declared to be for the "restoring between France and her neighbours those relations of reciprocal confidence and goodwill which the fatal effects of the Revolution and of the system of conquest had for so long a time disturbed." This treaty left the boundaries of France, with a very slight alteration in her frontier lines, the same as agreed at the Peace of 1814. It was, nevertheless, resolved to keep possession of the frontier fortresses for a term not exceeding five years, and to maintain an army of occupation, to be paid and supported by France during the same period. The greatest mortification which the French had to endure was the determination of the Allied Powers that the works of art which had been plundered from various countries during the wars of the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire, should go back to the churches and the museums from which they had been forcibly taken. This act of retribution provoked then, as it still provokes, the lamentation of pretended lovers of the fine arts, whose selfish convenience would be more gratified by seeing the greatest masterpieces of sculpture and painting in the Louvre than in their proper sites at Rome, at Florence, at Antwerp, at the Hague. The honest national pride of the true owners of such works is accounted as nothing in these lamentations.

To France alone did the treaty of the 20th of November apply. The settlement of Europe, as it was hopefully called, had been effected by the general treaty signed in Congress at Vienna on the 9th of June. When the Peace of 1814 was concluded with the restored Monarchy of France, there were an immense number of political questions left undetermined, which were almost of as much importance to the tranquillity of the future as the overthrow of the gigantic power of the French Empire. The convulsions of twenty years had left Europe in a chaotic state, out of which order and harmony could scarcely be evolved even by any exercise of political wisdom based upon an unselfish moderation. In the reorganization of Europe there would unquestionably be a struggle for aggrandizement, which might present as great dangers as the military supremacy which had been overthrown. On the 25th of September, 1814, the emperor of Russia; the king of Prussia; the kings of Bavaria, Denmark, and Würtemberg; princes of small states, German and Italian; princesses, amongst whom the duchess of Olden-

* Capefigue, "Les Cent Jours," tome ii. p. 365.

burg, the sister of Alexander, was the most influential; great plenipotentiaries, such as Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand; and lesser diplomats, who came to get something, if possible, out of the general scramble—all assembled at Vienna to debate, to dine, to vary the tedious discussions of the morning with the enlivening festivities of the night. Ambassadors vied with Sovereigns in the splendour of their entertainments. Castlereagh gave as sumptuous dinners, and as attractive balls as Alexander:

"Now this mask
Was cry'd incomparable; and the ensuing night
Made it a fool and beggar."*

Nevertheless, the slightest survey of the map of Europe would show that there was serious work to be accomplished. It had been agreed by secret articles of the Treaty of Paris, that a kingdom, under the title of the Netherlands, should be formed by the union of Belgium with Holland; Prussia was to obtain the Rhenish Provinces; Sweden and Norway were to be united; Hanover was to be restored to the king of England, with an accession of territory taken from Westphalia; Lombardy and Venice were to return to the rule of Austria; Savoy to that of Piedmont. The Congress had been sitting two months, when rumours of the probable destiny of Saxony and of Poland roused the spirit of inquiry in the British Parliament. Mr. Whitbread, on the 28th of November, protested against the reported annexation of Saxony to the kingdom of Prussia. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, could not believe that the fate of Saxony was yet fixed, much less could he believe that any British Minister would have been a party to such a decision as was supposed to have been made. Nevertheless, it is now certain, that up to the end of October, lord Castlereagh had been a consenting party to the annexation of Saxony, which he defended by referring to the tergiversations of the king: of the people no mention was made by our Minister. Mr. Whitbread further said, "the rumours were, that the emperor Alexander had strenuously contended for the independence of Poland, and that he had been opposed by the British Minister." The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that "he did not believe that a British Minister had been the author of the subjugation of that country." There is now no doubt, that the very reverse of the rumours with regard to Poland marked the conduct of the emperor Alexander and of lord Castlereagh. As recently as July 2nd, 1861, lord John Russell, founding his opinion upon the cor-

* Shakspeare—"Henry VIII.," act i. scene 1.

respondence of the time, declared in the House of Commons, that everything that could be done by British diplomacy for Poland was done by lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna; that our minister wished, when Europe was to be reconstructed, that Poland should rise from her ashes, and should again possess an independent government; and that thus desiring the independence of Poland, he could not conceive that such independence was consistent with Poland being placed under the dominion of the emperor of Russia. In the debate of the 28th of November, Mr. Whitbread said, "We now lived in an age when free nations were not to be sold and transferred like beasts of burden; and if any attempt of the kind was made, the result would be a bloody and revengeful war." The attempt was made, and successfully, in too many instances; but it was not without the immediate risk of a war that the designs of Russia for the transference of nations were encountered in the Congress of Vienna. The policy of lord Castlereagh with regard to Saxony was changed as the negotiations advanced. Talleyrand, as a representative of France, had been admitted, after great hesitation, to take a part in the deliberations of the Congress. The annexation of Saxony to Prussia was opposed by Austria and by France. It had become evident that Prussia and Russia were assuming a dangerous preponderance in the partition of states, and that Great Britain must join with France in opposing them. These three powers before the end of 1814 had agreed that Russia should not say to Prussia, "Secure me Poland," and that Prussia should not say to Russia, "Secure me Saxony," and that they should shake hands upon this compact. On the 3rd of February, 1815, a secret treaty was concluded between Austria, England, and France, to act in concert, each with an army of 150,000 men, to carry into effect the Treaty of Paris, "holding it necessary, in consequence of pretensions recently manifested, to look to the means to resist every aggression." M. Thiers assumes that lord Castlereagh, having received, at the beginning of January, the news of the conclusion of peace with America, had taken a higher attitude towards Russia and Prussia. "His heart relieved of an enormous weight, that of the American war, he was ready to brave the most extreme consequences rather than to cede to the arrogance of the Prussians and the Russians. . . . He has said to them that England was not made to receive the law from any one." The attitude of lord Castlereagh, and the fact, which could not be concealed, of negotiations going on between him, Talleyrand, and Metternich, apart from the other Powers, probably produced some concessions from Alexander and

Frederick William, although they yielded little in reality. Prussia obtained one-half of Saxony, with a portion of the duchy of Warsaw. Russia secured the kingdom of Poland in undisputed sovereignty. The new kingdom of Poland was to have a constitution, with national institutions and national representation. But these promised advantages were to be bestowed upon the people in the manner which the government should think most suitable. "That, of course, left a very wide scope for interpretation; but beyond that there was a feeling which acted from that time, and which is acting at the present time, namely, that while the emperor Alexander I. wished to retain his power over Poland, at the same time he wished to grant to Poland large privileges, and to make it, at all events, a flourishing province, under the name of the kingdom of Poland; but the general feeling at St. Petersburg, the seat of power, was that Poland ought not to be indulged with privileges more large and more liberal than were granted to Russia."*

Whilst Austria was opposing the acquisitions of territory desired by Russia and by Prussia, she herself was acquiring new dominions and extended sovereignty, however unsuited were her annexed subjects for the yoke of her absolute power. The four millions of the Lombardo-Veneto kingdom would be as difficult to rule as those of the old provinces of the Low Countries which were severed from her empire. Little objection was made at this time to the anomaly of a German rule over Italian people. The only hostile voice in the British Parliament was one raised against the annexation of Genoa to Piedmont. By the final arrangement the hope was at an end which England had stimulated, when Lord William Bentinck, in 1814, entered Genoa at the head of a British army, on whose banners was inscribed "Italian independence." Italy returned to its old condition of disunion. Murat, who had been placed by Napoleon upon the throne of Naples when Joseph Bonaparte had become the "intrusive king" of Spain, had deserted the cause of his great fellow-soldier after the battle of Leipzig. Joining the Allied Powers, he appeared to have secured his position as an independent sovereign. But in the Congress there was no advance towards his recognition, as in the case of Bernadotte. He entered into correspondence with the ex-emperor at Elba, thus precipitating his own fall. Murat made it impossible for the Allies to believe in Napoleon's professions of a desire for peace, by rashly plunging into hostilities against Austria. The old misrule of the Bourbon in Naples and Sicily was no impediment to the determination of the Allies to restore that miserable dynasty. The

* Lord John Russell—Debate in the Commons, July 2, 1861.

Grand Duchy of Tuscany was restored, as well as smaller states. A quarter of a century passed away before the hollowness of these arrangements was tested by the revolt of some portion of the people of the Italian peninsula against their rulers, and by the loudly expressed desire of the whole for a common nationality.

Whilst the prosaic destinies of Europe had been settled amidst a conflict of jarring interests, the emperor of Russia had assiduously laboured to obtain converts to a political union, which should be founded upon principles very different from those which ordinarily guide the councils of diplomatists. In a manifesto from St. Petersburg, dated "on the day of the birth of our Saviour, 25th December, 1815," the emperor commanded that there should be read in all the churches a "Convention concluded at Paris, on the 26th of September, 1815, between the emperor of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia," in which "they solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish in the face of the whole world their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections." This was the famous declaration of "The Holy Alliance." When asked to sign it, the Duke of Wellington said that the English Parliament would require something more precise. Whenever, in after years, either of the three Sovereigns manifested symptoms of disregard for "the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace," the Holy Alliance was held, perhaps somewhat unjustly, to be a cloak under which their violation of pledges to their own subjects, and their desire for territorial aggrandizement, might be best concealed. Denunciations of this Convention were long heard in the British Parliament.

The Peace of Europe was settled, as every former peace had been settled, upon a struggle for what the continental powers thought most conducive to their own advantage. The representatives of Great Britain manifested a praiseworthy abnegation of merely selfish interests. Napoleon, at St. Helena, said to O'Meara, "So silly a treaty as that made by your ministers for their own country was never known before. You give up everything and gain nothing." We can now answer that we gained everything when we gained a longer period of repose than our modern annals

could previously exhibit. We gained everything when, after twenty years of warfare upon the most extravagant scale, the spirit of the people conducted that warfare to a triumphant end. The gains of a great nation are not to be reckoned only by its territorial acquisitions, or its diplomatic influence. The war which England had waged, often single-handed, against a colossal tyranny, raised her to an eminence which amply compensated for the mistakes of her negotiators. It was something that they did not close the war in a huckstering spirit—that they did not squabble for this colony or that *entrepôt*. The fact of our greatness was not to be mistaken when we left to others the scramble for aggrandizement, content at last to be free to pursue our own course of consolidating our power by the arts of peace. There were years of exhaustion and discontent to follow those years of perilous conflict and final triumph. But security was won; we were safe from the giant aggressor.

If the plenipotentiaries of this country might return home a little imbued with the temper of despotic cabinets—if they could be accused of having too strenuously asserted the principle of legitimacy—if they had appeared to have contended too much for the claims of kings, and too little for the rights of the people—in one respect they had done their duty, and truly upheld the moral supremacy of England. They had laboured strenuously, and they had laboured with tolerable success, for the abolition of the Slave Trade. In the Treaty of Utrecht, England protected her commercial interests—despicable protection—by stipulating for a monopoly of the slave trade for thirty years. In the Treaty of Paris, England wrested from France an immediate abolition of the traffic, and a declaration from all the high contracting powers that they would concert, without loss of time, “the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious.” At the peace of 1814, the restored government of France—restored by our money and our arms—refused to consent to the immediate abolition. Bonaparte, amidst his memorable acts of the Hundred Days, abolished the hateful traffic by a stroke of his pen. The Bourbon government, a second time restored, dared no longer refuse this one demand of Great Britain. Other nations had promised. But, where we might have commanded, there alone was resistance. Spain and Portugal still maintained the traffic.

After great revolutions, such as those of France in 1814 and 1815—such as England had witnessed in the restoration of the Stuarts—it is almost impossible that a triumphant party should altogether have the magnanimity to pardon political offences. But History

looks with a just indignation upon any unreasonable severities, and especially upon any signal want of clemency in the ruler who has the unquestioned power to exercise the divine prerogative of mercy. Louis XVIII. can scarcely be accused of blood-thirstiness; yet his character would have stood better, not only with the French people, but with the British, had he not sanctioned the condemnation and capital punishment of three, who had indeed betrayed the trust which the restored government had reposed in them, but who had some excuse in their inability to resist the fascinations of Napoleon. Talleyrand had been unable to accomplish by negotiation as favourable terms for France as he had expected, and he resigned his office as President of the Council. He was succeeded by the Duc de Richelieu, who signed the treaty of the 20th of November. Whilst Talleyrand remained in power he, as well as Fouché, was anxious that no capital punishments should be inflicted upon any of those who were proscribed by an ordonnance of the 24th of July, for the part they had taken in the return of Napoleon in March. Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were advised to place themselves in safety by leaving France. They were tardy and irresolute; the friendly warning was useless. Labedoyère was tried by court-martial, and was shot. Lavalette, who had been condemned to death by the Cour d'Assise, escaped through a stratagem of his wife, who, having visited him in prison, was able to disguise her husband in her own dress, remaining herself as an object for the possible vengeance of the royalists. Lavalette was assisted to pass the frontier by the generous friendship of three Englishmen,—sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson; who were tried for this offence, and sentenced to three months imprisonment. The proceeding which most commanded public attention in England was the trial and execution of Ney; for it was held to involve the honour of the Duke of Wellington. Whilst the trial was proceeding before the Chamber of Peers, Ney was advised to rely for his defence on the capitulation of Paris. His wife had an interview with Wellington, who had previously expressed his opinion, in a letter to the prince de la Moskwa,—to the effect that the capitulation related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris; that the object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authorities of those who made it, towards any persons on account of the offices which they filled, or their conduct or their political opinions. “But it was never intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government

which should succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit." * When the bravest of the French marshals was executed, party spirit blamed the duke of Wellington for not regarding the capitulation as an amnesty. It would have been generous in the king of France to have spared Ney's life; but the capitulation of Paris offered no legal obstacle to that infliction of punishment which the king had threatened to the guilty before the capitulation.

"One day of dreadful occupation more † before England could be held to be at peace with foreign foes. At the Congress of Vienna, the aggressions of the Barbary States formed a natural subject of deliberation. It was proposed that a general European crusade should be undertaken against the infidel corsairs; who, for three hundred years, had been the terror of Europe, warring against every flag in the Mediterranean, and carrying off Christian slaves from every shore. In 1815, the government of the United States, whose ships had been plundered by the Algerines, captured a frigate and a brig belonging to the Dey, and obtained a compensation of sixty thousand dollars. In the spring of 1816, lord Exmouth, with a squadron under his command, proceeded to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, where he effected the release of seventeen hundred and ninety-two Christian slaves, and negotiated treaties of peace and amity on behalf of the minor powers in the Mediterranean. From Tunis and Tripoli a declaration was obtained that no Christian slaves should in future be made by either of those powers. The Dey of Algiers, however, refused to agree to the abolition of slavery without permission from the Sultan. Lord Exmouth acceded to a suspension for three months of the Dey's decision, and returned to England. One condition of the treaty with Algiers, then concluded by lord Exmouth, was, that the governments of Sicily and Sardinia should pay ransom for the release of their subjects; and, in point of fact, they did so pay, to the extent of nearly four hundred thousand dollars. This clause of the treaty was justly denounced in the British Parliament, as an acknowledgment of the right of depredation exercised by the barbarians.

The fleet of lord Exmouth was dismantled; the crews were paid off and disbanded. A sudden outrage which occurred even before lord Exmouth quitted the Mediterranean, but which did not then come to his knowledge, was the obvious cause of the

* "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 694.

† Southey—"Ode on the Battle of Algiers."

change in the determination of our government. Under a treaty of 1806, we occupied, for the protection of the coral fishery, Bona, a town in the regency of Algiers. On the 23rd of May, the fishers who had landed were massacred by a large body of troops; the British flag was torn down and trampled under foot, and the house of our vice-consul was pillaged. It was alleged that this outrage was a fanatical movement of the licentious Algerine soldiery. An expedition against Algiers was instantly determined upon by the British Cabinet. A formidable fleet was equipped, with the least possible delay, at Portsmouth, and crews were collected from the different guard-ships, and volunteers invited to serve upon this particular enterprise. For once, a British fleet went to sea without recourse to the disgraceful practice of impressment. Lord Exmouth left Plymouth on the 28th of July, with a fleet consisting of twenty-five sail of large and small ships. At Gibraltar he was joined by the Dutch admiral, Van Cappellan, with five frigates and a sloop; and he finally set sail for Algiers on the 14th. The winds being adverse, the fleet did not arrive in sight of Algiers till the 27th of August. During his course, lord Exmouth learnt that the British Consul had been put in chains.

A most interesting and graphic narrative of the expedition to Algiers was published by Mr. Abraham Salamé, a native of Alexandria, who was taken out by lord Exmouth to act as his interpreter. On the morning of the 27th, as the fleet was nearing Algiers, Salamé was sent forward with a letter to the Dey, which demanded the entire abolition of Christian slaves in the kingdom of Algiers; the restoration of all the money that had been paid for the redemption of slaves by the king of the Two Sicilies and the king of Sardinia; peace between Algiers and the Netherlands; and the immediate liberation of the British Consul, and two boats' crews who had been detained with him. At eleven o'clock the interpreter reached the Mole, in a boat bearing a flag of truce, and, delivering his letters to the captain of the port, demanded an answer to the letter addressed to the Dey in one hour. He was told that if answer were returned at all, it should be delivered in two hours. Salamé waited for his answer till half-past two, but no answer came. During this time a breeze sprung up, the fleet advanced into the bay, and lay-to within half-a-mile of Algiers. The interpreter then hoisted the signal that no answer had been given, and the fleet immediately began to bear up, and every ship to take her position. Salamé reached the Queen Charlotte, lord Exmouth's ship, in safety; but, he candidly acknowledges, almost more dead than alive. Then he saw the change which comes over a brave

and decided man at the moment when resolve passes into action. "I was quite surprised to see how his lordship was altered from what I left him in the morning, for I knew his manner was in general very mild; and now he seemed to me *all-fightful*, as a fierce lion which had been chained in its cage and was set at liberty. With all that, his lordship's answer to me was, 'Never mind—we shall see now;' and at the same time he turned towards the officers, saying, 'Be ready!'" There is, perhaps, nothing in the history of warfare more terrific in its consequences than the first broadside that the British fired at Algiers. The Queen Charlotte passed through all the batteries without firing a gun, and took up a position within a hundred yards of the Mole-head batteries. At the first shot, which was fired by the Algerines at the Impregnable, lord Exmouth cried out, "That will do; fire, my fine fellows!" The miserable Algerines who were looking on, as at a show, with apparent indifference to the consequences, were swept away by hundreds by this first fire from the Queen Charlotte. From a quarter before three o'clock till nine, the most tremendous firing on both sides continued without intermission, and the firing did not cease altogether until half-past eleven. During this engagement of nine hours, the allied fleet fired a hundred and eighteen tons of gunpowder, and five hundred tons of shot and shells. The Algerines exclaimed that hell had opened its mouth upon them through the English ships. That the Algerines had plied their instruments of destruction with no common alacrity is sufficiently shown by the fact, that eight hundred and fifty-two officers and men were killed in the British squadron, and sixty-five in the Dutch. Lord Exmouth himself says, in his despatch, "There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us." The Algerine batteries around lord Exmouth's division were silenced about ten o'clock, and were in a complete state of ruin and dilapidation; but a fort at the upper angle of the city continued to annoy our ships, whose firing had almost ceased. This was the moment of the most serious danger to our fleet. Our means of attack were well-nigh expended; the upper batteries of the city could not be reached by our guns; the ships were becalmed. "Providence, at this interval," says lord Exmouth, "gave to my anxious wishes the usual land-wind common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour." Nine Algerine frigates and a number of gunboats

were burning within the bay ; the storehouses within the Mole were on fire. The blaze illumined all the bay, and showed the town and its environs almost as clear as in the day-time ; instead of walls, the batteries presented nothing to the sight but heaps of rubbish ; and out of these ruins the Moors and Turks were busily employed in dragging their dead. When the fleet had anchored a storm arose—not so violent as the storm which here destroyed the mighty fleet of Charles the Fifth, and left his magnificent army, which had landed to subdue the barbarians, to perish by sword and famine—but a storm of thunder and lightning, which filled up the measure of sublimity, at the close of the twelve awful hours of battle and slaughter.

On the morning of the 28th, lord Exmouth wrote a letter to the Dey, who had himself fought with courage, in which the same terms of peace were offered as on the previous day. "If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns," wrote lord Exmouth. The three guns were fired, the Dey made apologies, and treaties of peace and amity were finally signed, to be very soon again broken. The enduring triumph of this expedition was the release, within three days of the battle, of a thousand and eighty-three Christian slaves, who arrived from the interior, and who were immediately conveyed to their respective countries.

CHAPTER XXI. *

Meeting of Parliament.—Reception of Lord Castlereagh.—Debates on the Address.—Government defeated on the proposed renewal of the Property-Tax.—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte.—Unpopularity of the Prince Regent.—Complaints of Agricultural Distress.—Depression of Commerce and Manufacturers.—Causes assigned for the depression of Industry.—Reduction of the Circulating Medium.—Unfavourable Season.—Riots and outrages in Agricultural Districts.—Renewal of Luddism.—Private Benevolence.—Progress of Legislation for Social Improvement.—Criminal Laws.—Forgeries of Bank Notes.—Police of London.—Gas-Light.—Mendicity and Vagrancy.—Law of Settlement.—General Administration of Poor Laws.—Inquiry into the State of Education.—Savings' Banks.—Game Laws.

THE Imperial Parliament assembled on the 1st of February, 1816. At this opening of the Session the ministry met the representatives of the people with all the pride and confidence of a success beyond hope. The march to Paris, twice over, says a conspicuous actor in the politics of that hour, was sufficiently marvellous; "but it appeared, if possible, still more incredible, that we should witness lord Castlereagh entering the House of Commons, and resuming, amidst universal shouts of applause, the seat which he had quitted for a season to attend as a chief actor in the arrangement of continental territory."† Why incredible? Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons was the impersonation of a great national triumph. The parliamentary majority cheered the Minister for Foreign affairs as he would have been cheered by any other assembly, when he came home flushed with success. For a little while the nation might bear even the presumption of those

* The period comprised in this Chapter, and in Chapter XXII., embracing the annals of 1816 and 1817, has been previously treated of by the author of "The Popular History" in "The History of the Peace," published in 1846. This work, begun by him, was continued and completed by Miss Martineau, and therefore bears her name. Although in the present history the author proposed only to occupy about half the space of what he had previously written, he felt the extreme difficulty of relating the same events, and expressing the same opinions, altogether in new words. Having stated his difficulty to Messrs. Chambers, who are now the proprietors of the copyright of "The History of the Peace," he has received from them a very kind permission, to condense the original narrative, or adopt any passages, at his own discretion. Whilst this licence relieves the author from an obvious embarrassment, he has nevertheless been desirous to avoid a mere transcript of any large portion of what he had previously written. But he has not made the useless attempt to distinguish between the new matter and the old, hoping that he has amalgamated the separate parts so as to produce a harmonious result.

† Brougham's "Speeches," vol. i. p. 634: Introduction to Speech on Holy Alliance.

who claimed all the merit of the triumph. On the first night of the Session, it was clearly seen that there was to be a limit to what Parliament would bear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared his intention to continue the Property or Income Tax, on the modified scale of five per cent. This avowal was the signal for one of the chief battle-cries which were to lead on the scanty forces of Opposition.

In a debate in the Committee of Supply, lord Castlereagh used a memorable expression which roused a spirit in the country of deep hostility—almost of disgust: "He felt assured that the people of England would not, from an ignorant impatience to be relieved from the pressure of taxation, put everything to hazard, when everything might be accomplished by continued constancy and firmness."* From the moment of this offensive declaration the Income Tax was doomed. The people had not borne the taxation of so many years of war with a heroism such as no people had ever before shown, to be taunted with ignorant impatience of taxation, now that they had won peace. The presumption of the government at this period was calculated to produce a violent reaction throughout the land. Men really thought that the old English spirit of freedom was about to be trampled upon when the debates on the Treaties took place, in which lord Liverpool moved the Address. Lord Grenville proposed an amendment, which deprecated in the strongest language "the settled system to raise the country into a military power." In the House of Peers the government had a majority of sixty-four. Lord Holland entered a protest against the Address, in terms which embodied his speech upon the Treaties, and expressed the opinions of that section of the Opposition: "Because the treaties and engagements contain a direct guarantee of the present government of France against the people of that country; and, in my judgment, imply a general and perpetual guarantee of all European governments against the governed." In the House of Commons the Foreign Secretary moved the Address upon the Treaties. An amendment was proposed by lord Milton, which deprecated the military occupation of France and the unexampled military establishments of this country. The debate lasted two nights, the Address being finally carried by a majority of a hundred and sixty-three. What was said on both sides was, to a considerable extent, the regular display of party conflict. The exultation of the government at the settlement of their war-labours looks now scarcely more inflated than the fears of some members of the Opposition that the confederated arms of

* Hansard, vol. xxxiii. p. 455.

the despots of Europe might be turned against the liberties of England. The practical business that was at hand—the enforcement of economy, the alleviation of distress—was the matter of real importance that was to grow out of these debates.

The Corporation of London took the lead in the national expression of opinion against the Property Tax. It was not only the anti-ministerial party of the City that joined in the petition of the corporation :—the judgments of mercantile men against the continuance of the tax were almost universal. The dislike of the rural population was as fixed as that of the inhabitants of towns. The battle against this tax was one of the most remarkable examples of parliamentary strategy that was ever displayed. For six weeks the Opposition, headed by Mr. Brougham, availed themselves of all the means of delay afforded by the forms of the House. As petitions against the tax were presented night after night, debates on the petitions prevented debate and division on the reading of the Bill. It was the 17th of March before the resolutions for the continuance of the tax were presented to the House. The division of the 18th of March, upon the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Committee of Ways and Means, was terminated in half an hour by the impatience of the House. For the continuance of the Property Tax 201 members voted ; against it, 238. This defeat of the government dispelled the belief that resistance to taxation was “ignorant impatience.” The Chancellor of the Exchequer took a somewhat remarkable course after this defeat. He voluntarily abandoned the war-duties upon malt, amounting to about 2,700,000*l*. The decision of the House would compel him to resort to the money-market,—in other words, to raise a loan. “It was of little consequence that the loan should be increased by the amount of the calculated produce of the malt-duty.” Lord Castlereagh said, “it was a matter of indifference whether they took a loan of six or eight millions.” This was the “indifference” —the result of a long course of unbounded expense—that required all the efforts of the people and of their friends, during many years, to change into responsibility.

The inquisitorial character of the Property Tax had some influence in producing the popular hostility to its continuance. The returns of the taxpayers were then scrutinized with a severity which has been wisely put aside in the present times. But during the pressure of war-expenditure, and long afterwards, the imposition and collection of other taxes were rendered as odious as possible to the people. The government employed, to an extent which scarcely seems credible now, an army of common informers,

through whose agency the system of penalties was enforced. Southey attacked this disgrace of our nation as being ten times more inquisitorial than the Holy Office of Spain. "This species of espionage has within these few years become a regular trade; the laws are in some instances so perplexing, and in others so vexatious, that matter for prosecution is never wanting." He describes how "a fellow surcharges half the people in the district; that is, he informs the tax-commissioners that such persons have given in a false account of their windows, dogs, horses, carriages, &c., an offence for which the tax is trebled, and half the surplus given to the informer." Harassed and perplexed—summoned from distant parts to appear before the commissioners—the persons informed against give up the trouble and expense of seeking justice; pay the penalty and bear the surcharge.*

The debates upon the Army Estimates, which eventually caused some reduction—the rejection of the Property Tax—the searching inquiry into the Civil List—the agitation of the question of sinecure officers—were indications of the feeling which any government would have to encounter that did not resolutely determine that a season of peace should be a season of economy. When the details of the Civil List exhibited items of wanton and ridiculous luxury, the members of the Administration themselves were pained and humiliated. When the same ministers proposed the magnificent establishment for the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, upon their marriage, not a dissentient voice was heard in Parliament. The nation saw in this marriage of the presumptive heiress of the Crown—a marriage of affection—some assured hope that public duties might be fitly learned in the serenity of domestic happiness. The private virtues were felt to be the best preparation for the possession of sovereign power. The idea of a patriot queen discharging all her high functions with steady alacrity, confident in the affections of her people, of simple habits, of refined and intellectual tastes, her throne sanctified by the attributes of womanly affection—such hopes were something to console the nation for the present endurance of authority that claimed only "mouth-honour," without love or respect. The marriage of the Princess Charlotte was hailed as a public blessing. It took place at Carlton House, on the evening of the 2nd of May.

One of the most painful circumstances of this period, and one pregnant with danger, was the general contempt for the character of him who now wielded the sovereign authority. The military triumphs of the Regency made the nation only consider how

* "Espriella's Letters"—Letter xvi.

strongly in contrast to the elevation of that heroic time were the cravings for ease and indulgence, the reckless expenditure upon childish gratifications, of the Regent. The attacks of the press upon his sensual follies made him hate the expression of public opinion. That voice was heard in a place where the character and actions of the sovereign are usually unnoticed, even in the greatest freedom of parliamentary debate. The Prince of Wales was in "all but name a King." Romilly describes a scene in the House of Commons, which took place in a debate on the 20th of March, in which Brougham, he says, made a violent attack upon the Regent, "whom he described as devoted, in the recesses of his palace, to the most vicious pleasures, and callous to the distresses and sufferings of others, in terms which would not have been too strong to describe the latter days of Tiberius." He adds, "it is generally believed that, but for the speech of Brougham's, the ministers would again have been in a minority. . . . Brougham's speech was very injudicious as well as very unjust, for, with all the Prince's faults, it is absurd to speak of him as if he were one of the most sensual and unfeeling tyrants that ever disgraced a throne."* Nevertheless, although satire ran riot in ridicule of the unbounded and effeminate luxury of Carlton House, in spite of *ex officio* informations, there was wanting some authoritative voice to proclaim that the mightiest of the earth are unworthy of their high station when they live for their own pleasures alone. The declamation of Mr. Brougham might be unstatesmanlike, but it was not without its use.

When the government, in the name of the Prince Regent, informed Parliament that "the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the United Kingdom were in a flourishing condition," the exception of Agriculture was a sufficient announcement that the cry of "Distress" was near at hand. Amidst the best and the worst species of opposition—the power of argument and the weakness of tumult—a Bill was in 1815 hurried through Parliament which absolutely closed the ports till the price of wheat rose to 80s. This law was passed during a season of wonderful abundance. It produced the immediate good to the landed interest of preventing the abundant supply being increased by importation; but the effect which it produced to the nation was to dry up the resources in years of scarcity which the foresight of other countries might have provided. The war-and-famine price of 1812 was again reached in the latter part of 1816, in 1817, and in 1818. The golden days of the deity that is found in no mythology, the Anti-Ceres,

* Romilly's "Life."

were returned. But the people were starving. Misery and insurrection filled the land.

A year after the hasty enactment of a Corn-Law in 1815, amidst riots in the metropolis and the provinces, a majority of the landed interest came to Parliament to ask for the remission of peculiar burthens, and to demand fresh protection. The landed interest of 1816 had but one remedy for every evil—unequal remission of taxation conjoined with protection. They desired themselves to pay less to the State than their fellow-subjects; they required the State to limit their fellow-subjects to that exclusive market for the necessities of life which should dry up the sources of profitable industry, and thus make their taxation doubly burthensome. On the 7th of March Mr. Western laid upon the table of the House a series of fourteen Resolutions, which declared the "unexampled distress" of those whose capitals were employed in agriculture. They demanded the repeal of so much of the Act of 1815 as should allow foreign corn to be warehoused, so that only British corn should be stored; and urged an advance of money by the government to such individuals as might be inclined to buy up our native produce. The principle upon which all this was advocated was a sufficiently broad one: "That excessive taxation renders it necessary to give protection to all articles the produce of our own soil, against similar articles the growth of foreign countries, not subject to the same burthens;" and "that it is therefore expedient to impose additional duties and restrictions on the importation of all articles, the produce of foreign agriculture." It is a remarkable example of the power of the landed interest in the House of Commons, that these assertions and unconditional demands were received not only with tolerance but respect. The day-spring of economical politics had scarcely yet dawned. The strength either of the Ministry or the Opposition essentially depended upon the numerical force of the country gentlemen. The commercial and manufacturing interests were most imperfectly represented. The landed aristocracy had retained official power, in association with a few "clerkly" workers, from the earliest feudal times. The admission of a merchant to the councils of the sovereign would have been deemed pollution. The mill-owners had carried us through the war; yet as a political body they were without influence, almost without a voice. There was no one in the House of Commons, who had either the courage or the ability to probe the wounds of the agricultural interests, which were thus paraded before the nation. The Resolutions of Mr. Western in 1816 came to no practical result; for the chief reason, that the forced abandonment of the property-tax, and

the voluntary relinquishment of the war malt-duty, had really left very little within the reach of Government to be offered as a further boon to the landed interest.

"Manufactures and Commerce," said the speech of the Prince Regent, "are in a flourishing condition." This was to rely upon the bare figures of Custom House returns. In 1815 the declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported was fifty-one millions, being six millions more than in 1814. Well might the commerce of the country seem to be flourishing. Those who knew the real workings of that commerce were not so deceived. Mr. Baring, on the second night of the Session, declared, "that he saw more loss than gain in this great increase of export." When the destruction of the power of Napoleon in 1814 had opened the ports of the continent to our vessels; when the consumption of our exports no longer depended upon a vast system of contraband trade; it was universally thought that there could be no limit to the demand for British manufactures and colonial produce. If, under the anti-commercial decrees of our great enemy, the shipments to European ports had been twelve millions in 1811, why should they not be doubled in 1814? And accordingly they were doubled. The most extravagant profits were expected to be realized. The ordinary course of trade was forsaken, and small capitalists as well as large, at the outports as well as in London, eagerly bought up colonial produce, and looked for golden returns. "The shippers found to their cost, when it was too late, that the effective demand on the continent for colonial produce and British manufactures had been greatly over-rated; for whatever might be the desire of the foreign consumers to possess articles so long out of their reach, they were limited in their means of purchase, and accordingly, the bulk of the commodities exported brought very inadequate returns."* A very slight consideration will explain the causes of this enormous mistake. In the first place, the continent was wholly exhausted by the long course of war; by the prodigious expenditure of capital that the war had demanded; by the wasteful consumption of mighty armies embattled against the oppressor; by the rapine of the predatory hordes that were let loose upon their soil; by confiscation. The people had necessarily the greatest difficulty to maintain life; they had little to spare for the secondary necessities—nothing for indulgence. The merchants of our own country—the nation in general—had been so accustomed to the outward indications of prosperity at home during the course of the war, that they had no adequate idea that war was the great destroyer of

* Tooke's "History of Prices," vol. ii. p. 8.

capital, and that it essentially left all mankind poorer. In the second place, what had the continent to give us in exchange for our coffee and sugar, our calicoes and our cutlery? The old mercantile school still existed amongst us, who thought that the perfection of commerce was to exchange goods for money, and that a great commercial nation might subsist without barter. But the continent had no money to exchange for English products, even if the exploded theories of the balance of trade could have found any realization. The continent, exhausted as it was, had its native commodities, but those we refused. We doggedly held on in a course of commercial regulation which belonged only to the infancy of society. We perpetuated foreign restrictions and exclusions of our own manufactured produce, by persistence in a system which other nations of necessity regarded as the cause of our manufacturing superiority. We did not then know how essentially this system retarded our own national progress. We listened to those who, on every side, clamoured for exclusive interests. Agriculturists and manufacturers, landowners and shipowners, equally shouted for protection.

The state of the American trade of 1816 was described by Mr. Brougham, after speaking of the disastrous results of the continental speculations:—"The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect; though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European markets the year before; because ultimately the Americans will pay; which the exhausted state of the continent renders very unlikely."* Let us remark that we did not prevent the Americans paying in the only way in which one great people can pay another—by the interchange of commodities which each wants, in return for commodities of which each can produce a superfluity. We shut out their corn, but we did not shut out their cotton. But we went farther with the United States in the recognition of just commercial principles than with any European nation. By the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, both countries agreed to repeal their navigation laws, and "the ships of the two countries were placed reciprocally upon the same footing in the ports of England and the United States, and all discriminating duties chargeable upon the goods which they conveyed were mutually repealed."

The distresses of the agricultural and the commercial interests were coincident; for the means of purchase amongst all classes were exhausted. The capital which was to impel their profitable industry was dried up. There was "a very general depression in

* Brougham's Speeches," vol. i. p. 519.

the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural, and commercial, and manufacturing, and mining, and shipping and building interests, which marked that period as one of most extensive suffering and distress." * Some proclaimed that the depression and the distress were caused, not by the exhaustion of war, but by "the transition from a state of war to a state of peace." The theory upon which this delusion was upheld was this:—"The whole annual war expenditure, to the amount of not less than forty millions, was at once withdrawn from circulation. But public expenditure is like the fountain tree in the Indian paradise which diffuses in fertilizing streams the vapours which it was created to collect and condense for the purpose of more beneficially returning and distributing them." † According to this logical imagery, or imaginative logic, the capital of a nation in the pockets of its proprietors is "vapour;" it becomes a "fertilizing stream" when it condenses into taxes. It assumes that there is more demand when the capital of a country is expended by government, than when the same capital is expended by individuals. It assumes that the expenditure of capital by government in subsidies, in the wasteful consumption of armies, in all the tear and wear of war, is more profitable than the expenditure of capital in the general objects of industry which create more capital. It assumes that the partial expenditure of capital by government in its victualling offices, is more profitable than the regular expenditure of the same capital left in the pockets of the tax-payers, to give them an additional command over food and raiment,—over the comforts and elegancies of life. This fallacy, as well as many others connected with the depression of industry at the close of the war, has been disproved by the long experience of peace. We had arrived in 1816 at the highest point of war exhaustion. The expenditure of government in the eleven years between 1805 and 1815 was very nearly 900,000,000*l.* In 1815 the revenue raised by taxation was 72,000,000*l.* Upon a population of fifteen millions in the United Kingdom this was a rate per head of 4*l.* 16*s.* The rate of taxation per head upon the population of the United Kingdom in 1860 was 2*l.* 8*s.* There was the same aggregate amount of taxation, but the burden was divided between twice the number of tax-payers.

The partial return to a real standard of the currency at the period of peace was considered by many to have been a main if

* Tooke's "History of Prices," vol. ii. p. 12.

† "Quarterly Review," July, 1816.

not the sole cause of the distress and embarrassment which we have described. Nevertheless, the Bank of England at the peace scarcely contracted its issues at all. In August, 1813, the circulation of bank-notes was nearly twenty-five millions; at the same season in 1814 it was twenty-eight millions; in 1815 twenty-seven millions; in 1816 only half a million less. The utmost amount of the depreciation of bank-notes was in 1814, when a hundred pounds of paper would only buy 74*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* of gold—a depreciation of about 25 per cent. In 1815 and 1816 a hundred pounds of paper would buy 83*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* of gold—a depreciation of nearly 17 per cent. Thus the rise in the value of money, which Cobbett, and many others of less violent politics, declared had produced the wide-spreading ruin of 1816, by causing a proportionate fall of the prices of commodities exchanged for money, was not more than 8 per cent., as compared with the period when the value of an unconvertible paper-money was at the lowest. It is no less true that a vast amount of paper-money was withdrawn from circulation at this period, by the failure of many country-banks, and the contraction of their advances by all who were stable. This was a consequence of the great fall of agricultural produce—a consequence of the diminished credit of the producers. When the restriction upon cash payments by the Bank of England was, in 1816, agreed to be renewed for two years, the bearing of the continuance of the restriction upon the state of prices was not overlooked. On the 1st of May, 1816, Mr. Horner, on his motion for a Committee to inquire into the expediency of restoring the cash payments of the Bank of England, said that, “from inquiries which he had made, and from the accounts on the table, he was convinced that a greater and more sudden reduction of the circulating medium had never taken place in any country than had taken place since the peace in this country, with the exception of those reductions which had happened in France after the Mississippi scheme, and after the destruction of the assignats. The reduction of the currency had originated in the previous fall of the prices of agricultural produce. This fall had produced a destruction of the country bank-paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. The Bank of England had also reduced its issues, as appeared by the accounts recently presented. But without looking to the diminution of the Bank of England paper, the reduction of country paper was enough to account for the fall which had taken place.”* William Cobbett, in November, 1816, maintained, not

* Hansard, vol. xxxiv. p. 143.

unreasonably, although he exaggerated the extent of the diminished issue of bank-paper, that if, with reduced prices of commodities the debt and taxes had come down too, there would have been no material injury.*

That the paralysis of industry which marked the latter months of 1815 and the beginning of 1816 was most felt by those whose voices of complaint were least heard, by the working population, was soon made perfectly manifest. There was a surplus of labour in every department of human exertion. Mr. Brand declared in Parliament, at the end of March, speaking especially of the agricultural population, that "the poor, in many cases, abandoned their own residences. Whole parishes have been deserted; and the crowd of paupers, increasing in numbers as they went from parish to parish, spread wider and wider this awful desolation."† Discharged sailors and disbanded militiamen swelled the ranks of indigence. If the unhappy wanderers crowded to the cities, they encountered bodies of workmen equally wretched, wholly deprived of work, or working at short time upon insufficient wages. But another evil, of which we find no parliamentary record, amidst debates on the prevailing distress, had come upon the land to aggravate discontent into desperation. While the landowners were demanding more protection, and passing new laws for limiting the supply of food, the heavens lowered; intense frosts prevailed in February; the spring was inclement; the temperature of the advancing summer was unusually low; and in July incessant rains and cold stormy winds completed the most ungenial season that had occurred in this country since 1799. In January the average price of wheat was 52s. 6d.; in May it was 76s. 4d. The apprehensions of a deficient crop were universal in Germany, in France, and in the south of Europe. The result of the harvest showed that these apprehensions were not idle. The prices of grain in England rapidly rose after July; and at the end of the year, rye, barley, and beans had more than doubled the average market price at the beginning; wheat had risen from 52s. 6d. to 103s.

"The matter of seditions is of two kinds," says lord Bacon, "much poverty and much discontentment." Both causes were fully operating in Great Britain in 1816. The seditions of absolute poverty—"the rebellions of the belly," as the same great thinker writes—were the first to manifest themselves. Early in May, symptoms of insubordination and desperate violence were displayed among the agricultural population of the eastern counties.

* "Political Register," November 30, 1816.

† Hansard, vol. xxxiii. p. 671.

These "poor dumb mouths" soon made themselves audible. They combined in the destruction of property with a fierce recklessness that startled those who saw no danger but in the violence of dense populations, and who were constantly proclaiming that the nation which builds on manufactures sleeps upon gunpowder. In Suffolk, nightly fires of incendiaries began to blaze in every district; threshing machines were broken or burnt in open day; mills were attacked. At Brandon, near Bury, large bodies of labourers assembled to prescribe a maximum price of grain and meat, and to pull down the houses of butchers and bakers. They bore flags, with the motto, "Bread or Blood." At Bury and at Norwich, disturbances of a similar nature were quickly repressed. But the most serious demonstrations of the spirit of the peasantry arose in what is called "the Isle of Ely." When we regard the peculiar character of this portion of the country, we may easily understand how a great fall in the prices of grain had driven the land out of cultivation, and cast off the labour of the peasantry, to be as noxious in its stagnation as the overcharged waters of that artificially fertile region. That country was then very imperfectly drained, and the rates for the imperfect drainage being unpaid by many tenants, the destructive agencies of nature were more active than the healing and directing energies of man. It is well known, too, that in the fen countries the temptation of immediate profit had more than commonly led the farmer to raise exhausting crops, and that the nature of the land, under such circumstances, is such, that a more provident tillage, and abundant manure, cannot for a long time restore it. The high prices of wheat from 1810 to 1814 had supplied this temptation. The Isle of Ely, in 1816, had become somewhat like Prospero's isle, where there was "everything advantageous to life, save means to live." It was under such circumstances that, on the 22nd of May, a great body of insurgent fen men assembled at Littleport, a small town on the river Lark. They commenced their riotous proceedings by a night attack on the house of a magistrate. They broke into shops, emptied the cellars of public houses, and finally marched to Ely, where they continued their lawless course of drunkenness and plunder. For two days and nights these scenes of violence did not cease; and the parish of Littleport was described as resembling a town sacked by a besieging army, the principal inhabitants having been compelled to abandon their houses in terror of their lives, leaving their property to the fury of this fearful band of desperate men. There could, of necessity, be but one termination. The military were called in, and a sort

of skirmish ensued, in which blood flowed on both sides. A large number of rioters were finally lodged in Ely gaol. Then came the sure retribution of the offended laws. A Special Commission was issued for the trial of the culprits. Thirty-four persons were convicted, and sentenced to death, on charges of burglary and robbery, of whom five were executed.

Incendiary fires, attempts at plunder, riots put down by military force, spread alarm through districts chiefly agricultural. The distress which had fallen upon the manufacturing and other non-agricultural portions of the population was manifested in many signal ways. At the beginning of July, a body of colliers, thrown out of employment by the stoppage of iron-works at Bilston, took the singular resolution of setting out to London, for the purpose of submitting their distresses in a petition to the Prince Regent, and presenting him with two waggons of coals, which they drew along with them. One party advanced as far as St. Alban's, and another reached Maidenhead Thicket. The Home Office took the precaution of sending a strong body of police, with magistrates, from London, to meet these poor fellows, and induce them to return; and they were successful. The distresses of the workmen in the iron trade were quite appalling. Utter desolation prevailed in districts where iron-works had been suspended. The workmen in these districts used to be surrounded with many comforts. They had saved a little money. The factories were shut up, the furnaces blown out, the coal-pits closed. Then the neat cottages, where hundreds of families had lived in comfort, were gradually stripped of every article of furniture; the doors of these once cheerful dwellings were closed; the families were wandering about the country, seeking for that relief from private charity which the parishes could not supply them. Depredation was very rare. Later in the year, the miners and colliers connected with the great iron-works in the neighbourhood of Merthyr assembled in a tumultuous manner, and their numbers gradually swelling till they reached ten or twelve thousand, they finally extinguished the blast at several works, but did little other damage. These men were on very reduced wages, but their distress does not seem to have been nearly so great as the utter destitution of the Staffordshire colliers.

The Luddite insurrection of 1812 had never been wholly put down.* In 1816, it broke forth with new violence. At Loughborough, in July, many frames employed in the manufacture of lace were destroyed with the same secrecy as in 1812. Armed

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 323.

bands, under the orders of a chief, held the inhabitants in nightly terror, commanding them to put out their lights, and keep within their houses, under penalty of death. Their ravages were not confined to the towns; they would march with suddenness and secrecy to distant villages, and rapidly effect their purposes of destruction. The General Ludd, who led on these armed and disguised desperadoes, would address his forces in a short speech, divide them into parties, and assign their respective operations. Then, in the silence of night, would houses and factories be broken open, frames and other machines be demolished, unfinished work be scattered on the highways, furniture be wholly destroyed. The ignorance which has more or less prevailed at all times on the subject of machinery—coupled with the want of employment produced by the depression of every branch of industry—was the cause that, undeterred by the terrible penalties of the law, the Luddites still pursued the course which had well-nigh driven the lace manufacture from their district, and converted temporary distress into permanent ruin.

The sufferings of the poor in 1816 were too manifest not to call forth an unusual amount of public sympathy, displayed in subscriptions for relief, and in schemes for providing employment. However local charity may have mitigated the intensity of the evil arising out of the general exhaustion of capital, the more ostentatious exertions of that period were economic mistakes, which would have become fatal delusions if they had not quickly broken down. Every scheme to provide unprofitable employment by what is called charity must necessarily be fallacious. Affording no returns to produce continued employment, it soon comes to an end. The higher benevolence which goes to the root, as far as possible, of the evils of society, was then little understood and less practised. Let us endeavour to trace the operation, during the first year in which Parliament had leisure to attend to the condition of the people, of that legislation which seeks to remove evil laws and to amend worn-out institutions.

The notion that had been engendered by the French Revolution that to innovate was to destroy, that to reform was to revolutionize, was the creed of the majority from the close of the war to the end of the reign of George the Fourth. The re-action, which in 1816 had commenced, of a more enlightened public opinion, finally produced the remarkable progress in social improvement which is the great characteristic of the happier eras of William the Fourth and of Victoria. This re-action acquired efficiency and permanence from the very obstinacy with which it was resisted.

It grew up during an incessant conflict, in which the roughest weapons of controversy were freely used by speakers and by writers. The amount of acrimony and intolerance which we may trace in the periodical press of that time, now appears ludicrous to the few who have survived what Sidney Smith calls "an awful period for those who had the misfortune to entertain liberal opinions." A later generation turns with loathing from the mode in which educated men denounced those who differed from them in the notion that the English constitution, as then understood, was the best possible form of government, and that what those who were sneered at as enthusiasts called social evils were really blessings in disguise. When the enthusiasts attempted to repeal or modify laws wholly unsuited to the advanced opinions of the age, and which appeared unlikely to provoke the hostility of mere selfish interests, there was always some formidable adversary to stand in the breach, ready to defend the crumbling outer walls of our time-honoured institutions, as if they constituted the strength and glory of the citadel. Wise men looked upon English life, and thought—

" 'tis an unweeded garden
That grows to seed ; things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely."

They were levellers—they were visionaries—they would make government impossible, said an overwhelming majority. A type of the class who resisted every approach to improvement was the Lord Chancellor Eldon. His thought by day, his dream by night, was to uphold what he called the Constitution—that indefinable compound of principles and expedients, that to him was as sacred as the commands of Holy Writ. Whoever approached to lay his hands on that ark, whether he came to blot out a cruel statute, or to mitigate a commercial restriction, or to disfranchise a corrupt borough, or to break down a religious disability, was his enemy. It has been truly observed, that he confounded every abuse that surrounded the throne, or grew up within the precincts of the altar, with the institutions themselves—"alike the determined enemy of all who would either invade the institution or extirpate the abuse." Romilly was the foremost amongst the courageous spirits who risked something for the amelioration of the lot of their fellow-men. His perseverance was an example to other earnest labourers, who, amidst much suspicion, and some ridicule, rested not till they had secured a neutral ground on which the benevolent and wise of each party might labour without any compromise of their political consistency. Criminal Laws ; Police ; Poor-

Laws; Education; these offered themselves, when the excitement of the war had passed away, as subjects that might be dealt with in the same spirit which had finally carried the abolition of the Slave Trade. Tory might unite with Whig in measures whose necessity was proclaimed in many forms of misery, of oppression, of neglect. Resistance to change gradually became feebler and feebler. There was a wide gulf between the land of promise and the land of reality; but it was first bridged over with a single plank, and then a solid structure arose, across which the advocates of "things as they should be" securely passed to an enduring triumph, of which the wisest of the adherents of "things as they are" came, in the fulness of time, to share the honour.

The name of reform in the Criminal Laws had not been heard in the House of Commons for fifty-eight years, when, in 1808, Romilly carried his Bill for the abolition of the punishment of death for privately stealing from the person to the value of five shillings; in other words, for picking pockets. His friend Scarlett advised him to attempt at once to repeal all the statutes which punish with death mere thefts unaccompanied by any act of violence, or other circumstance of aggravation; but Romilly, seeing that he had no chance of being able to carry through the House a Bill which was to expunge at once all those laws from the statute-book, determined to attempt the repeal of them one by one. Upon this prudential principle Romilly carried his first reform in 1808. Nevertheless, the House of Commons, which consented to pass the Bill, forced upon him the omission of its preamble:—"Whereas, the extreme severity of penal laws hath not been found effectual for the prevention of crimes; but, on the contrary, by increasing the difficulty of convicting offenders, in some cases affords them impunity, and in most cases renders their punishment extremely uncertain." The temper with which too many persons of rank and influence received any project of amelioration at the beginning of this century, is forcibly exhibited in an anecdote which Romilly has preserved for our edification. The brother of a peer of the realm, fresh from a debauch, came up to him at the bar of the House of Commons, and stammered out, "I am against your Bill; I am for hanging all." *

In 1810 Romilly brought in three Bills to repeal the Acts which punished with death the crimes of stealing privately in a shop goods of the value of five shillings, and of stealing to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling-house, or on board vessels in navigable rivers. The first Bill passed the House of Commons, but was

* Romilly.

lost in the Lords. The other two were rejected. In 1811 the rejected Bills were again introduced, with a fourth Bill, abolishing the capital punishment for stealing in bleaching-grounds. The four Bills were carried through the House of Commons; but only that on the subject of bleaching-grounds was sanctioned by the Lords. The constant argument that was employed on these occasions against the alteration of the law was this—that of late years the offences which they undertook to repress were greatly increased. Justly did Romilly say, “A better reason than this for altering the law could hardly be given.” On the 24th of May, 1811, when three of the Bills were rejected in the House of Lords, lord Ellenborough declared, “They went to alter those laws which a century had proved to be necessary, and which were now to be over-turned by speculation and modern philosophy.” * The Lord Chancellor, Eldon, on the same occasion stated, that he had himself early in life felt a disposition to examine the principles on which our criminal code was framed, “before observation and experience had matured his judgment. Since, however, he had learnt to listen to these great teachers in this important science, his ideas had greatly changed, and he saw the wisdom of the principles and practice by which our criminal code was regulated.” † In 1813 sir Samuel Romilly’s Bill for the abolition of capital punishment in cases of shoplifting, was carried by the Commons in the new Parliament; but it was again rejected in the House of Lords. No further attempt was made towards the amelioration of this branch of our laws till the year 1816.

On the 16th of February sir Samuel Romilly obtained leave to bring in a Bill repealing the Act of William the Third, which made it a capital offence to steal privately in a shop to the value of five shillings. He described this Act as the most severe and sanguinary in our statute-book. As recently as 1785, no less than ninety-seven persons were executed in London for this offence alone; and the dreadful spectacle was exhibited of twenty suffering at the same time. The capital sentence was now constantly evaded by juries committing a pious fraud, and finding the property of less value than was required by the statute. The consequence, if severe laws were never executed, was, that crime went on to increase, and the crimes of juvenile offenders especially. On moving the third reading of the Bill, on the 15th of March, sir Samuel Romilly called attention to the great number of persons of very tender age who had recently been sentenced to death for pilfering in shops. At that moment there was a child in Newgate, not ten years of age,

* Hansard, vol. xx. p. 299.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xx. p. 300.

under sentence of death for this offence; and the Recorder of London was reported to have declared that it was intended to enforce the laws strictly in future, to interpose some check, if possible, to the increase of youthful depravity. The Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords on the 22nd of May. On this occasion the Lord Chief Justice agreed with the Lord Chancellor, "that the effect of removing the penalty of death from other crimes had rendered him still more averse to any new experiment of this kind. Since the removal of the vague terror which hung over the crime of stealing from the person, the number of offences of that kind had alarmingly increased." * Thus, with the absolute certainty of experience that bloody laws rigorously administered did not diminish crime, the legislators of the beginning of the nineteenth century believed, or affected to believe, that the same laws scarcely ever carried into execution would operate through the influence of what they called "a vague terror." The inefficiency of this system is forcibly demonstrated by a comparison of the number of forged notes presented at the Bank of England, with the number of persons convicted of forging and uttering such notes, and the number of these executed for forgery. In 1816 there were 17,885 forged notes presented at the Bank of England; 104 persons were convicted of forgery; 18 were executed. The capital punishment for forgery was not abolished till 1833; but there was no execution for that offence after 1829. The crime had decreased by removing the temptation to its perpetration upon a large scale. In 1820 there were 29,035 forged notes presented at the Bank; the convictions were 352; the executions were 21. In 1823 the forged notes presented were 1648; the convictions were 6; the executions were 2. The resumption of cash payments had extinguished the notes for one pound and two pounds, which had previously constituted the chief circulating medium.

In 1816 our system of police had arrived at its perfection of imbecile wickedness. The machinery for the prevention and detection of crime was exactly accommodated to the machinery for its punishment. On the 3rd of April, on the motion of Mr. Bennet, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of the police of the metropolis. The Committee was resumed in 1817; and two Reports were presented, which were among the first causes of the awakening of the public mind to a sense of the frightful evils which were existing in what we flattered ourselves to be the most civilized city in the world. There was no unity of action amongst the petty jurisdictions into which the

* Hansard, vol. xxxiv. p. 684.

metropolis was divided. The notion of a preventive police was utterly unknown. The "thief-taker," as the police officer was called, was the great encourager of crime. The suppression of crime would have taken away the chief profits of his occupation. Flash-houses, known in the scientific phraseology of the police as "flash-cribs," "shades," and "infernals," were filthy dens, where thieves and abandoned females were always to be found, riotous or drowsy, surrounded by children of all ages, qualifying for their degrees in the college of crime. "There," says a Middlesex magistrate, examined before the Committee of 1816, "they (the children) see thieves and thief-takers sitting and drinking together on terms of good-fellowship; all they see and hear is calculated to make them believe they may rob without fear of punishment, for in their thoughtless course they do not reflect that the forbearance of the officers will continue no longer than until they commit a forty-pound crime, when they will be sacrificed." A forty-pound crime!—the phraseology is as obsolete as if it were written in the pedlar's French of the rogues of the sixteenth century. A forty-pound crime was a crime for whose detection the State adjudged a reward, to be paid on conviction, of forty pounds; and, as a necessary consequence the whole race of thieves were fostered into a steady advance from small offences to great, till they obligingly ventured upon some deed of more than common atrocity, which should bestow the blood-money upon the officers of the law who had so long petted and protected them. The system received a fatal blow in 1816, in the detection of three officers of the police, who had actually conspired to induce five men to commit a burglary, for the purpose of obtaining the rewards upon their conviction. The highwaymen who infested the suburbs of the metropolis had been eradicated—they belonged to another age. Offences against the person were very rarely connected with any offences against property. But the uncertainty of punishment, the authorized toleration of small offenders, and the organized system of negotiation for the return of stolen property, had filled the metropolis with legions of experienced depredators. The public exhibitions of the most profligate indecency and brutality can scarcely be believed by those who have grown up in a different state of society. When Defoe described his Colonel Jack, in the days of his boyish initiation into vice, sleeping with other children amidst the kilns and glasshouses of the London fields, we read of a state of things that has long passed away. But, as recently as 1816, in Covent Garden Market, and other places affording a partial shelter, hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, assembled together, and

continued during the night, in a state of shameless profligacy, which is described as presenting a scene of vice and tumult more atrocious than anything exhibited even by the lazzaroni of Naples.

The brilliantly lighted, carefully watched, safe, orderly, and tranquil London of the present day, presents as great a contrast to the London of 1816, as that again, contrasted with the London of 1762, the year in which the Westminster Paving and Lighting Act was passed. Street robberies, before that period, were the ordinary events of the night. Security was the exception to the course of atrocity, for which the Government applied no remedy but to hang. For half a century after this the metropolis had its comparative safety of feeble oil-lamps and decrepit watchmen. The streets were filled with tumultuous vagabonds; and the drowsy guardians of the night suffered every abomination to go on in lawless vigour, happy if their sleep were undisturbed by the midnight row of the drunken rake. In 1807 Pall-Mall was lighted by gas. The persevering German who spent his own money and that of subscribers to his scheme, had no reward. The original gas company, whose example was to be followed, not only by all England but by the whole civilized world, was first derided, and then treated in Parliament as rapacious monopolists, intent upon the ruin of established industry. The adventurers in gas-light did more for the prevention of crime than the Government had done since the days of Alfred. We turn to the Parliamentary Debates, and we see how they were encouraged in 1816,—nine years after it had been found that the invention was of inappreciable public benefit. “The company,” said the earl of Lauderdale, “aimed at a monopoly, which would ultimately prove injurious to the public, and ruin that most important branch of trade, our whale fisheries.”* Alderman Atkins “contended that the measure was calculated to ruin that hardy race of men, the persons employed in the Southern and Greenland whale fisheries, in each of which a million of money, and above a hundred ships, were engaged. If the Bill were to pass, it would throw out of employ ten thousand seamen, and above ten thousand rope-makers, sail-makers, mast-makers, &c., connected with that trade.”† Who can forbear to admire the inexhaustible fund of benevolence that for ages had been at work in the advocacy of the great principle of protection?

A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1815 to inquire into the state of mendicity and vagrancy in the metropolis and its neighbourhood; and they continued their sittings in 1816; reporting minutes of the evidence in each year. Beyond

* Hansard, vol. xxxiv. p. 1280.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1072.

these Reports no legislative measure was adopted. The evidence went rather to show the amount of imposture than of destitution. To collect such evidence was an amusing occupation for the idle mornings of Members of Parliament. To inquire into the causes of destitution and its remedies would have been a far heavier task. The chief tendency of the evidence was to show how the sturdy beggar was a capitalist and an epicure; ate fowls and beefsteaks for supper, and despised broken meat; had money in the funds, and left handsome legacies to his relations. The witnesses, moreover, had famous histories of a lame impostor who tied up his leg in a wooden frame, and a blind one who wrote letters in the evening for his unlettered brethren; of a widow who sat for ten years with twins who never grew bigger, and a wife who obtained clothes and money from eleven lying-in societies in the same year. But the Committee had also some glimpses of real wretchedness amidst these exciting tales of beggar-craft—as old as the days of the old Abraham men. They heard of Calmel's Buildings, a small court of twenty-four houses in the immediate vicinity of Portman Square, where more than seven hundred Irish lived in the most complete distress and profligacy; and they were told that the court was totally neglected by the parish; that it was never cleaned; that people were afraid to enter it from dread of contagion. In George Yard, Whitechapel, they were informed that there were two thousand people, occupying forty houses, in a similar state of wretchedness. Much more of this was told the Committee; but the evil was exhibited and forgotten. Legislation for Public Health was unknown till 1848, except in the old laws of quarantine. Very much of what was called the vagrancy of the metropolis was a natural consequence of the administration of the Poor Laws throughout the kingdom. A large proportion of the money raised for the relief of the poor was expended in shifting the burthen of their relief from one parish to another; and Middlesex kept a number of functionaries in active operation, to get rid of the vagrants that crowded into London, by passing them out of the limits of the metropolitan county, to return, of course, on the first convenient occasion. As Middlesex worked under the Law of Settlement, so worked the whole kingdom. An intelligent foreigner, who travelled in England in 1810, saw how the poor were repulsed from one parish to another “like infected persons. They are sent back from one end of the kingdom to the other, as criminals formerly in France, *de brigade en brigade*. You meet on the high roads, I will not say often but too often, an old man on foot with his little bundle—a helpless widow, pregnant perhaps, and two or three barefooted

children following her—become paupers in a place where they had not yet acquired a legal right to assistance, and sent away, on that account, to their original place of settlement.”* This Law of Settlement was in full operation, playing its fantastic tricks from the Channel to the Tweed, when the peace filled the land with disbanded seamen and other servants of war; and agricultural labourers, who could find no employ at home, were wandering, as it was called, to search for capital in some unknown region where capital was seeking for labour. The statute of 1662, the foundation of the Law of Settlement, † forbade this wandering, and gave a very amusing explanation of the ground of its prohibitions: “Whereas, by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock.” The great natural law of labour seeking exchange with capital was to be resisted, by a law which declared that those who sought to effect this exchange were “rogues and vagabonds.” In this spirit agricultural parishes very generally came to the resolution of employing none but their own parishioners. “The immediate consequence of this determination was, the removal of numbers of the most industrious families from homes where they had lived in comfort, and without parish relief, all their lives, to a workhouse in the parish to which they belonged.” ‡

It was not till 1861 that the wedge was introduced that might break up the selfish and ignorant laws for the removal of the poor. One of the greatest evils attending the parochial terror of new settlers was the filthy and ruinous state of the dwellings of agricultural labourers. The evil has been remedied in some degree, but in too many districts it exists now as it existed when Simond “asked proprietors of land, or farmers, why they did not build houses for their labourers;” and was told that “far from building, they would rather pull down such houses.” The labourers were crowded in hovels of the adjacent town or village. Cottages were not built or properly upheld in agricultural parishes, for what capitalist would speculate in houses for the labourers, when the most industrious might be hurried away at the bidding of the overseer? The tyranny seems likely to be destroyed by the intelligence which, sooner or later, sweeps away the great or the petty tyrant.

On the 28th of May, Mr. Curwen, an intelligent agriculturist,

* Simond—“Tour in Great Britain,” vol. i. p. 293.

† See *Ante*, vol. iv. p. 172.

‡ Answers from Sussex to Commissioners of Poor Law inquiry.

brought the subject of the Poor Laws before the House of Commons, on a motion for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. Mr. Curwen had a plan—as many others had their plans. His scheme formed small part of the deliberations of the Committee, which reported in 1817. Their recommendations for the remedy of the enormous evil of the existing Poor Laws did not penetrate beneath the surface. In 1816 the amount of poor-rate levied was 6,937,425*l*. This charge was at the rate of 12*s*. 4½*d*. per head upon the population of England and Wales.* The average annual expenditure for the relief of the poor had gradually increased from about two millions at the commencement of the war, to seven millions at its close. A very large portion of the money that had been spent in fostering pauperism during the war years, by parish allowances in aid of wages, represents the amount of degradation and misery which the labourers endured, as compared with their unallowanced forefathers. The national debt represents, in a great degree, the money expended in unprofitable wars,—the waste of capital upon objects that can only be justified by the last necessity, and which are the result of those evil passions which the improved knowledge and virtue of mankind may in time root out. In the same way, had the money expended upon fostering pauperism been raised upon loan, we should have had an amount of some two hundred millions, representing, in a like degree, the waste of capital expended in drying up the sources of industry and skill, and paying the alms of miserable indigence instead of the wages of contented labour. It is difficult to conceive a more complete state of degradation than the allowanced labourers exhibited in 1816. With the feudal servitude had passed away the feudal protection. The parish servitude imposed the miseries and contumelies of slavery, without its exemption from immediate care and future responsibility. The old workhouse system was as productive of evil in principal, though not in amount, as the allowance system. In the parish workhouse the consequences of want of classification and bad management operated with the greatest hardship upon children. Habits were formed in the workhouse which rendered the path to respectability almost inaccessible. These children were disposed of under the apprenticing system, and were doomed to a dreary period of servitude, under some needy master who had been tempted in the first instance to take them by the offer of a small premium. The parochial plan of putting out children, with its attendant evils,

* Purdy, "On the English Poor Rate."

was a necessary consequence of the want of training while in the workhouse.

In 1807, Mr. Whitbread proposed to the House of Commons a very large and comprehensive measure of Poor-Law Reform. The principles which he advocated were those of real statesmanship. To arrest the constant progress of pauperism, he desired to raise the character of the labouring classes. He called upon the country to support a plan of general national education; he proposed a method under which the savings of the poor might be properly invested in a great national bank. At the period when Mr. Whitbread brought forward his plan of Poor-Law Reform, the system of mutual instruction, introduced by Lancaster and Bell, was attracting great attention. Too much importance was perhaps at first attached to the mechanical means of education then recently developed; but the influence was favourable to the establishment of schools by societies and individuals. The Government left the instruction of the people to go on as it might without a single grant, for more than a quarter of a century.

From 1807 to the close of the war, the Legislature heard no word on the Education of the People. The man who for forty-five years has devoted much of his untiring energy to this great question, had in 1816 come back to the place in the councils of the nation which he won in 1812 by a combination of industry and talent almost unprecedented. Henry Brougham had not been in Parliament for three years. On the 21st of May, 1816, he moved for the appointment of a Select Committee "to inquire into the state of the Education of the lower orders of the people in London, Westminster, and Southwark." The motion, which was brought forward with great caution by the mover, was unopposed. The Committee made its first report on the 20th of June, having conducted its inquiries with more than usual activity. The energy of Mr. Brougham, who acted as chairman, gave a remarkable impulse to this important investigation. It was found that in the metropolis there were a hundred and twenty thousand children without the means of education. The principal labours of the Committee had consisted in their examination of evidence as to the number and condition of the charity and parish schools destined for the education of the lower orders. The number of such institutions exceeded anything that could have been previously believed; but the expenditure of the funds was, in many cases, neither pure nor judicious. A few were educated and brought up—the many were neglected. In the country, instances of flagrant abuses had been heard of. Mr. Brougham's Report produced no hostile feelings on this occasion.

In 1818 the powers of inquiry granted to the Committee were no longer confined to the metropolis. Then the larger question of the extension of education was merged in a furious controversy as to the amount of abuses in endowed charities, and the propriety of subjecting the higher schools, such as Eton and Winchester, and also Colleges in the Universities, to a searching inquiry into the nature of their statutes, and their adherence to the objects of their foundation. An Act was subsequently passed, in consequence of the labours of the Committee, to appoint Commissioners to inquire concerning the abuse of Charities connected with Education; and by a second Act the right of inquiry was extended to all charities, the Universities and certain great Foundation schools excepted. The Education Commission was thus merged in the Charity Commission. Of the great national benefits that resulted from that Commission no one can doubt. But it may be doubted whether the controversial shape which the question of education assumed in 1818 did much to advance the disposition which prevailed in 1816, to provide a general system of popular instruction. From some unhappy prejudice—from apathy, or from cowardice—the education of the people made small legislative progress for twenty years. Perhaps the old fable of the sun and the wind experimenting upon the removal of the traveller's cloak, may afford us some solution of this problem. But the Reports of the Education Committee were of the highest value in showing us the extent of instruction at the time of its labours. There were 18,500 schools, educating 644,000 children; of this number 166,000 were educated at endowed schools, and 478,000 at unendowed schools, during six days of the week. This number was independent of Sunday schools, of which there were 5100, attended by 452,000 children; but of course many of these Sunday scholars were included in the returns of other schools.

In the plan of Poor-Law Reform brought forward by Mr. Whitbread in 1807, he earnestly advocated the consideration of a mode by which the savings of the poor might be safely and profitably invested. Three or four years previous, Mr. Malthus, in his "Essay on Population," had argued that "it might be extremely useful to have county banks, where the smallest sums would be received, and a fair interest granted for them." Mr. George Rose had, as early as 1793, legislated for the encouragement of Friendly Societies. In 1798 a bank for the earnings of poor children was established at Tottenham; and this was found so successful, that a bank for the safe deposit of the savings of servants, labourers, and others, was opened at the same place in 1804. Interest was

here allowed to the depositors. A similar institution was founded at Bath in 1808. But the greatest experiment upon the possibility of the labouring poor making considerable savings was tried in Scotland. "The Parish Bank Friendly Society of Ruthwell" was established by the Rev. Henry Duncan in 1810. The first London Savings-Bank did not commence its operations till January, 1816. In the Parliamentary Session of 1816, Mr. Rose brought in a bill for the regulation of Savings-Banks, which was subsequently withdrawn for revision. Of the possible benefits of these institutions there could be no doubt in the minds of all men who were anxious to improve the condition of the people. "What a bubble!" wrote Cobbett.

In the Session of 1816 one step was made towards some improvement of that code which Blackstone termed "a bastard slip of the old forest laws; . . . both productive of the same tyranny to the Commons, but with this difference,—that the forest laws established only one mighty hunter throughout the land; the game-laws have raised a little Nimrod in every manor." The attention of the House of Commons was called to this subject in consequence of the murder of colonel Berkeley's gamekeeper by a gang of armed poachers; and a Committee was appointed "to take into consideration the laws relating to game."* They came to the Resolution, "that it is the opinion of this Committee, that all game should be the property of the person upon whose lands such game should be found." They contemplated the removal of the qualification to kill game—that law which had its beginning in the reign of Richard II., and which, perfected by the aristocratic legislators of the time of Charles II., required "fifty times the property to enable a man to kill a partridge as to vote for a knight of the shire."† The Committee of 1816 evidently pointed to the necessity of "removing the restraints upon the sale of game." It was not till after fifteen years of controversy that the statute of William IV. dispensed with the qualification for killing game, and legalized its sale. The statute of the 9th of George IV., and that of William IV., rendered the law more stringent and effective against poaching, especially by night. The number of convictions under the Acts for the preservation of game furnish no uncertain test, not only of the state of morals amongst the agricultural labourers, but of the presence or absence of those qualities which make the landed proprietor a blessing or a curse to his humble neighbours. In the more daring and depraved of the population of the rural districts, the

* Hansard, vol. xxxiv. col. 586.

† Blackstone.

severe administration of the game-laws produced a spirit such as was displayed in January 1816, by the Berkeley poachers, who cried out "Glory! glory!" when they had killed one gamekeeper and wounded six others.*

* "Annual Register," 1816—Chronicle, p. 11.

CHAPTER XXII.

Parliamentary Reform taken up by the ignorant and uneducated.—Extended circulation of the writings of Cobbett.—The Hampden Clubs.—The Spenceans.—Orator Hunt and the Spa-fields Meeting.—Riot in the City.—Meeting of Parliament.—Outrage on the Prince Regent.—Secret Committees.—Habeas Corpus Act suspended, and other stringent measures.—Oliver, the spy.—The Derbyshire Insurrection.—Lord Sidmouth's Circular Letter.—Prosecutions for Libel.—The Three Trials of William Hone.—The Government and the People.—Eulogies on Francis Horner in the House of Commons.

THE call for Parliamentary Reform seems to have made itself very feebly heard in the Lower House in the Session of 1816. With the exception of some four or five petitions that produced very slight discussion, it would scarcely be thought, from an inspection of the Parliamentary Debates, that such a question agitated any part of the nation at all. On one occasion, in June, some members spoke very briefly upon the subject. One complained of the apathy with which the question was regarded in England; another (Mr. Brougham) mentioned the cause as "opposed by some, deserted by others, and espoused by persons whose conduct excited no small degree of disgust out of doors." But from this time the name of Parliamentary Reform became, for the most part, a name of terror to the Government—to the elevated by rank and wealth—to the most influential of the middle classes. It became fearful from the causes which would have made it contemptible in ordinary times. It was "espoused by persons whose conduct excited no small degree of disgust out of doors." It passed away from the patronage of a few aristocratic lovers of popularity, to be advocated by writers of "twopenny trash," and to be discussed and organized by "Hampden Clubs" of hungry philanthropists and unemployed "weaver-boys."

Samuel Bamford, who thought it no disgrace to call himself "a Radical"—a man of real native talent, and of honest intentions,—says, "At this time [1816] the writings of William Cobbett suddenly became of great authority; they were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire, in those of Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham; also in many of the Scottish manufacturing towns. Their influence was speedily visible."

Cobbett advocated Parliamentary Reform as the corrective of whatever miseries the lower classes suffered. A new order of politicians was called into action—"The Sunday-schools of the preceding thirty years had produced many working men of sufficient talent to become readers, writers, and speakers in the village meetings for Parliamentary Reform; some also were found to possess a rude poetic talent, which rendered their effusions popular, and bestowed an additional charm on their assemblages; and by such various means, anxious listeners at first, and then zealous proselytes, were drawn from the cottages of quiet nooks and dingles, to the weekly readings and discussions of the Hampden Clubs."* But let it be remembered, that though the Sunday-schools of the preceding thirty years had made some working men readers, writers, and speakers, the mass of the labouring population were in the lowest state of ignorance, and were consequently ready to accept the crude and violent opinions of a few of their own class as the only maxims of political action. The speakers at the village meetings echoed the strong words of Cobbett, without the qualifying prudence which generally kept that master of our language pretty safe in argument and phraseology. He was not the man to tempt a prosecution by a rash sentence that could have been construed into sedition.

Up to the 2nd of November, 1816, "Cobbett's Weekly Political Register" was a publication not addressed to the "cottage hearth," but to persons who could afford to pay a shilling and a halfpenny weekly for a single octavo stamped sheet, printed in open type. His writings, singularly clear and argumentative, strong in personalities, earnest, bold, never halting between two opinions, powerful beyond all anonymous writings from their rare individuality, would have commanded an extensive influence under any form of publication. But at the beginning of November, he announced his intention to print "The *Twopenny Register*." We see, therefore, why, at the end of 1816, "the writings of William Cobbett *suddenly* became of great authority, and were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts." Never before had any single writer in England wielded such a power. That his cheap Registers gave the discontent of the labouring classes a new direction cannot be doubted; that they did much to repress riot and outrage may fairly be conceded. But that they were scattering the seeds of a greater danger than the outrage and plunder of infuriated mobs cannot be denied. Their object was suddenly to raise up the great masses of labourers and mechanics

* "Passages in the Life of a Radical," by Samuel Bamford, vol. i. p. 8.

into active politicians; to render the most impatient and uncontrollable materials of our social system the most preponderating. The danger was evident; the means of repression were not so clear. The effect of Cobbett's writings may be estimated by the violence of his opponents, as well as by the admiration of his disciples. From the date of his twopenny Registers he was stigmatized as a "firebrand"—"a convicted incendiary." "Why is it that this convicted incendiary, and others of the same stamp, are permitted, week after week, to sow the seeds of rebellion, insulting the Government, and defying the laws of the country? . . . We have laws to prevent the exposure of unwholesome meat in our markets, and the mixture of deleterious drugs in beer. We have laws also against poisoning the minds of the people, by exciting discontent and disaffection; why are not these laws rendered effectual, and enforced as well as the former?"* The answer is very obvious. The laws, as they stood at the end of 1816, when this was written, could not touch William Cobbett. He knew well how to manage his strength. He risked no libels. He dealt with general subjects. He called upon the people to assemble and to petition. He exhorted the people against the use of force. He sowed the dragons' teeth, it is true, but they did not rise up as armed men. They rose up in the far more dangerous apparition of the masses, without property, without education, without leaders of any weight or responsibility, demanding the supreme legislative power—the power of universal suffrage. The idea ceased to be a theory—it became a tremendous reality.

In a Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, presented on the 19th of February, 1817, the Hampden Clubs are described as "associated professedly for the purpose of Parliamentary Reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments;" but that "in far the greater number of them, and particularly in those which are established in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and which are composed of the lower order of artisans, nothing short of a Revolution is the object expected and avowed." The testimony of Samuel Bamford shows that, in this early period of their history, the Hampden Clubs limited their object to the attainment of Parliamentary Reform—a sweeping reform, indeed, but not what is understood by the term "Revolution." They contended for the right of every male above eighteen years of age, and who paid taxes, to vote for the election of Members of Parliament; and that Parliaments should be

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xvi. p. 275.

elected annually. These demands Bamford describes as "the moderate views and wishes of the Reformers of those days." * He adds, "It was not until we became infested by spies, incendiaries, and their dupes—distracting, misleading, and betraying—that physical force was mentioned amongst us. After that, our moral power waned; and what we gained by the accession of demagogues, we lost by their criminal violence, and the estrangement of real friends." It would appear, however, that in Scotland, at a very early stage of the proceedings of Reform Clubs, that is in December, 1816, the mode in which large masses of men ordinarily look for the accomplishment of political changes was not so cautiously kept out of view.

Of the Hampden Club of London, sir Francis Burdett was the chairman. Vanity, as well as misery, "makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows." Bamford, at the beginning of 1817, came to London as a delegate from the Middleton Club, to attend a great meeting of delegates to be assembled in London. The Crown and Anchor Tavern was the scene of these deliberations. There, was Major Cartwright in the chair—a placid enthusiast, sincere in his belief that unmingled good would be the result of the great experiment which he had so long advocated. The chief supporters were Cobbett, with his shrewd self-possession and "bantering jollity;" and Hunt,—*"Orator Hunt,"* as he was called,—the incarnation of an empty, blustering, restless, ignorant, and selfish demagogue. The great Baronet was absent, and his absence provoked not a little comment. But he was accessible in his own mansion. Samuel Bamford was awe-struck by the passionate belabouring of Hunt, frozen by the proud condescension of sir Francis Burdett, but charmed by the unaffected cordiality of lord Cochrane. These were the chief actors in the procession scenes of the popular drama that was then under rehearsal. Other and more important parts were filled quite as appropriately.

The Middleton delegate was introduced, amidst the reeking tobacco fog of a low tavern, to the leading members of a society called the *"Spencean Philanthropists."* They derived their name from that of a Mr. Spence, a schoolmaster in Yorkshire, who had conceived a plan for making the nation happy, by causing all the lands of the country to become the property of the State, which State should divide all the produce for the support of the people. Socialism, in its extremest principles, is not a new doctrine. The schoolmaster was an honest enthusiast, who fearlessly submitted his plan to the consideration of all lovers of their species, and had

* *"Passages in the Life of a Radical,"* vol. i. chap. ii.

the misfortune to be prosecuted for its promulgation in 1800. In 1816 "Spence's Plan" was revived, and the Society of Spencean Philanthropists was instituted, who held "sectional meetings," and discussed "subjects calculated to enlighten the human understanding." This great school of philosophy had its separate academies, as London was duly informed by various announcements, at "the Cock, in Grafton-street, Soho;" and "the Mulberry Tree, Moorfields;" and "the Nag's Head, Carnaby Market;" and "No. 8, Lumber-street, Borough." At these temples of benevolence, where "every individual is admitted, free of expense, who will conduct himself with decorum," it is not unlikely that some esoteric doctrines were canvassed, such as, that "it was an easy matter to upset Government, if handled in a proper manner." * The Committee of the Spenceans openly meddled with sundry grave questions besides that of a community in land; and, amongst other notable projects, petitioned Parliament to do away with machinery. Amongst these fanatics some dangerous men had established themselves, such as Thistlewood, who subsequently paid the penalty of five years of maniacal plotting; and some, also, who were clearly in communication with the police, and hounded on the weak disciples of the Cock in Grafton-street and the Mulberry Tree in Moorfields, to acts of more real danger to themselves than to the public safety. If we are to believe the chief evidence in these transactions, John Castle, a man of the most disreputable character, who became a witness against the leading Spencean philanthropists, they had murderous designs of sharp machines for destroying cavalry, and plans for suffocating quiet soldiers in their barracks, destroying them as boys burn wasps' nests; and schemes for taking the Tower and barricading London Bridge to prevent the artillery coming from Woolwich. † And there were to be five commanders to effect all these great movements of strategy,—Mr. Thistlewood, Mr. Watson the elder, and Mr. Watson the younger, Mr. Castle, and Mr. Preston, who came the last in dignity "because he was lame." And then there was to be a Committee of Public Safety, who were to be called together after the soldiers were subdued—twenty-four good and true men. And then they calculated at what amount of public expense they could buy the soldiers, by giving them each a hundred guineas, and upon an accurate computation it was found that the purchase-money would be somewhere about two millions, which would be nothing in comparison with the national debt, which would be wiped off. ‡ With this preparation, if we may believe the very ques-

* "State Trials," vol. xxxii. pp. 215, 216; Watson's Trial.

† *Ibid.*, p. 218. &c.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 234.

tionable evidence of Mr. Castle, a meeting was held in Spa-fields on the 15th November.

The district known as Spa-fields, now covered with dwellings of industry, and comfortable residences of the middle classes, was, at the beginning of the present century, and for some years afterwards, a large, unenclosed space, utterly neglected and useless. A public-house was there, called by the mysterious name of Merlin's Cave; and thither Mr. Hunt came in a chariot with the Watsons, and harangued a mob from the chariot roof, attended with a flag and cockades and "everything handsome." After adjourning the meeting for a fortnight, Mr. Hunt and the chariot went away, drawn by the mob; and the mob running the chariot against a wall, they all got out and walked. So innocently passed the first Spa-fields meeting—innocently, save that at a dinner at Mr. Hunt's hotel in Bouverie-street, where, as he represented the matter, the philanthropists having thrust themselves upon him very much against his will, the betrayer, Castle, gave a toast, which is too infamous to be repeated here, and was threatened to be turned out of the room, but quietly remained, and went into what is described as "a fox-sleep." But the 2nd of December, the day to which the first meeting was adjourned, closed not so peaceably. Mr. Hunt came down to Essex in his tandem, and, as he passed along Cheapside, at "twenty minutes to one o'clock," he was stopped by Mr. Castle, who was moving along with a considerable crowd; and the worthy man told him that the meeting had been broken up two hours, and that they were going to the Tower, which had been in their possession for an hour. The country squire, to whom "the boisterous hallooing of multitudes was more pleasing than the chinkling of the plough-traces, the bleating of lambs, or the song of the nightingale,"—(in these terms Cobbett defended his friend for his aspirations after mob popularity)—was not weak enough to believe the tempter; and his tandem went on to Spa-fields, where the greatest number of people were collected together that he had ever beheld. But more active Reformers were in Spa-fields before Mr. Hunt. The Spencean philanthropists had provided a waggon for their own operations, and arrived on the ground considerably before the appointed hour of meeting, with banners and inscriptions, one of which was, "The brave Soldiers are our Friends!" These men also brought arms and ammunition, which they deposited in their waggon. Mr. Watson the elder commenced a sufficiently violent address, and then his son followed him. The young madman, after declaiming against the uselessness of petition, cried out, "If they will not give us what we want, shall

we not take it? Are you willing to take it? Will you go and take it? If I jump down amongst you, will you come and take it? Will you follow me?" And as at every question the encouraging "Yes" became louder and louder, and put down the dissentient "No," he jumped from the waggon, seized a tri-coloured flag, and away rushed the mob to take the Tower. Two resolute men, the chief clerk of Bow-street and a Bow-street officer, had the boldness to attack this mob, and destroyed one of their banners, without any injury to themselves. The young fanatic led his followers to the shop of Mr. Beckwith, a gunsmith on Snow-hill; and, rushing in, demanded arms. A gentleman in the shop remonstrated with him, and, without any pause, was immediately shot by him. Instantly some compunction seems to have come over this furious leader, and he offered to examine the wounded man, saying he was himself a surgeon. The assassin was secured; but the mob, who destroyed and plundered the shop, soon released him, and proceeded along Cheapside, where they fired their recently-acquired arms, like children with a new plaything. They marched through the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor, and several were secured. The City Magistrates on this occasion behaved with a firmness which admirably contrasted with the pusillanimity of their predecessors in the riots of 1780. The courage of the Lord Mayor, Alderman Wood, and of Sir James Shaw, is worthy of honourable record; and it shows, not only the insignificance of the so-called conspiracy, its want of coherence and of plan, but the real power of virtue in action to put down ordinary tumult. Sir James Shaw says, "On the 2nd of December last I was at the Royal Exchange at half-past twelve; I saw the mob first in Cornhill; the Lord Mayor and I went in pursuit of them; they crossed the front of the Royal Exchange; we rushed through the Royal Exchange to take them in front on the other side; the Lord Mayor and I having received information of prior occurrences, determined on putting them down. I seized several of them, and one flag of three colours, extended on a very long pole. I did not then perceive any arms. . . The Lord Mayor and I went to meet the mob with Mr. White and two constables; we got five constables in all; the whole party consisted of eight."

Such is the way in which the beginnings of seditions ought to be met. Firmness such as this would have saved Bristol in 1832. After a further plunder of gunsmiths' shops in the Minories, and the summoning of the Tower by some redoubted and unknown champion; who Bamford tells us was Preston, the insurrection fell to pieces, altogether from the want of cohesion in the materials of

which it was composed. The only blood shed was that of the gentleman in Mr. Beckwith's shop, who eventually recovered. A wretched sailor was convicted of the offence of plunder at the shop on Snow Hill, and was hanged. The younger Watson escaped from his pursuers. The elder Watson was tried for high-treason on the 9th of June. The trial lasted seven days. It was memorable from "the eccentric exuberance of sir Charles Wetherell, and the luminous energy of Serjeant Copley," * who were assigned as counsel for the prisoner. The exposure of Castle, the spy, was so complete, that the jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Four other prisoners, who were to have been tried upon the same evidence, were at once acquitted.

On the 28th of January, 1817, the Prince Regent opened the fifth session of the existing Parliament. The speech from the Throne contained the following passage: "In considering our internal situation you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence. I am too well convinced of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his Majesty's subjects, to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected." It would have been difficult to infer from this language that the Government believed that a formidable and widely-organized insurrection was threatening the country, and that the only remedy was a violation of the constitutional safeguards of the liberties of the nation. Attempts to excite a spirit of sedition, amongst a people incapable "of being perverted by the arts employed to seduce them," were subjects for vigilance towards the few, without infringement of the rights of the many. The seconder of the Address in the Commons asserted that the demagogues and their acts would die of themselves. The debate in the Lower House was suddenly interrupted by a message from the Lords. An outrage had been offered to the Prince Regent on his return from opening the Parliament. The windows of the state-carriage had been broken by some missile. The two Houses, after agreeing upon an Address to the Prince Regent on this event, adjourned. Upon the resumption of the debate the next day in the Commons, and upon its commencement in the Lords, the insult to the representative of the sovereign, which was at first asserted to be an attempt upon his life, gave a decided tone to the proceedings of both Houses.

* Lord Campbell's "Chief Justices," vol. iii. p. 220.

In both assemblies the Opposition loudly proclaimed the necessity of a rigid and unsparing economy, and the proposed amendment upon the Address went directly to pledge the most severe reduction of every possible expense. The practical answer to these abortive proposals was the intimation of lord Sidmouth, that in three days he should present a message from the Prince Regent on the subject of the alleged disaffection of large bodies of the people.

On the second night of the debate on the Address, Mr. Canning took a leading part in the proceedings. He had returned from the embassy to Lisbon. An office so below the proper ambition of such a man was to him a degradation. He had been excluded from power for three years. The Government opened the Session of 1816 in the confidence that they could do without "the greatest speaker in either House of Parliament. . . . They wondered what use he could be of." * The ministerial inefficiency in that session was the cause of Canning's recall to jealous colleagues. He became President of the Board of Control. He was now put forward as the eloquent anti-reformer, to deny that the existing state of the representation was a grievance; to confound the most moderate projects of reform with the doctrines of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. It would seem that Reformers of all grades had, in his mind, a family resemblance to the Spenceans. He chose to forget what had been the opinions of his great master, Pitt; maintaining that our representative system "satisfies the wants, the opinions, and the feelings of the great bulk and body of the nation." He asked the moderate reformers in that House if they hoped to guide the whirlwind which they might raise? "Are they not aware that mightier spirits are abroad, who will take that task out of their hands?" † It scarcely needed eloquence like his to call up the ghosts of the French Revolution. The day had dawned; the shadows had lost their midnight terrors.

The message of the 3rd of February announced that the Prince Regent had given orders that there be laid before the Houses, "Papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects from his Majesty's person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and institutions." In moving the order of the day for the consideration of this message, lord Sidmouth, in the House of Lords, affirmed that the communication

* Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 137.

Hansard, vol. xxxv. col. 151

was in no degree founded on, or connected with, the outrage upon the Prince Regent on the first day of the Session. The message of the Prince Regent was referred to a Secret Committee in each House, and these Committees made their Reports on the 18th and 19th of the same month. The Spencean Societies, the Hampden Clubs, the Spa-fields Riot, now called conspiracy, formed the staple of these Reports. The objects of the conspirators are described not only to be "the overthrow of all the political institutions of the kingdom, but also such a subversion of the rights and principles of property as must necessarily lead to general confusion, plunder, and bloodshed." Under the influence of these Reports, it would have been impossible to have made such a resistance to the Government as would have prevented the enactment of stringent measures, one of which was decidedly unconstitutional. Bills were brought in and passed by large majorities, to guard against and avert the dangers which had been so alarmingly proclaimed. The first of these renewed the Act for the prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce soldiers and sailors from their allegiance; the second extended to the Prince Regent all the safeguards against treasonable attempts which secure the actual sovereign; the third was for the prevention of seditious meetings; the last of the four gave to the executive power the fearful right of imprisonment without trial. In common parlance, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, under "An Act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government." The suspension was, however, in this instance, limited to the ensuing 1st of July.

The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was passed on the 3rd of March; the Bill for restraining Seditious Meetings did not become law till the 29th of March. Within a week after the passing of the Act for imprisonment without trial, and before the magistrates had received any accession to their powers as to the dispersion of tumultuous assemblies, an occurrence took place at Manchester, which was at once evidence of the agitated condition of distressed multitudes in the manufacturing districts, and of the extreme weakness of their purpose. This was the famous march of the Blanketeers. The Blanket Meeting, which took place in St. Peter's Field at Manchester, was so called because many of the vast body of workmen who attended were observed to have blankets, rugs, or large coats, rolled up and tied knapsack-like, on their backs. Some carried bundles under their arms; some had papers, supposed to be petitions, rolled up; and some had stout walking-sticks. The magistrates came upon the field and read the Riot Act; the

meeting was dispersed by the military and constables; three hundred commenced a straggling march, followed by a body of yeomanry, and a hundred and eighty reached Macclesfield at nine o'clock at night. Some were apprehended, some lay in the fields. The next morning the numbers had almost melted away. The avowed Reform-leaders—delegates and Hampden-Club men—were now under perpetual terror. Some wandered from their homes in dread of imprisonment; others were seized in the bosoms of their families. Public meetings were at an end. The fears and passions of large bodies of men had no safety valve. "Open meetings thus being suspended, secret ones ensued; they were originated at Manchester, and assembled under various pretexts. . . . Their real purpose, divulged only to the initiated, was to carry into effect a night attack on Manchester, the attempt at which had before failed for want of arrangement and co-operation." * This scheme was noticed in the Second Report of the Lord's Secret Committee: "It is stated to have been proposed that Manchester should be made a Moscow, for the purpose of strengthening their cause, by throwing numbers of people out of employment." † A little while after this "Moscow" proposal, a co-delegate came to Bamford, to propose the assassination of all the ministers. We know that this scheme smouldered for several years. "The fact was," says Bamford, "this unfortunate person, in the confidence of an unsuspecting mind, as I believe, had, during one of his visits to London, formed a connection with Oliver, the spy; which connection, during several succeeding months, gave a new impulse to secret meetings and plots in various parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and ended in the tragedy of Brandreth, Ludlow, and Turner, at Derby." This tragedy is the only one of the insurrectionary movements of the manufacturing districts in 1817 that has left any traces of judicial investigation, with the exception of proceedings at York, at which all the state prisoners were discharged by the Grand Jury, or acquitted upon trial. All the persons connected with the Blanket expedition, and the expected risings at Manchester, were discharged before trial.

The Midland Counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, had been in a disturbed state for several years. The habit of daring outrage was familiar to large numbers of the manufacturing population. The course of ignorant and brutal violence, known as Luddism, had revived in redoubled fury. At the Leicester assizes, on the 1st of April, eight men were tried and convicted of the most daring outrages at Loughborough, and six of these offenders

* Bamford, vol. i. p. 45.

† Hansard, vol. xxxvi. vol. 952.

were executed on the 17th of the same month. There was not the slightest attempt at this trial to connect the crimes of these men with any political opinions. But amongst a population that for four years had witnessed the night attacks of armed men upon machinery, and with whom some of the leaders of such organized attacks were in habitual intercourse, it is manifest that the materials for political insurrection were abundantly accumulated. It was not the part of a wise and humane government to permit the feeblest spark of excitement from without to approach these inflammable materials. The secret operations of "the Spy System" in the manufacturing districts were first brought to light by the sagacious energy of the late Mr. Baines of Leeds. The circumstances of this discovery are briefly told by his son, to the effect, that Mr. Baines having learnt that a government emissary, named Oliver, had been attempting to entrap Mr. James Willan, a printer, of Dewsbury, to attend a meeting where ten persons had been arrested, thought it his duty to investigate the facts by personal inquiry. Mr. Willan proved that Oliver, who represented himself as a delegate from the Radicals of London, had several times, for the space of two months, endeavoured to seduce him into acts of violence and situations of danger, and that he had especially urged him to attend a meeting of "delegates" at Thornhill-Lees on the previous Friday, at which meeting ten men were arrested by a party of military, under the command of major-general sir John Byng. Willan, who was a conscientious man, and a professor of the principles of the Society of Friends, indignantly repelled every invitation to violence, and refused to attend the meeting. The ten prisoners had been conveyed, with Oliver himself, to Wakefield, for examination by the magistrates; but at that town Oliver was seen at liberty, and in communication with the servant of general Byng. It was further learnt that Oliver had been at general Byng's house at Campsall, a few days before.* Mr. Baines having published a statement of these circumstances in his paper, 'The Leeds Mercury,' the transaction formed the subject of a violent debate in the House of Commons on the 16th of June. In the 'Life of Lord Sidmouth,' this affair has been minutely gone into, for the purpose of justifying the Secretary of State for the Home Department against the imputations which arose out of the employment of such persons as Oliver. "None of them," says the author of the Life, "were employed in the first instance by lord Sidmouth; but themselves sought him out; and if, which is not probable, they, in any instances, instigated the conspirators to crime in order to betray

* "Life of Edward Baines," by his son, Edward Baines, pp. 92, 93.

them, the treacherous act must have been entirely their own, as nothing would have excited more his lordship's indignation than the bare idea of so base a proceeding.* This opinion is supported by a letter of lord Strafford (formerly sir John Byng), written in 1846. Sir John Byng himself was perfectly incapable, as was acknowledged on all hands, of turning the spy into a tempter.

On Sunday, the 8th of June, there was a remarkable assemblage at Pentridge, a village situated some two miles from the Ambergate station on the present North Midland Railway. The village is in the hilly and thinly-peopled district to the west of the river Derwent. In the neighbourhood of Pentridge there are several other scattered villages,—all not far removed from a direct road to Nottingham. About a mile from Pentridge, at Butterley, was a large iron foundry. Two men in the employ of the proprietors of this foundry went into the White Horse public-house at Pentridge, on the morning of the 8th of June, and found a good many persons in the parlour there, "talking about this revolution." There was one amongst them they called "The Captain." He had a map in his hand, and the people came in, and kept asking him questions; and he said, there would be no good to be done except a complete overthrow of the Government. All the country was to rise, all at one time. Many talked thus. They made no secret. They spoke it openly. They did not mind who heard them. They said they had plenty of pikes; and they would go and take Nottingham wholly to themselves; and when they got to Nottingham, every man would have a hundred guineas, and plenty of rum, and it would be nothing but a journey of pleasure. This extraordinary assembly lasted six or seven hours. The two men from the iron works were special constables; but they were afraid to say anything about it. Having agreed to meet on the night of the 9th after dark, the people separated. The Captain with the map in his hand was Jeremiah Brandreth, a frame-work knitter, whose family had received parochial relief. Mr. Denman (who was counsel for the prisoners), after Brandreth had been convicted, compared this man with 'The Corsair' of lord Byron. In spite of Mr. Denman's rhetorical description of the mastery of this leader over his weak followers, we must be content to believe, from the evidence of Brandreth's acts, that he was a frantic enthusiast, goaded to violence by great poverty, by imaginary oppression, and, what is more, by the grossest delusions as to his own power and the strength of his cause. We do not think that he was the less dangerous from his real character and the real circumstances around him; but, we believe, as Mr.

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 187.

Denman came to the conclusion, that, in spite of his influence and command, "he was most clearly himself an instrument wielded by other hands." On Saturday night, the 7th of June, Oliver goes to a meeting at Nottingham, with instructions from sir John Byng "not to conceal anything as to the Yorkshire meeting by which these people could be deceived." On Sunday morning, the Nottingham Captain is heard saying, "All the country is to rise, all at one time." On Monday night he passes the door of a labouring man at South Wingfield, about three miles from Pentridge, in his way to an old barn up in the fields, and he urges the man to come with him, saying that "the countries, England, Ireland, and France, were to rise that night at ten o'clock," and that "the northern clouds, men from the north, would come down and sweep all before them." It is difficult not to regard the language of Brandreth as pure insanity, especially when we contrast it with the sober sense of some around him. "There was an old woman standing by," says the South Wingfield man, "and she tapped him on the shoulder, and said, 'My lad, we have got a magistrate here';"—and the labourer himself "thought he must be drunk or mad to think of such things." But on the madman went. In the old barn at South Wingfield he assembled twenty men, who had pikes and guns, and they went forward, stopping at solitary houses, and demanding guns, and dragging unwilling men out of their beds and hiding-places, and compelling them to march with them. At the farm-house of a widow who behaved with unflinching courage, Brandreth fired in at a window, and killed one of her servants, upon arms being refused to him. His followers said he should not have shot that poor innocent man; and he replied, it was his duty to do it. Onwards they marched—the volunteers and the conscripts; and the Captain, when they halted at some low dwellings, and met with any one who refused to march, had his ready exhortation, that "a great cloud out of the north would sweep all before them," with the more particular information that "it would not be necessary to go farther than Nottingham, for London would be taken by the time they got there." Some of the pressed men ran away in the darkness; one refused to march in rank, and upon Brandreth swearing he would shoot him in a moment, the bold fellow stepped up to him with his knife, and the Captain turned off from him. During all this march the rain was incessant. By the time they reached the Butterley Iron-works, their numbers amounted to about a hundred. Brandreth was boldly met by Mr. Goodwin, the manager of the works, and, when he demanded men was told, "You shall not have one of them. You

are too many already, unless you were going for a better purpose ; disperse ! depend upon it, the laws will be too strong for you ; you are going with halters about your necks." Three men took shelter in the office of the works ; one man, Isaac Ludlam, who was afterwards convicted and executed, was exhorted by Mr. Goodwin not to go on ; but he answered, much agitated, " I am as bad as I can be ; I cannot go back." After a short pause, Brandreth gave the command " March." Soon after, this main body was followed by about fifty other men. On the morning of the 10th of June, Mr. Rolleston, a magistrate, went from Nottingham on the road towards Eastwood, about six miles from Nottingham, and meeting there a considerable body of men armed with pikes, he returned to Nottingham, and procured some troops from the barracks, eighteen privates, commanded by a captain and a subaltern. Upon hearing that the soldiers were coming, the insurgents fled. The captain in command of the Hussars deposed that the military were kept on the alert during the night. He was ordered out with a party, on the road towards Derbyshire, about six in the morning, and approached about sixty men, who fled across the fields. A man in the road tried to form them, but they paid no attention to him. A number of prisoners were taken, and about forty guns and other arms were collected together.

Thus ended " the Derbyshire insurrection." For these offences, three men were executed ; eleven were transported for life ; four were transported for fourteen years ; and five were imprisoned for various terms.

The acquittal of Watson, for high treason, appears to have had no influence on the measures of Government. The second suspension of the Habeas Corpus was passed by large majorities in both Houses ; and the Prince Regent, in his Speech closing this Session on the 12th of July, averred, that " a favourable change was happily taking place in the internal situation of the country, which was to be mainly ascribed to the salutary measures which Parliament had adopted for preserving the public tranquillity." The private records of lord Sidmouth's life show that he had no great confidence in the " favourable change." At the end of July, lord Sidmouth established his family at Malvern, intending to remain there a short time himself, " and then back," as he said, " to sedition, and treason again, "his under-secretary being left in charge during the interim. Before his lordship's departure, however, as he informed his brother on the 20th, he " revised all the cases of persons committed and detained under the Suspension Act ; and the result, he trusted, would be the release of some upon

their own recognizance, and increased indulgence to those who could not be released.*

On moving the second reading of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, lord Sidmouth made the following statement:—"Some noble lords had complained, that prosecutions had not been instituted against the authors, printers, or publishers, of infamous libels; but it was but justice to Government to state, that they had not neglected their duty with regard to these publications. As soon as they reached the hands of ministers, they were transmitted to the law officers of the Crown, who felt that these publications were drawn up with so much dexterity,—the authors had so profited by former lessons of experience,—that greater difficulties to conviction presented themselves than at any former time." Within a month from this declaration, lord Sidmouth entrusted the administration of the law of libel to less scrupulous hands than the law officers of the Crown. On the 27th of March the Secretary of State addressed his famous Circular Letter to the Lords-Lieutenants of Counties, in which, urging the importance of preventing the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets, he stated that he had obtained the opinion of the law officers, that "a justice of the peace may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him upon oath, with the publication of libel; of the nature in question, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge." He called, therefore, upon the lords-lieutenants to communicate this opinion at the ensuing quarter sessions, so that all magistrates might act thereupon. Such a proceeding as this, was, perhaps, the most daring invasion of public liberty that had been attempted since the time of the Stuarts. It called forth from lord Grey, on the 12th of May, one of the most luminous speeches which that statesman ever delivered. By the libel bill of Mr. Fox, he said, it was at last established, that in prosecutions for libel, both the law and the fact were within the province of the jury, and to be determined by them. "But, my lords, what avails this just and beneficent statute,—what security is there either for the freedom of the press, or the liberty of the subject,—if, whilst you have imposed this salutary restraint upon the judges in trials for libels, you give to them, and to justices of the peace before trial a right to decide that difficult question; and to commit to prison (in many instances, perhaps, to inflict a severer punishment than the Court upon conviction would adjudge), upon a charge which, after all, may turn out to have had no foundation, but in the false interpretation of words perfectly innocent by the justice before whom the

* Lord Sidmouth's "Life," vol. iii. p. 196.

charge was brought? If such be the power of the magistrate, and if this be the law, where, I ask, are all the boasted securities of our independence and freedom?" The House of Lords was indifferent to the preservation of these boasted securities. Writing four months after this debate to the bishop of Durham, lord Sidmouth says, "The attempt to check the progress of treason and blasphemy, by apprising the magistrates that they had the power of apprehending and holding to bail the publishers or venders of either, was one of the charges brought against me in the course of the last Session. Such a charge it shall be my constant endeavour to deserve; and I am happy in being able to assure your lordship, that the activity of the itinerant dealers in these articles is materially controlled, and their number greatly diminished." * We apprehend that there cannot be the slightest doubt in many minds, at the present day, that this proceeding of lord Sidmouth was most unconstitutional; and that he speaks and writes in defence of his conduct with all the self-approval of the worst political bigot of the worst periods of tyranny.

It is difficult to imagine a more degraded and dangerous position than that in which every political writer was placed during the year 1817. In the first place, he was subject, by a Secretary of State's warrant, to be imprisoned upon suspicion, under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Secondly, he was open to an *ex-officio* information, under which he would be compelled to find bail, or be imprisoned. The power of *ex-officio* information had been extended so as to compel bail, by an Act of 1808; but from 1808 to 1811, during which three years forty such informations were laid, only one person was held to bail. In 1817 numerous *ex-officio* informations were filed, and the almost invariable practice then was to hold the alleged offender to bail, or, in default, to commit to prison. Under this Act Mr. Hone and others were committed to prison during this year. To complete a triple cord with which the ministers believed they could bind down the "man-mountain" of the press, came forth lord Sidmouth's Circular. The entire course of these proceedings was a signal failure. There was only one solitary instance of success—William Cobbett ran away. On the 28th of March he fled to America, suspending the publication of his 'Register' for four months.

On the 12th of May earl Grey mentioned in the House of Lords that a Mr. Hone was proceeded against for publishing some blasphemous parody; but he had read one of the same nature, written, printed, and published, some years ago, by other people,

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 176.

without any notice having been officially taken of it. The parody to which earl Grey alluded, and a portion of which he recited, was Canning's famous parody, "Praise Lepaux;"* and he asked whether the authors, be they in the cabinet or in any other place, would also be found out and visited with the penalties of the law? This hint to the obscure publisher against whom these *ex-officio* informations had been filed for blasphemous and seditious parodies, was effectually worked out by him in the solitude of his prison, and in the poor dwellings where he had surrounded himself, as he had done from his earliest years, with a collection of odd and curious books. From these he had gathered an abundance of knowledge that was destined to perplex the technical acquirements of the Attorney-General, to whom the sword and buckler of his precedents would be wholly useless; and to change the determination of the boldest judge in the land to convict at any rate, into the prostration of helpless despair. Altogether, the three trials of William Hone are amongst the most remarkable in our constitutional history. They produced more distinct effects upon the temper of the country than any public proceedings of that time. They taught the Government a lesson which has never been forgotten, and to which, as much as to any other cause, we owe the prodigious improvement as to the law of libel itself, and the use of the law, in our own day,—an improvement which leaves what is dangerous in the press to be corrected by the remedial power of the press itself; and which, instead of lamenting over the newly-acquired ability of the masses to read seditious and irreligious works, depends upon the general diffusion of this ability as the surest corrective of the evils that are incident even to the best gift of heaven,—that of knowledge.

On the morning of the 18th of December there is a considerable crowd round the avenues of Guildhall. An obscure bookseller, a man of no substance or respectability in worldly eyes, is to be tried for libel. He vends his wares in a little shop in the Old Bailey, where there are, strangely mingled, twopenny political pamphlets, and old harmless folios that the poor publisher keeps for his especial reading as he sits in his dingy back parlour. The door-keepers and officers of the court scarcely know what is going to happen; for the table within the bar has not the usual covering of crimson bags, but ever and anon a shabby boy arrives with an armful of books of all ages and sizes, and the whole table is strewn with dusty and tattered volumes that the ushers are quite sure have no law within their mouldy covers. A middle-

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 89.

aged man,—a bland and smiling man,—with a half sad, half merry twinkle in his eye,—a seedy man, to use an expressive word, whose black-coat is wondrous brown and threadbare,—takes his place at the table, and begins to turn over the books which were his heralds. Sir Samuel Shepherd, the Attorney-General, takes his seat, and looks compassionately, as was his nature to do, at the pale man in threadbare black. Mr. Justice Abbott arrives in due time ; a special jury is sworn ; the pleadings are opened ; and the Attorney-General states the case against William Hone, for printing and publishing an impious and profane libel upon the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, thereby bringing into contempt the Christian religion. " It may be said," argued the Attorney-General, " that the defendant's object was not to produce this effect. I believe that he meant it, in one sense, as a political squib ; but his responsibility is not the less." As the Attorney-General proceeded to read passages from the parody upon the Catechism, the crowd in Court laughed ; the Bench was indignant ; and the Attorney-General said the laugh was the fullest proof of the baneful effect of the defendant's publication. And so the trial went on in the smoothest way, and the case for the prosecution was closed. Then the pale man in black rose, and, with a faltering voice, set forth the difficulty he had in addressing the Court, and how his poverty prevented him obtaining counsel. And now he began to warm in the recital of what he thought his wrongs ; his commitments ; his hurried calls to plead ; the expense of copies of the informations against him ; and, as Mr. Justice Abbott, with perfect gentleness, but with his cold formality, interrupted him, the timid man, who all thought would have mumbled forth a hasty defence, grew bolder and bolder, and in a short time had possession of his audience as if he were " some well-graced actor," who was there to receive the tribute of popular admiration. They were not to inquire whether he were a member of the Established Church or a Dissenter ; it was enough that he professed himself to be a Christian ; and he would be bold to say, that he made that profession with a reverence for the doctrines of Christianity, which could not be exceeded by any person in that Court. He had his books about him, and it was from them that he must draw his defence. They had been the solace of his life. He was too much attached to his books to part with them. As to parodies, they were as old at least as the invention of printing ; and he never heard of a prosecution for a parody either religious or any other. There were two kinds of parodies ; one in which a man might convey ludicrous or ridiculous ideas

relative to some other subject; the other, where it was meant to ridicule the thing parodied. This latter was not the case here, and therefore he had not brought religion into contempt. This was the gist of William Hone's defence. To show fully how this argument was worked,—with what readiness, what coolness, what courage,—would be to transcribe the trials of three days;* on the first of which the defendant spoke six hours, on the second seven hours, and on the last eight hours. It was in vain that the Attorney-General urged that to bring forward any previous parody was the same thing as if a person charged with obscenity should produce obscene volumes in his defence. It was in vain that Mr. Justice Abbott repeated his wish that the defendant would not read such things. On he went, till interruption was held to be in vain. It was worse than vain, it was unjust. Truly did Hone reply to Mr. Justice Abbott, "My Lord, your Lordship's observation is in the very spirit of what Pope Leo the Tenth said to Martin Luther,—'For God's sake don't say a word about the indulgences and the monasteries, and I'll give you a living;'—thus precluding him from mentioning the very thing in dispute. I must go on with these parodies, or I cannot go on with my defence." Undauntedly he went on, from the current literature of the time, such as grave lawyers read in their few hours of recreation, to the forgotten volumes of old theology and polemical controversy, that the said grave lawyers of modern days are accustomed to regard as useless lumber. The Editor of Blackwood's Magazine was a parodist,—he parodied a chapter of Ezekiel; Martin Luther was a parodist,—he parodied the first Psalm; Bishop Latimer was a parodist, and so was Dr. Boys, Dean of Canterbury; the author of the "Rolliad" was a parodist, and so was Mr. Canning. Passage after passage did Mr. Hone read from author after author. He thought it was pretty clear that Martin Luther did not mean to ridicule the Psalms; that Dr. Boys did not mean to ridicule the Lord's Prayer; that Mr. Canning did not mean to ridicule the Scriptures. Why, then, should it be presumed that he had such an intention? As soon as he found that his parodies had been deemed offensive, he had suppressed them, and that he had done long before his prosecution. It was in vain that the Attorney-General replied that Martin Luther was a libeller, and Dr. Boys was a libeller. The judge charged the jury in vain. William Hone was acquitted, after a quarter of an hour's deliberation.

But Guildhill "saw another sight." With the next morning's fog, the Lord Chief Justice rose from his bed, enfeebled by illness,

* The three trials were printed as separate pamphlets.

but undiminished in the energy of his talent. He had been deeply mortified by the acquittal of Watson for high-treason. He was now resolved that the libeller should not go unpunished. "He swore," says Lord Campbell, "that at whatever cost he would preside in Court next day himself, so that conviction might be certain, and the insulted law might be vindicated."* With lowering brow lord Ellenborough took his place in that judgment-seat which he deemed had been too mercifully filled on the previous day. The mild firmness of the poor publisher, and his gentlemanly sense of the absence of harshness in the conduct of his first trial, had won for him something like respect; and when on one occasion Mr. Justice Abbott asked him to forbear reading a particular parody, and the defendant said, "Your lordship and I understand each other, and we have gone on so good-humouredly hitherto, that I will not break in upon our harmony," it became clear that the puisne judge was not the man to enforce a verdict guilty on the second trial. Again Mr. Hone entered the court with his load of books on Friday, the 19th of December. He was this day indicted for publishing an impious and profane libel, called "The Litany, or General Supplication." Again the Attorney-General affirmed that whatever might be the object of the defendant, the publication had the effect of scoffing at the public service of the Church. Again the defendant essayed to read from his books, which course he contended was essentially necessary for his defence. Then began a contest which is perhaps unparalleled in an English court of justice. Upon Mr. Fox's libel bill, upon *ex-officio* informations, upon his right to copies of the indictment without extravagant charges, the defendant battled his judge,—imperfect in his law, no doubt, but with a firmness and moderation that rode over every attempt to put him down. Parody after parody was again produced, and especially those parodies of the Litany which the Cavaliers employed so frequently as vehicles of satire upon the Roundheads and Puritans. The Lord Chief Justice at length gathered up his exhausted strength for his charge, and concluded in a strain that left but little hope for the defendant: "He would deliver the jury his solemn opinion, as he was required by Act of Parliament to do; and under the authority of that Act, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most impious and profane libel. Believing and hoping that they, the jury, were Christians, he had not any doubt but that they would be of the same opinion." The jury, in an hour and a-half, returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

* "Lives of the Chief Justices," vol. iii. p. 224.

It might have been expected that these prosecutions would have here ended. But the chance of a conviction from a third jury, upon a third indictment, was to be risked. On the 20th of December lord Ellenborough again took his seat on the bench, and the exhausted defendant came late into court, pale and agitated. The Attorney-General remarked upon his appearance, and offered to postpone the proceedings. The courageous man made his election to go on. This third indictment was for publishing a parody on the Creed of St. Athanasius, called "The Sinecurist's Creed." After the Attorney-General had finished his address, Mr. Hone asked for five minutes' delay, to arrange the few thoughts he had been committing to paper. The judge refused the small concession; but said that he would postpone the proceedings to another day, if the defendant would request the Court so to do. The scene which ensued was thoroughly dramatic. "No! I make no such request. My lord, I am very glad to see your lordship here to-day, because I feel I sustained an injury from your lordship yesterday—an injury which I did not expect to sustain. . . . If his lordship should think proper, on this trial to-day, to deliver his opinion, I hope that opinion will be coolly and dispassionately expressed by his lordship. . . . My lord, I think it necessary to make a stand here. I cannot say what your lordship may consider to be necessary interruption; but your lordship interrupted me a great many times yesterday, and then said you would interrupt me no more, and yet your lordship did interrupt me afterwards ten times as much. . . . Gentlemen, it is you who are trying me to-day. His lordship is no judge of me. You are my judges, and you only are my judges. His lordship sits there to receive your verdict. . . . I will not say what his lordship did yesterday; but I trust his lordship to-day will give his opinion coolly and dispassionately, without using either expression or gesture which could be construed as conveying an entreaty to the jury to think as he did. I hope the jury will not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty." The triumph of the weak over the powerful was complete. "The frame of adamant and soul of fire," as the biographer of lord Sidmouth terms the Chief Justice, quailed before the indomitable courage of a man who was roused into energies which would seem only to belong to the master-spirits that have swayed the world. Yet this was a man who, in the ordinary business of life, was incapable of enterprise and persevering exertion; who lived in the nooks and corners of his anti-quarianism; who was one that even his old political opponents came to regard as a gentle and innocuous hunter after "all such reading as was never read;" who in a few years gave up his

politics altogether, and, devoting himself to his old poetry and his old divinity, passed a quarter of a century after this conflict in peace with all mankind, and died the sub-editor of a religious journal. It was towards the close of this remarkable trial, that the judge, who came eager to condemn, sued for pity to his intended victim. The defendant quoted Warburton and Tillotson, as doubters of the authenticity of the Athanasian Creed. "Even his lordship's father, the bishop of Carlisle, he believed, took a similiar view of the Creed." And then the judge solemnly said, "Whatever that opinion was, he has gone, many years ago, where he has had to account for his belief and his opinions. . . . For common delicacy forbear." "O, my lord, I shall certainly forbear." Grave and temperate was the charge to the jury this day; and in twenty minutes they returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

Lord Campbell has an anecdote of the Chief Justice, which indicates the struggle he made against any display of his deep mortification at the issue of this prosecution. "Bishop Turner, who was present at the trial, and accompanied the Chief Justice home in his carriage, related that all the way he laughed at the tumultuous mob who followed him, remarking, 'that he was afraid of their saliva, not of their bite;' and that passing Charing Cross he pulled the check-string, and said, 'It just occurs to me that they sell the best red herrings at this shop of any in London; buy six.'"* Lord Campbell adds, "The popular opinion, however, was, that lord Ellenborough was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up his head in public after." There is a more conclusive evidence of his feelings than popular opinion. On Sunday, the 21st of December, the day after this last trial, lord Ellenborough wrote thus to lord Sidmouth: "The disgraceful events which have occurred at Guildhall within the last three or four days have led me, both on account of the public and myself, to consider very seriously my own sufficiency, particularly in point of bodily health and strength, to discharge the official duties of my station in the manner in which, at the present critical moment, it is peculiarly necessary they should be discharged. . . . I wish to carry my meditated purpose of resignation into effect, as soon as the convenience of Government, in regard to the due selection and appointment of my successor, may allow."†

The proceedings of the Government in the libel matters of 1817 were signal failures. A few miserable hawkers were held to bail, or sent to prison under lord Sidmouth's Circular; some *ex-officio*

* "Lives of the Chief Justices," vol. iii. p. 225.

† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 236.

informations were filed, with only one conviction,—that of a printer in the country, who republished one of Hone's parodies, and was tried before Hone himself was tried. As to the three acquittals we have described, it is perfectly evident that three juries, consisting of respectable London merchants, would have assuredly convicted the defendant, had they not felt that the real sting of the alleged profaneness was the severity of the political satire. Although the indictment stated that these parodies were seditious as well as profane, the sedition was studiously kept in the background. Had they not been really prosecuted for their political doctrines, their unquestionable indecency and impropriety must have carried a verdict against them on the first trial. The second and third trials looked like persecution; and public opinion threw its shield over the offender. There was a feeling, moreover, that political passions were influencing the judgment-seat. The severity of the Lord Chief Justice to the reforming member for Westminster, lord Cochrane, was not forgotten.

When we look back upon this unhappy period, we may honestly infer that the real danger was not so much that the people should be irritated and misled by mob-leaders and unscrupulous writers, as that a general feeling should grow up in the nation that Government was a power antagonistic to the governed—an oppressive and not a protective power—a power of separate interests from the interests of the people. This grew into a very widely-diffused feeling, and was found deeply rooted, long after the first sufferings that attended the transition state of peace had passed away—a feeling that was far more dangerous to the national welfare than any insurrectionary outbreak of the masses of the working population. Deluded these masses unquestionably were—acted upon by demagogues—ready for riot and violence; capable of serious mischief, but incapable of resisting the law wisely administered. The eagerness of the Government to suspend the constitutional protections for the liberty of the subject; to call for new enactments to repress sedition; to fetter the expression of opinion by rendering the plain-speaking of the public journals very perilous; to employ the spy-system, with the certainty that it would excite the violence which it pretended to discover—these were the causes why the Government had no love from any class; very little respect; intense hate from many; slavish fear from more. A large number, indeed, of the upper and middle classes were alarmed into a prostrate adhesion to the menacing policy of the Government, and were ready with "lives and fortunes" to put down the revolutionary spirit which they were assured was working under the

guise of Parliamentary Reform. From this year we may date the retrogression of public opinion on the question of an improved representation of the people. As long as the middle classes were afraid of its agitation, and naturally associated the idea of Reform with the rash movements of the operative classes,—with their violent declamations and their tumultuous meetings,—the differences of principle took the unhappy form of a contest between wealth and poverty, between capital and labour. The humbler classes had been taught by the demagogues that all the evils of civilization are political evils, and that democratic institutions would at once sweep away all social miseries. The upper and middle classes opposed all changes, in the belief that the preservation of existing institutions, however decayed and imperfect, was necessary for the maintenance of the security of property. There were, nevertheless, many of the wealthy and educated classes who, in 1817, thought, as Mr. Wilberforce then thought, when he wrote, “I continue friendly to the moderate, gradual, and almost insensibly operating Parliamentary Reform, which was last brought forward by Mr. Pitt;” * but who, nevertheless, were “adverse to the measure,” on account of the character of its advocates and their followers. The reciprocal distrust of reformers and anti-reformers must have ended in a convulsion, had not alarm and violence gradually shrunk before a growing intelligence. The English mind had been trained by its historical experience to know that all the triumphs of liberty had been won quietly and legally. The time was not far distant when this forbearance would have its reward.

Amidst the democratic agitations of 1817, which necessarily produced a corresponding violence in the tone of political parties, it is pleasant to turn to an “affecting, improving, and most memorable scene” † in the House of Commons, on the 3rd of March. Francis Horner had closed his valuable and blameless life at Pisa on the 6th of February. Lord Morpeth, in moving a new writ for the borough of St. Mawes, in the room of Mr. Horner, delivered what Macintosh describes as “a speech so perfect, that it might have been well placed as a passage in the most elegant English writer.” In the eulogies upon this statesman, so prematurely cut off from that career which opened the widest expectations of his future eminence, the leading men of all parties concurred, in a spirit which was calculated to inspire hope and confidence amidst the fears and doubts of that gloomy time. “Never was so much

* “Life of Wilberforce,” vol. iv. p. 315.

† Sir James Macintosh—Diary, in his “Life,” vol. ii. p. 339.

honour paid in any age or nation to intrinsic claims alone. A Howard introduced, and an English House of Commons adopted, the proposition of thus honouring the memory of a man of thirty-eight, the son of a shopkeeper, who never filled an office, or had the power of obliging a living creature, and whose grand title to this distinction was the belief of his virtue. How honourable to the age and to the House! A country where such sentiments prevail is not ripe for destruction." *

* Sir James Macintosh—Diary, in his "Life," vol. ii. p. 339.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Death of the Princess Charlotte.—Illness of the Regent.—Causes of his gloom and irritation.—Opening of Parliament.—Bill of Indemnity.—The Petition of Ogdén.—Mr. Canning.—Sir F. Burdett proposes a plan of Parliamentary Reform.—Parliament dissolved.—Death of Sir S. Romilly.—Death of Queen Charlotte.—Evacuation of France by the Allied troops.—Meeting of the New Parliament.—Duke of York the Custos of the King.—Act for Resumption of Cash Payments.—Sir James Macintosh's motion on the Criminal Laws.—Last efforts of Mr. Grattan for Catholic Emancipation.—Agitation for Reform.—The Manchester Massacre, so called.—The Six Acts.—Death of the Duke of Kent.—Death of George III.

FORTY-FOUR years ago, "without the slightest warning, without the opportunity of a moment's immediate preparation, in the midst of the deepest tranquillity, at midnight a voice was heard in the palace, not of singing men and singing women, not of revelry and mirth, but the cry, Behold, the bridegroom cometh."* The death of the Presumptive Heiress of the British Crown, on the 6th of November, after the birth of a dead child, was the great event in the domestic history of 1817. Never was a whole nation plunged in such deep and universal grief. From the highest to the lowest, this death was felt as a calamity that demanded the intense sorrow of domestic misfortune. Around every fireside there were suppressed tears and bitter remembrances. The most solemn disclaimer was uttered, through this universal mourning, of the calumny against the people that they were desirous of a vital change in their laws and institutions. Whatever might be their complaints, they showed, on this occasion, that their attachment to a constitutional monarchy was undiminished by factious contests or real grievances; and that they looked with exulting hopes to the days when a patriot Queen should diffuse the sunlight of just government through every corner of a prosperous and happy land.

The Princess Charlotte seemed born to build up for generations the succession to the British Crown, by calling around her own person the warmest devotion of a zealous but a reflecting people. The nation exulted in the maturity of her person and her mind. She stood, as was hoped amongst her future subjects, a

* Robert Hall's Funeral Sermon.

beautiful, an accomplished, a noble-hearted woman. She had wisely asserted her own right to choose for herself in the most important action of her life. The nation hailed and revered her motives. The Prince of her choice brought neither extent of territory nor continental influence; but he brought an active, firm, inquiring mind, and an amiable temper. In the retirement of Claremont, they lived calmly and unobtrusively, in that enviable tranquillity which is so congenial to British feeling. The public sympathy with the husband of the Princess Charlotte upon his great bereavement is well characterized by Southey in a private letter: "The manner in which I have heard Prince Leopold spoken of on the occasion impressed me a good deal. He was called 'poor *man*' and 'poor *fellow*.' His affliction has brought him down to our level, and rank was forgotten in the sympathy of humanity."*

Since the death of the Princess Charlotte, the Prince Regent had been seriously indisposed, and for a short time his life was considered in danger. He was not a hard-hearted though he was a selfish man, and the sudden calamity appears to have had a greater influence upon his health and spirits than might have been expected by those who judged that there had been no great affection between the father and daughter. In the "Autobiography of Miss Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte," there are many curious details of unpleasant passages in the intercourse of the Regent and the Princess, some of which had acquired an awkward publicity at the period of their occurrence. In the unhappy position of the father and the mother of the Princess there was a natural source of irritation; and the restrictions which were placed upon the intercourse of the daughter with the mother were in themselves galling to a young woman of strong affections and high spirit. In the enforcement of these restrictions the public sympathized with the two royal ladies; and manifested little respect for the support which the Prince Regent received when, in 1813, he placed before the Privy Council all the documents relative to the inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales in 1806. He then obtained an opinion, that, with reference to the welfare of the Princess Charlotte and the most important interests of the State, the intercourse between the mother and the daughter should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint. The dissension became serious upon the refusal of the Princess Charlotte to marry the Prince of Orange. The impulsiveness of the Princess Charlotte's character was manifested when, in July, 1814, she fled from Warwick House, her own residence, to the house of the Princess

* "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton," by Lady Knighton, vol. i. p. 131.

of Wales, in the belief that she was about to be subjected to more coercion and to a stricter surveillance than she had yet endured. Miss Knight says, "It is possible that when Princess Charlotte was a child, her temper might have been violent and headstrong, and the world held that opinion when she was grown up. I never saw anything of this violence or obstinacy. Much agitation, nervous uneasiness, and sometimes nervous impatience,—all this I observed, and sometimes to such a degree as to injure her health. As a proof of this, it may be remarked, that she was so much afraid of her father, that when she had seen him, or expected him, she stuttered exceedingly, which she never did at times when there was nothing particular to agitate her." * Placed under happier circumstances by her union with a man of extraordinary good sense and prudence, the nation hoped that, although one cause of previous unhappiness still existed in full force, there would be no manifestation of those dissensions which, in former days, had rendered the position of the sovereign and of the heir-apparent one of mutual misery and of public scandal.

The national expression of feeling upon the death of the Princess Charlotte was termed by lord Dudley "exaggerated lamentation;" and he thought that it "could not but be, from its obvious purport, offensive to the other branches of the Royal family." † It certainly might have been offensive to the Regent; for the strong national expression of hope in a future reign presented a forcible contrast to the small measure of enthusiasm towards him who was in the actual exercise of the sovereign power. But beyond this, there was a more direct cause of the Prince Regent's depression of spirits—the scandals that had reached him respecting the Princess of Wales. The only remedy for his gloom and irritation "was beset with so many difficulties that his Ministers shrunk from the responsibility of advising it, though he grew daily more urgent for them to attempt it at any risk." ‡ On the 1st of January the Prince Regent wrote to the Lord Chancellor, "You cannot be surprised (much difficulty in point of delicacy being now set aside in my mind by the late melancholy event which has taken place in my family), if I turn my whole thoughts to the endeavouring to extricate myself from the cruellest, as well as the most unjust, predicament, that ever even the lowest individual, much more a Prince, ever was placed in, by unshackling myself from a woman who," &c. &c. § Mr. Fremantle, the gossiping correspondent of the mar-

* "Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight," vol. ii. pp. 88, 1861.

† "Letters," p. 195.

‡ Duke of Buckingham—"Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 202.

§ "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 305.

quess of Buckingham, assigns as a reason for the Regent not opening the Parliament in person, on the 27th of January, "that allusion must be made in the Speech to the death of the Princess Charlotte, which he cannot bear."* Lord Dudley considered that, in the Speech composed for the Prince Regent, he could distinguish somewhat of that feeling which "the exaggerated lamentation" for the Princess was calculated to excite: "The mention of her is rather dry—sulky rather than sad."

The general tone of the Royal Speech was hopeful and confiding. Improvement in every branch of domestic industry, and the state of public credit, were proofs that the difficulties under which the country had been labouring were to be ascribed to temporary causes. So important a change could not fail to withdraw from the disaffected the principal means of fomenting a spirit of discontent. The peace and tranquillity of the country had been restored. The confidence thus expressed by the Government was supported by the announcement of their intention of bringing in a bill for the immediate repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. The chief business of the Opposition was therefore to contend against the mode in which the Ministers had exercised their extraordinary powers, and to argue that no necessity had ever arisen for granting those powers. The discussion on these topics was initiated in both Houses by the Ministers themselves. Papers relative to the recent state of the country were presented on the 2d of February. Committees were appointed to report upon them, and the Reports of the Lords and Commons were presented towards the end of the month. The Reports went to completely justify the necessity for extraordinary measures, and to prove the discretion and moderation of the Government in the execution of the powers vested in it by the two Acts of the last Session. It was somewhat contrary to the general tenor of these Reports, that they expressed a decided opinion that the great body of the people had remained unseduced by the designs of the disaffected, even in the most disturbed districts, and at the periods of the greatest distress. The Reports produced little debate, but the discussions were repeated and vehement upon "A Bill for Indemnifying Persons who, since the 26th of January, 1817, have acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody, persons suspected of high treason, or treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies. On the motion for going into Committee on this Bill, Mr. Canning uttered five words, which long had the effect of inducing a belief that he regarded the sufferings of the humble

* "Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 202.

with cold-blooded indifference, and made a jest of their misfortunes. One of three petitioners, who complained of severities which they endured whilst under confinement, was described by Canning as "the revered and ruptured Ogden." In Hansard's Parliamentary Debates the words are given as "the ever to be revered and unhappy Ogden." * There appears to be little doubt, that the words which his enemies ascribed to Canning were the words which he used. But in the same sentence in which he employed the unfortunate alliteration, he exposed the shameful mendacity of the petition which had been got up for Ogden, which affirmed that hernia had been caused by the weight of his irons, when he had suffered from the affliction during eight years, and was cured whilst in confinement, having written to his relatives and friends to express the delight he felt in being made a new man again. Amongst the most virulent of the attacks upon Mr. Canning for his somewhat imprudent expression, was an anonymous pamphlet, "which he considered as suggestive of his assassination," and of which he "was always fully persuaded that Mr. Hobhouse was the author." † A fashion now happily past with regard to all classes, was at that time, for men filling the highest offices in the State, to settle attacks upon their personal honour by the arbitrement of a duel. To provoke a duel, Canning wrote to the anonymous author of the pamphlet, "you are a liar and a slanderer, and want courage only to be an assassin." The writer of the pamphlet acknowledged the letter, but declined to remove the mask.

The question of Parliamentary Reform, which had slept for ten years, as far as Parliament was concerned, was revived in the House of Commons by sir Francis Burdett. In 1809 he had proposed that every county should be divided into electoral districts, each returning one member; and that the franchise should be vested in the taxed male population. Fifteen members then supported this motion. In 1818 sir Francis Burdett, in accordance with the views of the Hampden Club, of which he was the chairman, brought forward resolutions for universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. Sir Francis restricted his proposal to male suffrage, although many of the Reform Associations were composed of women as well as of men. In the session of 1818 the seconder of the resolutions, lord Cochrane, was their only supporter on the division, in addition to the mover. The advocates of Reform out of doors were damaging a cause which had once had the support of Pitt

* Hansard, vol. xxxvii. col 1026.

† Stapleton—"George Canning and his Times," p.

and Fox, of Grey and Erskine. Moderate men had begun to wish that the cause was in better hands than the violent advocates of the same principle that Burdett had announced. Sydney Smith, in 1819, wrote to Francis Jeffrey, "I am doubtful whether it is not *your* duty and *my* duty to become moderate Reformers, to keep off worse." *

In this session messages from the Regent were delivered to both Houses, announcing that treaties of marriage were in negotiation between the duke of Clarence and the Princess Adelaide Louisa Theresa Caroline Amelia of Saxe Meiningen; also between the duke of Cambridge and the Princess Augusta Wilhelmina Louisa of Hesse; also announcing that the Prince Regent had given his consent to a marriage between the duke of Kent and her Serene Highness Mary Louisa Victoria, daughter of the duke of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld, widow of Enrich Charles Prince of Leiningen, and sister of Prince Leopold. There were long debates as to the sums to be voted by Parliament in consequence of these projected alliances. The marriage of the duke of Cambridge was solemnized on the 1st of June; those of the duke of Clarence and the duke of Kent on the 13th of July. The daughter of the fourth son of George III., by his marriage with the sister of Prince Leopold, was born on the 24th of May, 1819. It is a remarkable example of the vanity of human fears, that the people who wept, as a people without hope, for the decease of Charlotte Augusta, should have realized through her premature death precisely such a female reign, of just and mild government, of domestic virtues, of generous sympathy with popular rights, of bold and liberal encouragement of sound improvement, as they had associated with her probable career,—a reign more congenial to the spontaneous love of the people than they could have thought, in that season of disquiet, was a possible blessing to be reached in a few coming years.

On the 10th of June the Prince Regent announced from the throne his intention forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. The word prorogation was not mentioned. At the close of the royal speech the Lord Chancellor in formal terms notified the will and pleasure of his Royal Highness "that this Parliament be now dissolved, and this Parliament is dissolved accordingly." When the Commons returned to their House, Mr. Manners Sutton, the late Speaker, offered to read the speech at the table, as is usual after a prorogation. Mr. Tierney objected to any such proceeding, as implying some approbation of this mode of dissolution, which he

* "Memoir of Sydney Smith," vol. ii. p. 181.

considered as an insult to Parliament. Mr. Manners Sutton said that this was a case in which there was no precedent, there having been no such dissolution since that of the Oxford Parliament in the reign of Charles II. The motive for this extraordinary proceeding was, apparently, that no delay should arise in summoning a new Parliament. It had been a stormy session; and it was not desirable in the view of the ministry, that the same Parliament should re-assemble in consequence of the demise of the Crown, which then appeared to be an event very likely speedily to happen. The Proclamation for calling a new Parliament was issued the same day as that on which the dissolution took place. The writs for the new Parliament were made returnable on the 4th of August.

The elections were all over by the middle of July. Sydney Smith wrote to Earl Grey, "I congratulate you on the general turn of the elections, and the serious accession of strength to the Whigs." There probably never was a general election in which there was a more revolting display of the violence which too often attended protracted contests. In Westminster, the government candidate, sir Murray Maxwell, a distinguished naval officer, was nearly killed by the brutality of the mob, who were outrageous that he stood before Burdett on the poll. In this stronghold of popular opinions, it was creditable to the good sense of the middle classes that Romilly was returned with Burdett, and that Hunt, who continued the contest to the end of the fifteen days allowed by law, had only eighty-four votes. Romilly's high character secured him a triumphant return at the head of the poll, though he had not spent a shilling, nor solicited a vote, nor made his appearance on the hustings. He never took that place in Parliament which the reverence of his fellow citizens had awarded him. On the 29th of October he lost his wife, to whom he was most tenderly attached. In a paroxysm of insanity he died by his own hand on the 2nd of November.

On the 17th of November took place the death of Queen Charlotte, at the age of seventy-five. For fifty-seven years she had shared the political anxieties, and watched over the mental aberrations of the King, who had since 1811 ceased to be conscious of the sympathy of wife or child. Under the Regency Bill she was appointed the Custos of the king's person. During the Regency she had presided over the Court ceremonies with the same decorum which she had always maintained, and which did something to preserve the appearance of virtue, however the reality might be sacrificed in royal retreats which her scrupulous eye might not care to explore. Richard Rush, the plenipotentiary from the

United States, who was presented to her Majesty in the February preceding her decease, describes her deportment with a strong feeling of respect: "During the whole interview there was a benignity in her manner, which, in union with her age and rank, was both attractive and touching." *

At the Congress of the Allied Sovereigns and of the ministers of the several powers, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the duke of Wellington, associated with Lord Castlereagh, represented Great Britain. The only object of the Congress was to determine with regard to the continued occupation of the French territory by the troops of the Allies, of which Wellington was generalissimo. On the 2nd of October, the evacuation was unanimously agreed upon. By the Treaty of Paris, the possible occupation had been fixed at five years. The fears of the more timid of the French Royalists inclined the representatives of the continental powers, with the exception of Russia, to prolong the occupation for the whole term. Louis XVIII. and his ministry had more confidence in the security which had been established, during the three years which had sufficed to restrain any attempt to shake the government by popular violence. The duke of Wellington was satisfied with the state of things which he had witnessed during that period. A French historian says that sufficient justice had not been done to the duke, "for the liberal and faithful manner in which he protected the interests of France throughout all the negotiations with foreign powers. . . . He was of opinion that this measure of precaution ought to cease, seeing France had not only duly discharged her stipulated payments but that her government appeared to present the character of order and duration." †

The members of the new Parliament having assembled on the 14th of January, and Mr. Manners Sutton having been re-elected Speaker, the Prince Regent's speech was delivered by commission on the 21st. The most important passage in that speech was in connection with the announcement of the death of the Queen:—"His Royal Highness has commanded us to direct your attention to the consideration of such measures as this melancholy event has rendered necessary and expedient with respect to the care of his Majesty's sacred person." This was the preliminary to a Bill appointing the duke of York as a successor to the Queen in the office of King's Custos. In a committee on the Civil List it was proposed that the sum of 10,000*l.*, which her Majesty had received on account of this office, should be continued to the duke of York.

* "Residence at the Court of London," p. 134.

† Capefigue—"Histoire de la Restauration," tome i. p. 478

The Windsor establishment was proposed to be reduced from 100,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* The motion of Mr. Tierney, that these charges should be defrayed out of the privy purse, was negatived by a majority of 95. The proposed allowance to the duke of York was the subject of continued and animated debate. The repugnance to this measure was not confined to the ordinary parliamentary Opposition. Lord Grenville thought that there was "something very revolting in paying a sum of 10,000*l.* per annum to superintend the condition of his father, that father being the sovereign of the country."* He was apprehensive that this would be a very general feeling. Sydney Smith did not probably express himself too strongly, after the House, on the 22nd of March, had divided upon the question, that the clause granting 10,000*l.* a year to the duke of York should stand as part of the Royal Household Bill, and the majority for the clause had been 59:—"You see this spirited House of Commons knows how to demean itself when any solid act of baseness, such as the 10,000*l.* to the duke of York, is in agitation."† Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, in a letter to the marquess of Buckingham, shows that there were other reasons for this measure than the desire to put a large sum into the somewhat empty pockets of the king's son:—"The duke of York's anxious wish was to have avoided the question, by declining all salary; but general Grenville says, 'the Regent compelled him to take it.' And one of the duke's most intimate friends, who came down to vote for him last night, told Phillimore, in confidence, that the answer to the duke's request was, 'So, sir! you want to be popular at our expense.'"‡

The state of the currency, and the question of the resumption of cash payments, were subjects of paramount importance in the deliberations of this session. Secret Committees of both Houses had been appointed to inquire into the state of the Bank of England. Early in April both committees presented Reports, recommending that a Bill should be forthwith passed to prohibit the continuance of the payment in gold by the Bank of their notes issued previous to the 1st of January, 1817, in conformity with the voluntary notice to that effect of the directors. The circulation of these notes having been unusually large, and the price of gold being about 3 per cent. above that of paper, six or seven millions had been rapidly withdrawn from the Bank coffers. It was stated in the Reports of the Committees that the measure which they recommended had for its object to facilitate the final and complete res-

* "Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 316.

† "Memoir of Sydney Smith," vol. ii. p. 177.

‡ "Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 321.

toration of cash payments. Mr. Peel, who had been first returned to Parliament in 1809, and who was now, at the age of thirty-one, member for the University of Oxford, was chosen chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons on the currency question. He then filled no office under government. In the agitation of this question he first signally manifested that remarkable quality of mind which led to the most important results of his statesmanship. Early in February Mr. Wynn wrote, "Peel, who is the chairman of the Bank Committee, professes, I find, to have as yet formed no opinion on the subject, but to be *open to conviction*; and the same is the language of the duke of Wellington." * On the 24th of May the ministerial resolutions were proposed to the House of Commons by Mr. Peel. The Resolution which he had to submit to the House had been adopted unanimously by the Committee. In consequence of the evidence before the Committee, and the discussions upon it, his opinion with regard to this question had undergone a material change. "He was ready to avow, without shame or remorse, that he went into the Committee with a very different opinion from that which he at present entertained; for his views of the subject were most materially different when he voted against the resolutions brought forward by Mr. Horner in 1811, as the chairman of the Bullion Committee. . . . He now, with very little modification, concurred in the principles laid down in the fourteen first resolutions submitted to the House by that very able and much lamented individual. He conceived them to represent the true nature and laws of our monetary system." † Founded upon the resolution thus proposed, the Act for the gradual resumption of cash payments, commonly known as Peel's Act, was passed on the 23rd of June. By this measure the restriction upon cash payments was continued until February, 1820; and it was provided that from the 1st of February to the 1st of October, the public should be entitled to demand payment of notes in gold bullion, in quantities of not less than sixty ounces, at the rate of 8*s.* per ounce; and that the same mode of payment in bullion, at a gradually reduced rate per ounce, should continue till the 1st of May, 1822, after which date current gold coin of the realm might be demanded in exchange for notes. The Bank anticipated this period, resuming the payment of its notes in specie on May 1, 1820.

It was in this Session of Parliament that sir James Mackintosh succeeded to a great trust which devolved upon him by the death of sir Samuel Romilly—the advocacy of amendment in the crimi-

* "Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 303.

† Hansard, vol. xl. col. 677.

nal laws. On the 2nd of March, he moved for a Select Committee "to consider of so much of the Criminal Laws as relates to capital punishment in felonies." He did not propose, he said, to form a new criminal code, nor to suggest the abolition of the punishment of death, nor to take away the right of pardon from the crown; he did not aim at realizing any universal principle. His object was to bring the letter of the law more near to its practice, under which the remission of the law formed the rule and the execution the exception. "It is one of the greatest evils which can befall a country when the criminal law and the virtuous feeling of the community are in hostility to each other. They cannot be long at variance without injury to one, perhaps to both. One of my objects is, to approximate them; to make good men the anxious supporters of the criminal law, and to restore, if it has been injured, that zealous attachment to the law in general, which, even in the most tempestuous times of our history, has distinguished the people of England among the nations of the world."* The proposition of sir James Mackintosh was opposed by the government, but, upon a division, the numbers in favour of the motion were 147; against it, 128. The Report of the Committee recommended the repeal of many capital punishments. Six bills, embodying some of these recommendations, were introduced by Mackintosh in the Session of 1820.

The determination of the Lord Chancellor to stand, without yielding an inch, upon the ancient ways, was put to the test by a remarkable occurrence in 1818. In the Court of King's Bench, in the celebrated case of Ashford and Thornton, an "appeal of murder" was prosecuted, which involved such a "trial by battle" as Shakspeare has exhibited between "the armourer and his man."† Lord Campbell says, as regards the appeal of murder in 1818, "I myself saw the appellee, on being required to plead, throw down his gauntlet on the floor, and insist on clearing his innocence by battle—as the judges held he was entitled to do." Lord Campbell adds, that it was the opinion of many great lawyers that this appeal of murder, which might be brought after an acquittal before a jury, and in which the Crown had no power to pardon, was a glorious badge of the rights and privileges of Englishmen. "Yet Lord Chancellor Eldon, to the amazement of the House of Peers and of the public, moved the second reading of a Bill, sent up by the Commons, to reform those practices, which he described as abuses, and, notwithstanding their antiquity, attacked in the most unsparing man-

* Hansard, vol. xxxix. col. 784.

† Henry VI., Second Part, act 2, scene 3.

ner.”* The conversion of lord Eldon to the support of any legal innovation was the more remarkable, inasmuch as he was opposed to a great popular authority, the Common Council of the City of London, who petitioned Parliament that the people might not be deprived of their ancient and undoubted right of appeal in criminal cases.

In this session, the question of Parliamentary Reform was again agitated by sir Francis Burdett. He proposed that, early in the next session, the House should take into its consideration the state of the representation. The occasion was remarkable for the first declaration of the opinions of lord John Russell, who had entered the House of Commons in 1813, at the age of twenty-one. Lord John did not agree with those who opposed all and every system of Reform. He agreed in the propriety of disfranchising such boroughs as were notoriously corrupt; he would restrict the duration of Parliament to three-years. “He could not, however, pledge himself to support a measure that went the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry was calculated to throw a slur upon the representation of the country, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarms.”† At the close of the session, lord John Russell announced his intention, on the next meeting of Parliament, to propose the disfranchisement of Grampound, the corruption of which borough had become notorious. He intimated that he should propose also to adopt the principle which had not yet been recognized by the House—the principle of admitting the unrepresented large towns into a share of the representation. In the session of 1820, these proposals were brought forward by him in certain resolutions, which were met in a conciliatory spirit by the government. Eventually Grampound was disfranchised in 1821, and it was agreed by the Commons that the two vacant seats should be given to the town of Leeds. The Lords, however, rejected this extension of the representation to great towns, and assigned two additional members to the county of York. The moderate Reformers had become hopeful, when lord Castlereagh gave his assent to lord John Russell’s motion in 1820. Sidney Smith writes to earl Gray, expressing his opinion that this assent “includes every thing that is important; that a disfranchised borough may be taken out of the surrounding hundred and conferred elsewhere; or rather, that it need not necessarily be thrown into the surrounding hundred.”‡

On the 3rd of May, the fervid eloquence of Mr. Grattan was

* “Lives of the Chancellors,” chap. 203.

† Hansard, vol. xl. col. 1496.

‡ “Memoir,” vol. ii. p. 192.

heard for the last time in the House of Commons in support of the measure nearest his heart, that of Catholic Emancipation. He moved, that the state of the laws by which oaths or declarations are required to be taken as qualifications for the exercise of civil functions, as far as affected His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, should be taken into consideration by a Committee of the whole House. After the speech of Grattan, the House was impatient to divide. The numbers were 241 for the motion; 243 against it. In the new Parliament, on the 28th of April, 1820, sir Henry Parnell gave notice that Mr. Grattan would, on the 11th of May, submit to the House a motion for the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities. The great Irish orator had arrived in London in a state of much debility, and his friends remonstrated that the exertion that he contemplated would be attended with serious injury to his feeble health. His answer was, "I should be happy to die in the discharge of my duty." He died on the 14th of May, at the age of seventy.

On the 13th of July, Parliament was prorogued by the Prince Regent in person. There was a passage in the Royal Speech calculated to renew the alarm that appears to have subsided at the beginning of the year, when the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act had been deemed no longer necessary. The Prince Regent now said, "I have observed with great concern the attempts which have recently been made in some of the manufacturing districts to take advantage of circumstances of local distress, to excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and government of the country." There had been considerable interruption to the prosperous state of trade from February to July. The number of bankruptcies was unusually great; credit was very generally impaired; the demand for labour was of course proportionably affected, and the rate of wages was necessarily lower. At the same time the price of food had been steadily advancing. There had been meetings of the operative classes in Lancashire and at Glasgow, to consider the low rate of wages, and to appeal to public sympathy upon their distressed condition. Gradually, however, at these meetings the peaceably disposed were borne down by the turbulent, and the speeches assumed that character of political violence that justified the terms of the Prince Regent's speech. Parliament, however, separated without any expectation that serious mischief was at hand. Many of the members of the Cabinet were seeking a temporary repose from their official labours. The Lord Chancellor, perplexed by events which we shall now have to describe, writes to his brother in August, "Your exhortations to the King's servants, I

doubt, can't reach many of them, for, with exception of Liverpool, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Wellington, Van, and myself, they are all, eight in number, in different parts of Europe."*

At a great open air meeting at Stockport on the 28th of June, sir Charles Wolseley, bart., was the chairman, there commencing a career which ended in the jail, and might have ended on the scaffold. He told his audience that he was one of those who had mounted the ramparts of the Bastille at the commencement of the French Revolution, and he would never shrink from attacking the Bastilles of his own country. On the 12th of July, at a meeting held at New Hall Hill, near Birmingham, sir Charles Wolseley was elected "legislatorial attorney and representative" for that town. The government naturally became alarmed, and caused sir Charles Wolseley, and a dissenting preacher, to be indicted for seditious words spoken by them at the meeting at Stockport. Wolseley was arrested at his own house, Wolseley Park, in Staffordshire. At a great assembly in Smithfield, where Hunt presided, Harrison was arrested; and on being conveyed to Stockport, the constable who arrived there with him was attacked and shot. These events produced great alarm. Lord Sidmouth, in a private letter of the 15th of August, expressed his opinion that "the laws were not strong enough for the times, but that they must be made so." Nevertheless, he thought the plentiful season was unfavourable for sedition, and that at Manchester there was happily an increased demand for labour.† The attention of the Home-office had naturally been directed to Manchester with some anxiety, for a public meeting had been called by the Reformers, who had now taken the name of Radicals, for the ninth of August, to elect a "legislatorial attorney" as representative of that place. The magistrates, in consequence, issued a notice declaring such a meeting to be illegal, and requiring the people, at their peril, to abstain from attending it. The design was relinquished; and another meeting was advertised to be held in St. Peter's Field, in Manchester, for the purpose of petitioning for a Reform of Parliament. One great cause of alarm at the beginning of August was derived from representations made to the Lancashire magistrates, that in the neighbourhoods of Bury, of Bolton, and of Rochdale, there were nightly assemblies of great numbers of men, who met together for the purpose of learning and practising military training. There is no evidence that these meetings for drill had been long continued, or that there had been any attempt to conduct the drillings in secret. A very plausible

* "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 336.

† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 249.

reason for this practice, at this particular period, is given by one, who was freely admitted to all the councils of the Reformers, and as freely differed from them when they contemplated any resort to physical force. Bamford says, that the Reformers had been frequently taunted by the press with their ragged dirty appearance at their assemblages, with the confusion of their proceedings, and the mob-like crowd in which their numbers were mustered. In preparation for the great meeting of the 16th of August, the Committees issued injunctions for a display of cleanliness, sobriety, and order. He adds, "order in our movements was obtained by drilling," and "peace," according to a subsequent injunction of the Committees, was to be secured "by a prohibition of all weapons of offence or defence; and by the strictest discipline of silence, steadiness, and obedience to the directions of the conductors." Nothing can look more harmless, and even poetical, than Bamford's description of the evening drills. They were, he says, "to our sedentary weavers and spinners, periods of healthful exercise and enjoyment; our drill masters were generally old soldiers of the line, or of militia or local militia regiments. They put the lads through their facings in quick time, and soon learned them to march with a steadiness and a regularity which would not have disgraced a regiment on parade. When dusk came, and we could no longer see to work, we jumped from our looms, and rushed to the sweet cool air of the fields, or the waste lands, or the green lane-sides. We mustered, we fell into rank, we faced, marched, halted, faced about, countermarched, halted again, dressed, and wheeled in quick succession, and without confusion; or, in the gray of a fine Sunday morn, we would saunter through the mists, fragrant with the night odour of flowers and of new hay, and ascending the Tandle hills, salute the broad sun, as he climbed from behind the high moors of Saddleworth."* Nevertheless, although there were no armed meetings and no midnight drillings, we can understand the fears of one of the Manchester magistrates, who deposed that "when he saw the party with the blue and green banners come upon the field in beautiful order, not until then did he become alarmed."

It was announced that at the meeting of the 16th of August, Mr. Hunt would take the chair. The arrival of the hero of the day, preceded by flags flying, and a band of music, was hailed by a shout from eighty thousand persons. The greater part of this vast assemblage was not composed of the operatives of Manchester. Detachments, each of several thousand persons, came from the neighbouring manufacturing districts, most of these bodies

* "Passages in the Life of a Radical," vol. i. p. 178.

arriving in that military order for which they appear to have had a considerable aptitude. . . Bamford was himself the conductor of the procession of his fellow-townsmen of Middleton, who marched five abreast, every hundred having a leader distinguished by a sprig of laurel in his hat, and these leaders being directed by superior officers. The Middleton band had two silk flags, on which were inscribed, 'Unity and Strength, Liberty and Fraternity,' 'Parliaments Annual, Suffrage Universal.' They also bore a crimson velvet cap of Liberty. The number of the Middleton men was three thousand; and they were joined by a similar number of Rochdale people. As they entered Manchester, they found that many other parties had preceded them, including that of the Leeds and Saddleworth Union, bearing a black flag, with the words in white letters, of 'Equal Representation or Death.' It would appear that these ominous words were little in accordance with the loyal spirit of the populace, who are stated to have very generally taken off their hats when the band played 'God save the King.' Mr. Hunt arrives; he mounts the hustings: he has his distinguished white hat in his hand as he bows to the people; he begins to address the assembly amidst a profound silence. After a few sentences he pauses; there is a pressure from the verge of the field towards the hustings; a body of cavalry is striving to make way through the terrified multitude.

From the exaggerated contemporary accounts, it is difficult to derive a clear and connected retrospect of the causes which led to such an onslaught upon a peaceable assemblage, as would justify history in continuing to designate it by its original name, 'the Manchester massacre.' To obtain an impartial view of the circumstances we must refer to the statements of the Lancashire magistrates in the papers laid before parliament; to the evidence upon the trial of Hunt and his associates; and to narratives of individuals which have appeared in more recent times. Twenty-five years after these occurrences, sir William Jolliffe supplied to the biographer of lord Sidmouth a circumstantial narrative of the events which he had himself witnessed on the 16th of August, when acting as a lieutenant in the 15th Hussars. His regiment had been quartered in Manchester about six weeks. It was his first acquaintance, he said, with a large manufacturing population; he had "little knowledge of the condition of that population; whether or no a great degree of distress was then prevalent; or, whether or no, the distrust and bad feeling which appeared to exist between the employers and employed was wholly or in part caused by the agitation of political questions." * There was an

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 253.

ample military force of the regular army, who were stationed in Manchester; and some companies of the 88th regiment, and of the Cheshire Yeomanry, had also been brought into town. Sir William Jolliffe adds, "there was a troop of Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, consisting of about forty members, who, from the manner in which they were made use of (to say the least) greatly aggravated the disasters of the day. Their ranks were chiefly filled by wealthy master manufacturers; and, without the knowledge which would have been possessed by a (strictly speaking) military body, they were placed, most unwisely as it appeared, under the immediate command and orders of the civil authorities."* The magistrates had been taking depositions, and deliberating upon some course of action, through the Saturday and Sunday which preceded the meeting. They had been in communication with Lord Sidmouth, who had told them "that he expected occasion to arise for their energy to display itself, and that they might feel assured of the cordial support of the government." Mr. Bond, the London Police Magistrate, had at this time observed to Lord Sidmouth that, "in periods of disorder and approaching insurrection, the most difficult and important point is to ascertain to what extent you shall allow the evil to proceed: for unless there is enough done to indicate great and threatening danger, the better classes will not be convinced of the necessity of interference. You can never, therefore, call the law into execution with any good effect before the mischief is in part accomplished."† Upon this equivocating and most dangerous principle the Lancashire magistrates appear to have acted. They had a warrant ready for the arrest of the leaders of this meeting. They delayed its execution till Hunt and the others to be arrested were surrounded by a multitude, equal in number to one-half of the entire population of Manchester and Salford at that period. This multitude was wedged together in the narrow area of St. Peter's Field, now built over, but then an unenclosed space of about three acres, approached by several principal streets. A small body of constables were stationed close to the hustings, and a continued line of the same civil force maintained a communication with the magistrates, who were assembled at a private house on the south side of the Field. The distance from the hustings to this house was about three hundred yards. The Manchester Yeomanry were stationed in Mosley-street. Two squadrons of the 15th Hussars were in waiting, dismounted, in a street to the north of the Field, at a distance from it of about a quarter of a mile. In this position

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 254.

† *Ibid.*, p. 250.

—the Reform orators ready to begin, the populace eagerly waiting, the cavalry and yeomanry at hand, the magistrates in full conclave —the warrant for the apprehension of the leaders was given to Nadin, the chief constable of Manchester, to execute. He could not carry his orders into effect, he declared, with the civil power at his command. It was immediately determined that the chief constable should have military aid. Bamford, having seen Hunt taking off his white hat, and beginning to address the people, very wisely went out of the crowd to obtain some refreshments after his long march. He heard a noise and strange murmur arising, and “saw a party of cavalry in blue and white uniform come trotting, sword in hand, round the corner of a garden wall, and to the front of a row of new houses, where they reined up in a line.” The men in blue and white were the Yeomanry. He went back nearer the hustings to see what this movement meant. The mounted troops were received with a shout which Bamford understood as one of good will. The military shouted again, and dashed forward. There was a general cry in the quarter where he stood, of ‘Stand fast,’ “The cavalry were in confusion: they evidently could not, with all the weight of man and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings; and their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads; and then chopped limbs, and wound-gaping skulls were seen; and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion.” * According to the narrative of sir William Jolliffe, some one, who had been sent from the place of meeting to bring up the four troops of the 15th Hussars, led the way through a number of narrow streets, and by a circuitous route, to the south-west corner of St. Peter’s Field. Without a halt or pause, the commands “front and forward” were given. Their line extended quite across the ground, which in all parts was so filled, with people that their hats seemed to touch. The lieutenant of Hussars saw the Manchester troop of Yeomanry “scattered singly or in small groups over the greater part of the field, literally hemmed up and hedged in by the mob, so that they were powerless either to make an impression or to escape.” Mr. Hulton the chairman of the magistrates states that when the Hussars arrived, colonel L’Estrange, their commander, asked him what he was to do? “Good God, sir,” exclaimed Mr. Hulton, “do you not see how they are attacking the Yeomanry? Disperse the crowd!” The panic-struck magistrate’s order was obeyed. The trumpet sounded the charge. The Hussars swept the mingled mass of

* “Passages in the Life of a Radical,” p. 207.

human beings before them. "People, yeomen, and constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over the other; so that, by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the ground." * According to sir William Jolliffe, the Hussars drove the people forward with the flats of their swords; but, as was inevitably the case in such a situation, the edge was also used. He considers that it redounds highly to the forbearance of the men that more wounds were not received, when the vast numbers are considered with whom they came into hostile collision. "In ten minutes," says Bamford, "from the commencement of the havoc, the field was an open and almost deserted space. The sun looked down through a sultry and motionless air. . . . The hustings remained, with a few broken and hewed flag-staves erect, and a torn and gashed banner or two dropping; whilst over the whole field were strewed caps, bonnets, hats, shawls, and shoes, and other parts of male and female dress; trampled, torn, and bloody." † In the evening the people assembled in great numbers at the end of Oldham-street, using menacing language. Two companies of the 88th regiment of foot and a squadron of Hussars being stationed there as a night piquet, were assaulted with stones as the darkness came on. A magistrate having read the Riot Act, about thirty shots were fired by the 88th, wounding three or four persons. The number of those killed on this unhappy day did not exceed six, of whom one was a special constable, and another one of the Manchester Yeomanry, who was struck off his horse by a brick-bat. About seventy persons were received in the Infirmary, suffering from sabre wounds, fractures or contusions. Many more are supposed to have returned to their homes without proclaiming their injuries.

Hunt, and eight or ten of his companions, having been seized upon the hustings, were brought before the magistrates upon a charge of high treason. The government having abandoned that charge, they were held to bail, or detained for the want of bail, to be tried for a misdemeanour, upon the charge of having conspired to alter the law by force and threats. The Lord Chancellor had urged upon the Cabinet that the persons arrested should be indicted for high treason. The law officers had recommended that they should be indicted for misdemeanour; and lord Eldon asks, "Who will be bold enough to command them to institute prosecutions, such as they think they can't maintain? Without all doubt, the Manchester magistrates must be supported; but they are very

* Sir W. Jolliffe's account.

† Bamford, p. 208.

generally blamed here. For my part, I think if the assembly was only an unlawful assembly, that task will be difficult enough in sound reasoning. If the meeting was an overt act of treason, their justification is complete. That it was such, and that the Birmingham meeting was such, is my clear opinion."* The Manchester magistrates were "supported;" and although they were "very generally blamed here," lord Sidmouth addressed letters to the lord-lieutenants of Lancashire and Cheshire, expressing, upon the special authority of the Prince Regent, "the great satisfaction derived by his Royal Highness from their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity."

However great might have been the satisfaction of the Prince Regent at "the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities of Manchester, as well as of the officers and troops, both regular and yeomanry cavalry,"† there was a very widely spread feeling of indignation both against magistrates and military, in every part of the kingdom. Strong resolutions and addresses were adopted in public meetings of boroughs, and cities, and counties, little heeding a rough reply which the Prince Regent made to the Address of the Common Council of the City of London at the beginning of September. In populous counties and in moderate towns the excitement was equally great. Twenty thousand persons assembled at a county meeting at York, called by the high sheriff upon the requisition of many influential freeholders. Amongst those requisitionists was earl Fitzwilliam, who, for this offence, was summarily dismissed from his office of lord-lieutenant of the West Riding. In the south as well as in the north, the excitement was equally great. In the town hall of Reading we ourselves heard an harangue of remarkable eloquence from a young native of that town; and when he exclaimed,

"We must be free, or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakspeare spake,"

a shout went up from his fellow-townsmen that he must have well remembered in the merited success of his after life. That young man was Thomas Noon Talfourd.

The government alarmists of that period were in a condition of almost helpless terror. Eldon described the people of this country as divisible into two classes,—the one class insane, who manifested their insanity in perfect apathy, eating and drinking, as if

* "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. pp. 338, 339.

† Letter of Sir B. Bloomfield to Lord Sidmouth.

there was no danger of political death, yea, even to-morrow; contrasted with the other class, in which he included the Cokes and Bedfords, who hallooed on an infuriate multitude to acts of desperation. "The country," said the Chancellor, "must make new laws to meet this state of things, or we must make a shocking choice between military government and anarchy."* Parliament was called together, with the very unwilling assent of lord Liverpool, to make these new laws, which were known as the Six Acts. They were Acts to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour; to prevent the training of persons in the practice of military evolutions; to authorize justices of the peace to seize and detain arms; to more effectually prevent seditious meetings and assemblies. These four had especial reference to the disturbed districts, though they applied to the whole kingdom. The two other Acts were for the prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libel, and to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers. These measures were eventually passed, although resisted at every stage. The Houses adjourned on the 29th of December. Lord Campbell describes "the unconstitutional Code called the Six Acts," as "the latest violation of our free Constitution." The old spirit of liberty would appear to have departed from England when public meetings could not be held without the licence of magistrates; when private houses might be searched for arms; and when a person convicted a second time for publishing a libel might be transported beyond the seas. And yet the measures of ministers hardly came up to the expectation of the ultra-Tories of that day. The temper of some who belonged to the parliamentary majority may be estimated from the tone of two letters of lord Colchester. Mr. Banks highly approved of the measure for compelling printers to enter into recognizances, and for banishing for an indefinite term of years for a second offence for libel. "My only doubt is whether we have gone far enough in our endeavour to restrain and correct the licentiousness and abuse of the press; it is a tremendous engine in the hands of mischievous men, of which the crop never fails; and the universal rage for spreading education among the poor renders them more exposed to ill impressions, through that medium, than they were in our younger days."† Lord Redesdale is for root-and-branch work that would have been worthy of the French reign of terror: "There is a very bad spirit abroad, but I think it will be kept under. I doubt whether it would not have been fortunate for

* "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 340.

† "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 104.

the country if half Manchester had been burned, and Glasgow had endured a little singeing. We shall again only scotch the snake, not kill it. So we did in 1794. I would have permitted the National Convention at that time to have met, but the ministers did not dare to hazard the consequences. Actual rebellion is generally subdued. Smothered rebellion lurks long under the ashes." * Moderate Whigs, such as Sidney Smith, thought that with an administration determined to concede nothing, there would be a struggle which would end, not in democracy, but in despotism. "In which of these two evils it terminates, is of no more consequence than from which tube of a double-barrelled pistol I meet my destruction." †

Parliament had adjourned to the 15th of February, 1820. An event, not unexpected at any time during the last year or two, called the Houses together at an earlier period. George the Third died at Windsor Castle on the evening of the 29th of January. Six days before the death of the king, his fourth son, the duke of Kent, expired at Weymouth. This was a sudden event. The father had for nine years been secluded from the world, a sufferer under the most fearful infirmities. He lived on to his eighty-second year. The son, of robust constitution, had braved, in his habit of regular exercise, the pelting rain of a wintry morning; on his return from his walk, had remained in his wet boots; was attacked by feverish symptoms, and died in three days. The duke of Kent's infant daughter was then eight months old. The Prince of Wales and the duke of York had no child to succeed. To the duke of Clarence had been born a daughter on the 27th of March, but the infant had died on the day of its birth. It seemed probable that Alexandra Victoria might wear the crown; and on this probability those who knew the admirable qualities of the duchess of Kent felt hopeful and confident that the nurture of the royal child would fit her for her high destiny.

The last night of the Regency passed into the first morning of the reign of George the Fourth, as an event that would be scarcely marked as an epoch in English history. With one exception, that of the position of the Queen, it would be productive of no political vicissitudes; it would excite no hopes and no fears in the public mind. After a formal meeting, there would be a new parliament; and the statutes of the existing parliament would have a new title-page. Few then living would remember the very different feelings with which the transition from George the Second to George the

* "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 107.

† "Memoir of Sydney Smith," p. 185.

Third was regarded. But the young as well as the old would be impressed with the fact that there had been only one king of Great Britain and Ireland during sixty years. The slightest historical knowledge would attest that these sixty years would be for ever memorable as an era of vast change and tremendous struggle, in which all that constituted the greatness and glory of our country might have been overwhelmed if the nation had not been heart-whole. The old king who was gone had plunged the country into difficulty and danger by his unyielding will at one period ; but he had well sustained the national spirit by the same quality of mind during another crisis of greater peril. He had passed away, and his people looked back with reverence upon his private virtues, and were willing to forget his kingly faults.

CHAPTER XXIV.

English Literature in the three latter decades of the reign of George III.—The Poets: Cowper.—Crabbe.—Burns.—Darwin.—Wordsworth.—Southey.—Coleridge.—Scott.—Byron.—Shelley.—Keats.—Narrative character of Poetry.—Campbell.—Rogers.—Leigh Hunt.—Moore.—Crabbe's latter delineations of manners.—More evangelical spirit in the body of the people.—Theological Literature.—Writers for the Stage.—The Novelists.—Godwin.—Holcroft.—Dr. Moore.—Burney.—Scott; the Waverley Novels.—The Edinburgh Review.—The Quarterly Review.—Blackwood's Magazine.—Essayists.—Wilson.—Lamb.—Hazlitt.—Leigh Hunt.—De Quincey.—Political Economists.—Scientific Discovery.—Herschel.—Davy.—Dalton.—Wollaston.—Travellers.—Two great mechanical inventions of the Steam-boat and the Printing Machine.—Chronological Table of British Writers.

THE termination of a reign, even under the circumstances which rendered the change of sovereignty from George the Third to George the Fourth merely nominal, nevertheless offers a fit resting place, at which we may pause in the narrative of public events, and look back upon matters which belong as essentially to the life of a people as their political condition.

The great outburst of the French Revolution has always been associated with the Literature which preceded it. This Literature, like that of every other period in which Literature has a marked distinctive character, was the reflection of the thoughts that were seething in the minds of men. It took the form of a fanatical and intolerant irreligion. It gave expression to the belief that existing principles and forms of government were ill-adapted to promote the welfare of the governed, and that worn-out institutions must be replaced by others endowed with a new vitality. The whole spirit of political opposition excited by the corruption of the government, not being able to find a vent in public affairs, had taken refuge in Literature. As irreligion in France had become a general passion, the writers, one and all, stimulated the prevailing unbelief in Christianity, under the false conviction that political society and religious society were regulated by analogous laws.* The revolutionary doctrines thus propagated by the most subtle and the most eloquent of writers very largely influenced, if they did not produce, the great convulsion upon which Europe looked with fear and wonder.

* See De Tocqueville, "Society in France before the Revolution," chap. xiv.

The religious liberty of Protestantism, and the political liberty of representative government, however impaired and inefficient, as many held, whilst they permitted the extremest differences of opinion, saved England from the excesses which saw no remedy for the canker of institutions but the destruction of the institutions themselves. English Literature, reflecting the general public opinion, received but a very feeble infusion of the destructive force that had rent the French people and the French Church and State asunder. Yet such an upheaving of the whole crust of society; such an armed contest as succeeded between republican licence and monarchical despotism; such a war into which we were plunged, finally to become a struggle for national existence, producing a real heroic time, and stirring up depths of thought which had been stagnant during a long period of tranquillity, or of mere party agitation,—these circumstances, unprecedented in their conjunction, had a manifest effect upon our Literature.

“ Oh, not alone when life flows still do truth
And power emerge.” *

A new power and a wider truth were especially marked in the highest expression of ideas, that of Poetry. This outpouring of verse constitutes, in itself, a literary era as remarkable as that of the age of Elizabeth. During the latter three of the six decades of the reign of George the Third, there had been also a vast increase of the number of readers in our country, with a correspondent extension of periodical writing—that form of literature which is the surest indication of a larger public to be addressed. If we adequately bear in mind the expansion of thought that was coincident with the great events of this remarkable period, and trace also the rapid growth of an influential body of readers beyond the narrow circles of the learned and the fashionable, to whom nearly all writers had addressed themselves in the first three decades of this reign, we may find two links by which to connect the rapid and imperfect notices which we now propose to offer, without any attempt at minute criticism, of what is generically termed The Press.

About the time when Samuel Johnson died,† there appeared a writer who suddenly emerged from a provincial life of sickness and seclusion, after having passed his fiftieth year, to become “the most popular poet of his generation.”‡ William Cowper was the precursor of the poetical school that sprang up amidst the

* Browning—“ Paracelsus,” l.

† See *Ante*, vol. vi. chap. xxi.

‡ Southey, *Life of Cowper* in *Collected Works*, chap. i.

excitement of the French Revolution. He had many distinctive qualities essentially different from the leaders of that school. He was unfamiliar with German modes of thought, and German models of composition. With the exception of one humorous poem, his writings did not assume the narrative form, which was so marked a characteristic of the next period. His first volume, published in 1784, contained the didactic poems, which may almost be termed satires of Table Talk, The Progress of Error, Truth, Expostulation, Hope, Charity, Conversation, Retirement. Cowper's poetical talents were known to his intimate friends, and he had previously published the *Olney Hymns*. But when Mrs. Unwin urged upon him, as an employment that might divert him from thoughts under which his mental powers too often broke down, to produce a work of magnitude, she little expected that some six thousand lines would have been written in a time scarcely exceeding three months. The peculiar character of this first volume was scarcely calculated to win for it a sudden popularity. It was not till after the publication of his second volume, in 1785, containing *The Task*, that the strong sense, the high morality, the earnest piety, the love of nature, the depth of the home affections, which characterize these poems, began to be fully recognized and duly appreciated. The conventionalities of most of the poets who had preceded Cowper were to be cast aside and forgotten in this manifestation of the power of earnestness and simplicity. The popularity which, with some persons, must have been at first retarded by the strong religious feeling of these poems, was ultimately increased, in what has been denominated "the great religious movement of the end of the last century."

Cowper died in 1800; but as a painter of manners he represents the fashions and classes before the French Revolution. Some of the satire belongs to no especial generation. The waste of time in cards and dice; the rank debauch, which suits Clodio's filthy taste, who can "drink five bottles, and billk the score"—Gorgonius the glutton, "abdominous and wan"—these are general portraits. The novelists

"Whose corresponding misses filled the ream
With sentimental frippery and dream,"

will possibly never be extinct. The petit maître parson in Cowper's admirable portraiture is a successor of the gross Trulliber of a former age. Fielding probably never saw the preacher who brings forth the pocket mirror in the pulpit, or with opera-glass watches the slow retiring fair. He might have seen the court chaplain

"Frequent in Park, with lady at his side."

But the churchmen generally of his time were marked by the slovenly neglect and rustic coarseness, which Cowper preferred to the affectation of the clerical coxcomb of his satire. The political profligacy of those times was never more strongly painted than in the picture of the country gentleman, who, having expended his wealth in gaming or building, burns to serve his country, and receives the price of his vote from ministerial grace or private patronage. The venal senator, and the remorseless highwayman, each belong to those good old times:—

"Oh, innocent! compared with arts like these,
Crape and cock'd pistol, and the whistling ball
Sent through the traveller's temples!"

In those days public corruption and private immorality filled the thinking with apprehension:—

"'Tis therefore, sober and good men are sad
For England's glory, seeing it wax pale
And sickly, while her champions wear their hearts
So loose to private duty, that no brain
Healthful and undisturb'd by factious fumes,
Can dream them trusty to the general weal."

Cowper believed that the public men of his time had grown degenerate—"the age of virtuous politics is past."

In such a brief view of literary progress as we are now attempting to give, it appears to us important to divide our subject into two periods of very moderate extent. In his great work on the Literature of Europe, Mr. Hallam gives the leading writers in various periods of half a century each. Although such a division has the apparent inconvenience of making a somewhat too distinct line of separation in the works of the same author (as in the case of Shakespere, who wrote at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th), it is far more satisfactory than the plan pursued by an eminent historian of our own time. It is somewhat embarrassing to our chronological notions when we find Rogers and Tennyson in the same chapter of poets, Sharon Turner and Macaulay of historians, and Miss Edgeworth and Thackeray, of novelists.* The convenience, if not the necessity, of adopting more manageable eras, and even of dividing in some cases the productions of one man into two eras, may be estimated by reference to the cases of Rogers and Crabbe. The author of the "Pleasures of Memory" published his "Ode to Superstition, and other Poems," in 1786. Crabbe's early poems, "The Library," "The Village," and "The Newspaper," appeared from 1781 to

* So in Allison, "Europe from the fall of Napoleon," vol. i. chap. 5.

1784. The "Italy" of Rogers did not appear till 1822; Crabbe's "Tales of the Hall" appeared in 1819. In their early career, Rogers and Crabbe belonged to the generation of Cowper and Burns; in their latter period they belonged to the same age as Byron and Moore.

Crabbe, more than any other poet of either of the periods to which he belongs, is a painter of manners. It has been observed by a critic of no common order, that "with all its originality, the poetical genius of Crabbe was acted upon and changed by the growth of new tastes and a new spirit in the times through which he lived. . . . As he lived, indeed, in two eras, so he wrote in two styles." * His early poems, which are essentially didactic, contain little of the poetical element which is to be found in the strong and impassioned narrative of his later years. "The Library" and "The Newspaper" necessarily deal with the subjects of our own present chapter.

The age of great books was gone,—the age when an author wrote his one folio, bepraised by poetic friends; when the ponderous gift was accepted by princes; and when

"Ladies read the work they could not lift."

The age of abstracts, and abridgments, and pamphlets was come,—the age of "a folio *number* once a week." In "The Library" the "Ancient worthies of Romance" are in disgrace; the giants, the knights and the magicians are gone. The Poet accurately describes the quality of the fiction which had succeeded to the "brood of old Romance." The novels of the Sentimental School were in fashion, as well as the Sentimental Comedy. These mawkish productions were "stories of repentant rakes wooing humble nymphs;" or of "virtue going to midnight masquerade on purpose to be tried;" or, the letters of the tender Della to the sympathizing Lucinda. Crabbe's novel-reading experience is also given as a reminiscence of his later period. "Wanderings of the Heart;" "Confessions of a Nun;" "Tales of Winters, Summers, Springs, at Bath and Brighton," in which "all was love and flight to Gretna Green;" these were the staple of the Circulating Libraries, then recently called into existence.

"The Newspaper" describes that great province of the realms of print as it existed four or five years before the French Revolution. At the date of Crabbe's poem, there were seventy-nine newspapers published in Great Britain and Ireland. Seven years before, there were seventeen in London, of which seven were daily, and one of once a week. The name of Sunday paper was es-

* "History of English Literature," by George L. Craik, LL.D., 1861, vol. ii. p. 485.

chewed till "Johnson's Sunday Monitor" appeared, which Crabbe not unjustly satirizes for "the moral essays on his front, and carnal business in the rear." Flourishing with morning papers and evening papers, there were papers of thrice a week and twice a week. Crabbe gives the titles of some members of the literature which he holds in contempt as "those vapid sheets,"—Ledgers, Chronicles, Posts, Herald's. One paper, which appeared a year after his poem, "The Daily Universal Register," is remarkable as having been printed and published by John Walter, Printing House Square. The name of that journal, in 1788, was changed to "The Times." Crabbe had no taste for newspapers. In their politics they were "fickle and false;" they were "the poisoned springs from learning's fountain;" "blind guides," "anonymous slanderers." The newspaper editors were "mutual thieves from each brother's hoard;" "what you read in one you read through all."

"Their runners ramble day and night,
To drag each lurking deed to open light;
For daily bread the dirty trade they ply,
Coin their fresh tales, and live upon the lie."

Some of this satire was no doubt poetical exaggeration; but at that period newspapers had no high character to sustain. The government dreaded and despised them; they were in perpetual conflict with the Parliament about privilege; their contributors were ill-paid; their proprietors and editors had little social respect. How great has been the change! It was during the war that newspapers, such as the Morning Chronicle, became valuable properties. James Perry, the proprietor of that paper, was originally a reporter at a guinea a-week. A payment of this amount for his weekly services was refused by one whose presumption was thus described by one of the most energetic of the newspaper producers:—"We hear much of purse-proud insolence, but poets can sometimes be insolent on the conscious power of talent, as well as vulgar upstarts can be on the conscious power of purse. . . . It would surely have been a more honourable employment than that of an excise-gauger." We turn from the "base ephemera" of past journalism to Robert Burns "the excise-gauger," the greatest name in that era of our literature that immediately preceded the French Revolution.

From the first publication in 1786 of a volume of Poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, by Robert Burns, which was printed in the town of Kilmarnock, Scotland felt that a great spirit had arisen to shed a new lustre on the popular language and literature. The immediate and wide-spreading reputation of Burns was produced

by something much higher than the wonderment that an unlettered ploughman should have been able to produce verses not only of such commanding strength, but of such unlaboured refinement. The Scottish dialect which, to a certain extent, was almost obsolete for the purposes of literature, became, in the hands of this peasant, the vehicle of thoughts and descriptions which, whether impassioned or humorous, tender or satirical, received a new charm from the simplicity of the language whose ordinary use was vulgarized by the illiterate. Burns had not the creative power of the highest order of poets; but in describing his own emotions with a warmth equal to the energy with which he plunged into his loves or friendships; in delineating with the frankest unreserve the errors from which his manly sense and his natural veneration for what is of good report could not preserve him; in painting with the most admirable truth the appearances of nature or the social characteristics which presented themselves to his observation,—few poets have approached him. In his occasional impurities of thought and diction, which were the outbreak of a reckless levity, we always see a noble nature beneath the display of the wildest licence. The mode in which Burns “unlocked his heart” has nothing in it of that inordinate self-love which exhibits itself in touches of glaring vanity or affected modesty, each intended to challenge admiration. In his manly pride there is no peevish misanthropy. In his violations of decorum there is no desire to make proselytes to immorality. The egotism of Burns may be compared with the egotism of the most popular English poet of the succeeding generation. In the morbid introspection and the capricious hatreds of him who “woke one morning and found himself famous,” we look in vain for the innate nobleness of character of the rustic, who, having gone from his plough to become the spoiled child of Edinburgh society, fell afterwards into habits of intemperance, and yet, in the grossest errors of his life, never exhibited a mean spirit. What Burns produced under all the disadvantages of imperfect education, of continuous labour, of uncongenial employment, of corrupting society, made him emphatically the national poet of Scotland in the twelve years which were allotted to his life after his first publication. It has been affirmed—and we are not disposed to question the truth of the opinion—that the influence of Burns upon the popular mind of Scotland has been all for good, enlarging, elevating, and refining the national heart, as well as awakening it. The tendency of some things, both in the character of the people and their peculiar institutions, required such a check or counteraction as was supplied by this frank, generous, reckless poetry.” *

* Craik, “English Literature,” vol. ii. p. 424.

Whilst Scotland is producing her Burns, whose inspiration was the bracing air of his own rivers and hills, and whose imagery was derived from the living or inanimate nature around him, England has her Darwin, who deemed it the office of a poet to penetrate beneath the surface of natural appearances, and to exhibit the mysteries of physiology in sonorous rhyme. The physician of Derby is almost forgotten. "The Loves of the Plants" are less popularly known than Canning's imitation, "The Loves of the Triangles." The attempt of Darwin to marry Science to Poetry was the mistake of a man of real talent and knowledge. The material spirit of his age pressed heavily upon him. The applications of scientific discovery to the great works of industry filled his fancy with incongruous imagery. He saw in Physics a world of grandeur and beauty not yet appropriated by Imagination; and he contrived that unnatural alliance of Fact and Fiction which, however admired in his own day, has made his analogies and similes now appear simply ludicrous. The fantastic machinery by which he attempts to connect the laws of vegetable and animal life, and the operations of art, with the presence of invisible beings, is to make the sylphs, which hovered round Pope's *Belinda* in their tricky beauty, very poor substitutes, in Darwin's hard unrealities, for human interests. Poetry has better materials to work upon, even in the mortal toilers by the side of the steam-engine, than the "Nymphs," who "in simmering cauldrons played." Darwin is poetical when he becomes prophetic:

"Soon shall thy arm, unconquered Steam, afar
Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car."

The prophecy is accomplished. But steam has another work to do:

"Or, on wide waving wings expanded bear
The flying chariot through the fields of air."

The specific levity of air, he explains, being too great for the support of great burdens by balloons, "there seems no probable method of flying conveniently, but by the powers of steam, or some other explosive material, which another half century may probably discover." The aerial journey in the steam-car is to be not only safe but joyous; there will probably be an intended emigration to the moon, when

"Fair crews triumphant, leaning from above,
Shall wave their fluttering kerchiefs as they move."

A poetical revolution was at hand. A little before the beginning of the convulsions of France, and during the first year or two of the war, there was a swarm of gaudy insects fluttering in the

sunshine of fashion, whose painted wings, bearing them from flower to flower, were more admired than the "ample pinion" of the true Poet. This school, called Della Cruscan, originated with an English coterie at Florence. The sonnets, canzonets, elegies, epigrams, epistles of the Anna Matildas, Laura-Marias, Orlandos, Cesarios, were long poured out unceasingly. William Gifford, who destroyed the tribe by his "Baviad" and his "Mæviad," says "the epidemic malady was spreading from fool to fool;" and "from one end of the kingdom to another all was nonsense and Della Crusca." Gifford not improperly lauds the work which he had done in clearing the gardens of the Hesperides from this deadly blight. "Pope and Milton resumed their superiority." He might have added that he did something to make room for another school,—for Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey. In spite of the "This will never do" of the great northern critic, the Lake School, so called, which this illustrious trio founded, has survived, and will survive.

If the estimates of writers by their contemporaries, are not always true, they are at least curious as illustrations of the prevailing taste. In 1809 there appeared a satire, by an anonymous author, entitled "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." Some of this early production of Lord Byron is personal spite, and much is false criticism. In after years he suppressed the poem, having moderated his anger and matured his judgment. Yet, if the poetical critic had not, to some extent, reflected the popular opinion, he would not have described "the simple Wordsworth,"

"Who, both by precept and example, shows
That prose is verse, and verse is merely prose;"

nor characterized "gentle Coleridge"

"To turgid ode and tumid stanza dear.

Southey comes off better:

"Let Southey sing, although his teeming muse,
Prolific every spring, be too profuse."

It may be consolatory to neglected poets to know, that the two greatest of the Lake Poets have won their freshest laurels from a generation that succeeded the doubters and scoffers of their early period. It was not merely the dull and the acrimonious who spoke slightly of Wordsworth and Coleridge, even as recently as 1811. Leigh Hunt, in most cases a generous critic, in his "Feast of the Poets" makes Apollo look pleased upon "Bob Southey;" but Apollo "turned without even a look" for the "three or four others" who had entered with him:

"For Coleridge had vexed him long since, I suppose,
By his idling, and gabbling, and muddling in prose;
And as to that Wordsworth! he'd been so benurst,
Second childhood with him had come close on the first."*

Apollo having cried, "Laurels for four," the honoured guests of the God are Campbell, Southey, Scott, and Moore. Crabbe is to be recreated "down-stairs:"

"And let him have part of what goes from the table."

Wordsworth had appeared as a writer of verse in 1793. The first volume of the "Lyrical Ballads" was published in 1798. In the second volume, published in 1800, he was associated with Coleridge. Of "Joan of Arc," the first poem which Southey gave to the world, in 1796, a portion was contributed by Coleridge. The relative value of the three friends, as poets, has been somewhat differently adjudged in the present time from the early estimate of their peculiar powers. Southey, the most voluminous, is now little read, and has certainly not produced an enduring influence upon our poetical literature. Coleridge, who, of the trio, has written the smaller amount of verse, is generally held to be the most exquisite artist, although least fitted to be popular. Wordsworth—described by Hazlitt as the most original poet living; but one whose writings were not read by the vulgar, not understood by the learned, despised by the great, and ridiculed by the fashionable—lived to see his writings universally read by learned, great, fashionable, and even "the vulgar." His power was slowly won, but it was enduring; for he looked beyond the classes that were once deemed to be alone sufficiently elevated for the purposes of didactic or descriptive verse. The great objection to his writings was, "the wilfulness with which he persists in choosing his examples of intellectual dignity and tenderness exclusively from the lowest ranks of society." The Edinburgh Reviewer wanted Mr. Wordsworth, "instead of confining himself almost entirely to the society of the dale-men, and cottagers, and little children, who form the subjects of his book, to condescend to mingle a little more with the people who were to read and judge of it."† The poet had his reward in the fact that the exceptional class of the lower ranks became his readers and admirers. He survived till the era of diffused education.

It was the complaint of the author of "English Bards," that a new reading public had arisen to buy books according to their own tastes.

* We quote from the first edition of this clever poem, published in "The Reflector."

† Jeffrey's "Essays," vol. ii. p. 508.

"Each country book-club bows the knee to Baal,
And, hurling lawful genius from the throne,
Erects a shrine and idol of its own."

It was a grievance, that out of this new demand authors were to be paid at a rate far beyond that of the exclusive periods of the commerce of literature: For this was Byron indignant in his days of innocence, when he could spurn Scott as "Apollo's venal son," deeming it a sin against the dignity of verse that the booksellers had agreed to pay for "Marmion" at the rate of "half-a-crown a line." In a year or two Byron was as greedy a worshipper of the "stern Mammon" as any "hireling bard." The Circulating Library and the Book Club had, to some extent, superseded the comparatively small number of private book-buyers. To this more numerous body of readers did the publishers of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," of "Marmion," of "The Lady of the Lake," and of Scott's other romances in verse, address themselves, when they reprinted his inconveniently splendid and dear quartos in more modest and cheaper octavos. "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" was published in 1805, and "Marmion" in 1808. Byron designated these poems as "stale romance." With them commenced the new era of narrative poetry, which has almost wholly superseded the merely didactic and descriptive orders of verse, and which is not incompatible with the most refined and most subtle revelations of poetical feeling. Never was a greater mistake than the designation of Scott's narrative poems as "stale romance." He had the most ample knowledge of all the romances of chivalry, and especially of the legendary lore of his native land. His critical devotion to this most seductive of the pursuits of antiquarianism was exhibited in his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," originally published in 1802 and 1803. The young Edinburgh Advocate had previously cultivated an acquaintance with the Literature of Germany, of which new well of thought and diction other poets were drinking so freely. But he saw at home a waste ground of imagination ready for profitable culture. The quaint and sometimes tedious simplicity of the old romance was to be superseded by a rush of easy and glowing narrative which the imperfectly cultivated mind could enjoy; and of which the critical faculty could scarcely deny the charm, however it might sneer at mountain spirits and river sprites, the goblin page and the wizard's grave. There are two critical notices of Scott's Poems, reprinted in juxtaposition by their accomplished author, which sufficiently indicate the triumphs which Scott had achieved in a few years. That on "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," written in 1805, concludes thus:

"The locality of the subject is likely to obstruct its popularity; and the author, by confining himself in a great measure to the description of manners and personal adventures, has forfeited the attraction which might have been derived from the delineation of rural scenery."* The critique on "The Lady of the Lake," written 1810, opens thus: "Mr. Scott, though living in an age remarkably prolific of original poetry, has manifestly outstripped all his competitors in the race of popularity, and stands already upon a height to which no other writer has attained in the memory of any one now alive."†

The popularity of Walter Scott as a narrative poet was equalled, if not exceeded, by that of lord Byron, when he reluctantly turned from satire and the comparatively tame Cantos I. and II. of "Childe Harold," to write verse Romances, of which the scenes were Oriental, and the heroes were modelled from his own likeness. Byron was almost universally held as the first of living poets. There were some, it is true, who doubted the reasonableness of the universal homage; some who ascribed his extraordinary fame to causes of a more temporary and artificial nature than the power of his genius; who thought that the multiplication of his own portrait was no indication of a real knowledge of the human heart; who upheld the faith that a truly great poet could not be impressed with the grandeur and beauty of the external world without an abiding sense of the Creator's presence, nor could survey mankind in the spirit of an insane contempt of his country, and of malignant hatred of classes and individuals amongst whom he had lived. In the poem which, considered in a merely literary point of view, is his greatest production, "Don Juan" is the intensification of the sensual attributes of the poet's own character dressed up with marvellous ability for no other end than to dazzle and corrupt. A higher taste, and a more prevalent sense of decency, has done more to consign this poem to partial neglect than lord Eldon's refusal to give it the protection of the law of copyright. One of the most popular of our living novelists has depicted an East Indian officer, who, having returned, after a long absence to his native country, quite unfamiliar with the more recent judgments of English society on matters of literature, is scandalized at the critical opinions of his son's friends—opinions which were not of colonel Newcome's time. What! Lord Byron not one of the greatest poets of the world? Sir Walter a poet of the second order! That reverence for Mr. Wordsworth, what did it mean? Mr. Keats, and the young Mr. Tennyson of Cambridge, the chief of modern poets!

* Jeffrey's "Essays," vol. ii. p. 236.

† *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Such were the mutations of opinion between the last years of King George III. and the first years of Queen Victoria.

Whilst Byron was in the full blaze of his reputation, and Wordsworth was slowly establishing an enduring influence upon the popular mind, two young poets appeared, who, for a time, had to endure as much obloquy and neglect as ordinarily falls to the lot of intrusive mediocrity. In 1812, at the age of twenty, Shelley printed his "Queen Mab." In 1821 he was drowned in the Mediterranean. In these ten years of a feverish and often unhappy existence, he produced a body of poetry "remarkable for its quantity, but much more wonderful for the quality of the greater part of it."* Few were his contemporary admirers. He was denounced and dreaded. At war with many of the institutions of society; an unbeliever in Christianity, but with a vague belief of an over-ruling power, and of the soul's immortality; his rash opinions, confirmed by something like persecution; it was reserved for another age to understand the rare qualities of his genius. Shelley has been called "the poet of poets." His highest excellences are scarcely capable of rousing enthusiasm in ordinary readers, now that he is read. Keats published two volumes of Poems in 1817; his third volume appeared a few months before his death in 1821. The inspiration of Keats, like that of Shelley, was fitted to attract fervent votaries, but only amongst a comparatively small class—those "of imagination all compact." The narrative facility of Scott, the splendid declamation of Byron, were elements of popularity which were wanting in these masters of a subtler art.

The narrative character, by which a great portion of the verse of this period had established its hold upon the popular mind, was now adopted by writers whose earlier productions were more in conformity with the tastes of a generation passing away. Campbell had a wider reputation than any contemporary at the beginning of the century, created by his "Pleasures of Hope" and his noble lyrics. In 1809, he produced "Gertrude of Wyoming." Rogers appeared to revive from a sleep of twenty years, when, in 1814, he published "Jaqueline," in connection with the "Lara" of Byron. His "Pleasures of Memory" appeared in 1792. He returned to his characteristic style in the "Italy" of 1822. Leigh Hunt, whose Juvenile Poems appeared in 1802, and whose poetical faculty had been subsequently displayed in graceful verse, light or serious, in 1816 took his place amongst the narrative poets by his "Story of Rimini." Moore, the wittiest of satirists, the most elegant of song-writers, published "Lalla Rookh" in 1817. Crabbe,—who,

* Craik, "English Literature," vol. ii. p. 496

when he published a volume of "Poems" in 1807, was hailed "with the same sort of feeling that would be excited by tidings of an ancient friend, whom we no longer expected to see in this world,*—in that volume reprinted "The Village." His new productions, which included "The Parish Register," were principally of a narrative character. In 1810 came "The Borough," with the same marked feature of the recent poetical school; in 1812, "Tales;" and in 1819, "Tales of the Hall." It is in these novels in verse of Crabbe that we must look for such occasional delineations of manners as have made the prose novels of Fielding and Smollett most valuable studies of the times in which they flourished. The life of the country town and its neighbourhood, half a century ago, has coarser and harder features than would now offer themselves, even in the least refined classes. The sea-going population of the "Borough" are "a bold, artful, surly, savage race,"—smugglers, wreckers, bribed electors. They dwell where there are dung-heaps before every door, in the "infected row we term our street." There "riots are nightly heard." Within their hovels all is filth and indecency. Books there are none, but ballads on the wall, abusive or obscene. Aldborough was then a watering-place,—and had a "Season." There are few of its visitors now who would be content with

"The brick-floor'd parlour which the butcher lets."

The Mayor of the Borough, a prosperous fisherman, did not know in the painful accumulation of wealth, that money would multiply at interest. He was not alone in his ignorance. The race of hoarders was common in every district at the beginning of the century. The neighbouring Squire comes once a month to the "Free and Easy Club," to be the hero of the night. The rector, doctor, and attorney meet, in pleasant conviviality, to talk over parish affairs and politics,—election zeal, and

"The murmuring poor who will not fast in peace."

In such meetings there was ever a dictator,—a "Justice Bolt,"—whose passion was that of "teaching"

"Those who instruction needed not, or sought;"

—in more recent times a malady most incident to Scots. The attorney then thought that he could best thrive in encouraging litigation. The apothecary, "all pride and business, bustle and conceit," was protected in his neglect of the poor by a "drowsy bench." The parish priest, who heeded not the summons to a

* "Edin. Review," April, 1808.

pauper's bed,* had not yet been roused out of his indifference by the presence near his church of "Sects in Religion." Romanists, Baptists, Swedenborgians, Universalists, Jews, were found in the country town; but most prevailing were the "Methodists of two kinds, Calvinistic and Arminian."

"Sects in Religion? Yes, of every race
We nurse some portion in our favoured place
Not one warm preacher of one growing Sect
Can say our Borough treats him with neglect;
Frequent as fashions, they with us appear,
And you might ask, 'how think we for the year?'"

In the "Edinburgh Review," of 1816, Jeffrey attributed the creation of an effectual demand for more profound speculation and more serious emotion than were dealt in by the writers of the former century, to the agitations of the French revolution, the impression of the new literature of Germany, and "the rise or revival of a more evangelical spirit in the body of the people."† The direct relations of this "more evangelical spirit" to our lighter literature are not very manifest; but its indirect effect may be traced in the general abandonment in prose works of fiction of the grossness which still lingered in the delineations of social life which came after those of the great humourists who were passing away when George III. ascended the throne. This may be partly attributed to the reformation of manners, which had unquestionably been produced by the same religious influences steadily working amongst a portion of the upper and middle classes. In 1787, Wilberforce entered in his Journal a solemn record of what he deemed one of the great objects of his life: "God has set before me the reformation of my country's manners." His other great object, the abolition of the Slave Trade, had been accomplished; and a visible change had taken place in the general aspects of society—in all of the community except some of the very high, and many of the very low—before the close of his career of practical benevolence in 1833. The "more evangelical spirit"—which many good and earnest men condemned as sectarian, had penetrated into the Church. A writer who has described the various phases of this transition period of religion, with a natural affection for the somewhat exclusive society amidst which he was reared, but with a generous catholicity of mind, has shown the difficulty of discriminating between the senses of two appellations, "Orthodox" and "Evangelical." He says, "The knot would perhaps have

* The picture of "the jovial youth" who thought his duty was comprised in his "Sunday's task," is found in Crabbe's early poem of "The Village."

† "Essays," vol. i. p. 167.

been best cut, by defining an Orthodox clergyman as one who held, in dull and barren formality, the very same doctrines which the Evangelical clergyman held in cordial and prolific vitality." * The "prolific vitality" fortunately took the form of association. Societies were formed for grappling with open immorality, and for mitigating some of the more obvious evils of vice and ignorance. The Theological Literature of this awakening period presented a novel aspect. The spirit of polite unbelief, which England had imparted to France in the beginning and middle of the eighteenth century, had travelled back from France to England towards the end of that century, in the grosser forms of denunciation and ribaldry. Dignitaries of the Church applied themselves to put down "The Age of Reason" with gentle argument—apologetical rather than confiding. The great and fashionable, who shuddered at the notion that those beneath them should have their faith shaken and their morals corrupted by atheistical and licentious writers, did not wholly stand on the outside of the circle to whom the Royal Proclamation of 1787 against Vice was addressed. The private offences, in the support of whose official interdiction Wilberforce founded a society, were, profanation of the Lord's Day, swearing, drunkenness. The great gave their Sunday card parties, and Sunday concerts, long after Hannah More published, in 1796, her "Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World," and Wilberforce, in 1797, his "Practical Christianity." "The Clapham Sect" strove manfully against these anomalies, amidst hypocritical assent and covert ridicule. Some of this ridicule was deserved. It has been candidly acknowledged that "the spirit of coterie" was amongst them. They "admired in each other the reflection of their own looks, and the echo of their own voices." † It is this quality that now renders "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife"—one of the most popular books of the class of religious novels, of which this production of Hannah More was the first example—the most tedious of homilies pretending to be amusing. What has been called "the unquenchable thirst for spiritual excitement" exposed well-meaning crowds, who had a perpetual craving for the fountains of platform eloquence, to manifest a spirit of intolerance and exclusiveness which detracted largely from their honest enthusiasm for schemes of benevolence. Advertisements in Magazines of Secarian doctrines, announcing the establishment of a Margate Hoy, set on foot for the accommodation of religious characters; of an eligible residence, in a neighbourhood where the Gospel is preached

* Sir James Stephen, "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. ii. p. 155.

† *Ibid.*, p. 307.

three places within half a mile; and of a serious man-servant wanted who can shave;—such announcements as these, with which half a century has made us more familiar, were new and strange objects of ridicule in 1808. * Mackintosh, who looked with a real satisfaction at the public religious advocacy of such measures as the removal of slavery, the amendment of the criminal laws, and the general circulation of the Bible—himself a frequent speaker at Anniversaries of Bible Societies—was fully alive to the mistake of these pretensions to peculiar sanctity which have operated so injuriously on the true interests of religion. He thus makes a note in his Diary of 1818: "They have introduced a new language, in which they never say that A. B. is good, or virtuous, or even religious, but that he is an Advanced Christian." †

The orthodox Divinity of this period was distinguished for its scholarship and speculative ability rather than for the spiritual gifts claimed for another school. Of those who maintained the intellectual reputation of the English Church, Paley was the foremost. Of pulpit orators, England could claim no one supreme. Chalmers, whose oratorical powers commanded the admiration of our most accomplished parliamentary speakers, was also the most admired, and deservedly so, of those who committed their eloquence to the calm judgment of the closet. His "Astronomical Discourses," published in 1816, rivalled the novels of Walter Scott in their fascinations for all readers. Scotland produced another writer of Sermons, Hugh Blair, whose popularity for a while was far greater than that of any modern divine of the Church of England. Feeble and elegant, they excited no profound emotions; but were generally welcomed as agreeable reading for family Sunday evenings. Of a very different character was the preaching of Robert Hall, the Baptist minister,—a man who redeemed Dissent from the imputation of ignorance and vulgarity that attached to pulpits filled by uneducated men, who left their proper vocations to be gospel lights. Sound thinkers such as Robert Hall were calculated to shame the orthodox divines who, in too many instances, were opposed to the spread of Education. In a sermon, preached in 1810, on "The Advantages of Knowledge to the Lower Classes," he says, "If there be any truth in the figure by which society is compared to a pyramid, it is on them its stability chiefly depends; the elaborate ornaments at top will be a wretched compensation for the want of solidity for the lower parts of the structure."

It was one of the objects of the crusade against "Vice" carried

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. xi. p. 351.

† "Life of Sir James Mackintosh," vol. ii. p. 355.

on by the school of "Advanced Christians," to imitate the old Puritans in their indiscriminating hatred of the Stage. This hatred was a little out of season, for Comedy, happily ceasing to reflect the worst private manners, had become decorous. The goddess of dulness had driven the imps of licentiousness off the boards; although their unholy revels were encouraged in the saloons. This shamelessness was certainly enough to make good men sometimes regard the theatres as dangerous for their sons. But it was scarcely sufficient to justify that tasteless hatred of all theatrical representations, which equally proscribed "Hamlet" and "Tom and Jerry," and thought that there would be contamination in beholding the sublime impersonations of Mrs. Siddons, or in listening to the majestic rhetoric of John Kemble. Their proscriptions of the stage was not lessened when Miss O'Neil and Edmund Kean came to maintain the succession of great tragedians. It is remarkable that, with such actors as the patent theatres possessed in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and with all the affluence of the poetry of that era, no original tragedy was produced that could hold its place, even by the side of the still popular scenes of Rowe and Otway. The poetical tendencies of the age were not dramatic; the most popular of its poets wrote many tragedies; but "it may be doubted whether there is, in all lord Byron's plays, a single remarkable passage which owes any portion of its interest or effect to its connection with the characters or the action." * The same may be said of the dramas of Coleridge. Scott's three attempts at poetical dialogue were utter failures. The poets who wrote plays did not conceive them in the spirit of plays to be acted. Mr. Milman's "Fazio," which was not written for the stage, was better adapted to the stage, and had a greater success than any other works of a living poet, in the hands of the actors, who seized upon it before the existence of the law of dramatic copyright. In the same era, when manners were sufficiently marked to offer valuable studies of the social life of the upper classes, there was no worthy successor to Sheridan. Had there been a comic writer who could have carried forward some portion of the brilliant wit of "The School for Scandal," to have shown us the "dandies" of the Regency—a race whose foppery was not less intellectual than that of the sparkling heroes of Congreve and Vanbrugh—we might have had preserved to us a picture of manners which have wholly departed in the lazy affectation of the exclusive class in more recent days. The manners which the stage presented were made up of traits of character derived from

* Macaulay, "Essays," vol. i. p. 346.

the peculiar aptitudes of the comic actors—the Irishman, the Yorkshireman, the rakish right-honourable, the sentimental tradesman—all drawn to a pattern of the most approved mode of flattering the honest, patriotic, and somewhat obtuse middle class, who were the great supporters of the theatre. John-Bullism was in the ascendant; and there was no surer way to an Englishman's heart than to stimulate his national pride, and represent his fireside as the seat of all the virtues.

If the classic Comedy had passed away,—if Apollo, coming to the "Feast of the Poets," mistook "Reynolds and Arnold, Hook, Dibdin and Cherry," for "the waiters"—the Novel, at the beginning of the century, was beginning to assert its legitimate claims to be the reflector of manners as well as "the mender of hearts." The prose fictions of Godwin and Holcroft were written for the development of political doctrines. "Caleb Williams" is not a fiction of actual life; although a most forcible protest against some of the grosser forms of injustice and oppression which prevailed in a social state professing to be based upon the legal rights of all conditions of men. "Hugh Trevor" is a mild infusion of the principles that placed its author in a dangerous position, from which he was saved by the eloquence of Erskine. The "Zeluco" and other novels of Dr. Moore were of the same semi-didactic character. Fanny Burney was a delineator of fashionable life; but there is nothing half so real in "Evelina" and "Cecilia" and "Camilla," as her pictures of the dull court of George III. at Windsor, with the equerries standing for two hours in an outer room to hear the evening concerts. The ordinary routine of the upper slaves of Royalty, described by one of the victims as "riding and walking, and standing and bowing" in dutiful attendance, and their highest accomplishments, to walk out of a room backwards and never to cough or sneeze—these courtly attributes are eminently suggestive of the contrast between the life in the Lodge of Windsor in 1786, and the life in the Pavilion at Brighton thirty years later. George III. asking wise questions of men of science that were admitted to the Queen's tea-table—Dr. Herschel, Mr. Bryant, and Mr. De Luc;—and the Regent assuring Mr. Wilberforce that if he would come to dine with him his ears should not be offended—"I should hear nothing in his house to give me pain, that even if there should be at another time, there should not be when I was there:!"* George III. reading his despatches before his eight o'clock chapel; tramping over his farm or following his harriers till his one o'clock dinner,—and George IV. remaining in his *robe de chambre* all the

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. iv. p. 277.

morning, either to receive his ministers, or lecturing his tailor on the cut of his last new coat,*—although these may be traits of individual character, they are nevertheless to be associated with marked changes in the general tone of society. The "plain living" was gone. The "high thinking" might have also been "no more," had not a change come over the manners of the great, and had not the middle classes been raised and refined by a nobler order of literature. It was in 1802 that the despairing poet complained,—

"No grandeur now in nature or in book
Delights us."

The age of epics was past; but the charms of poetical or prose narrative were to impart higher pleasures than those of luxurious indulgence to a new race of readers. Looking back upon the real dangers, the vain fears, the party distraction, of the beginning of the century, it was a substantial blessing to the boy growing into manhood that such rich stores of pleasurable emotion were spread before him by the imaginative writers who were then developing their riches. The young student of that time might say,—

"Much have I travelled in the realms of gold ;"

but never with such joyous feelings as in these days of new poets and new novelists that may aspire to rank with the immortals.

It is difficult to convey to a reader of a later time an adequate notion of the interest excited by the rapid appearance of that series of novels, of which "Waverley" was the first that surprised the world into a new source of delight. Scott has attributed his desire to introduce the natives of his own country to the sister kingdom, as having been partly suggested by the well-merited fame of Miss Edgeworth, whose Irish pictures had made the English familiar with the character of their gay and kind-hearted neighbours. Admirable in their truth as are those novels of Miss Edgeworth, in which she delineates the virtues and the foibles of the Irish of her day; skilful as she was in the management of some of her stories; always using her powers in the cause of an honest patriotism, and in the exposure of social abuses—they had the attraction of faithful representations of existing manners, but wanted that charm of romantic indistinctness which belongs to novels founded upon "chronicles of eld." They have now an historical value which the contemporaries of the accomplished authoress would have scarcely acknowledged. But the author of "Waverley," who lived essentially in the past, although professing to have derived

* "Raikes's Diary," vol. iii. p. 56.

his impulse to paint the Scottish character from "the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact" of Miss Edgeworth, never attempted the picture of the Scot of his own day. "The ancient traditions and high spirit of a people who, living in a civilized age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an early period of society," were suited to a new form of romance in which the picturesque and the literal might be happily blended. How great was the ultimate success of this experiment it is needless to trace; or how Scott's original scheme expanded into tales of "fierce wars and faithful loves," common to various climes and eras of chivalry and feudalism. The success of the Waverley novels made the greater portions of the literature of the Circulating Library a drug in the market. The Inchbalds, and Burneys, and Radcliffes held their places for a little while. But the accumulations of stupidity which had encumbered the booksellers' shelves for thirty years had ceased to circulate. Amidst this revolution arose a female writer of real genius, Jane Austen. Her six novels will never be swept away with the rubbish of her "Minerva Press" compeers. The English life of the upper middle classes in the village and the country town—a life unchequered by startling incident: a simple reality which, it might be thought, every one could paint, and which would be dull and uninteresting when painted—is by this young woman delineated with a power which makes actual things more real than what is palpable to all, and by which the most familiar scenes are looked upon as if they were new. This is high Art.

The rapid development in the first two decades of this century of a popular literature of a nobler order than what had preceded it, is in some degree to be ascribed to the influence upon opinion of a higher school of criticism. "The Edinburgh Review," in 1802, divorced the crafts of the reviewer and the bookseller. Without wholly assenting to the dictum of lord Cockburn, that Francis Jeffrey was "the greatest of British critics," we may well believe that no one had preceded him, and that few have come after him, who directed the judgment of his contemporaries upon current Literature with such a fund of good sense, with such a quick perception of faults, with such a generous appreciation of beauties, and with such an honest impartiality,—always excepting the few cases in which poets, especially, had the misfortune to deviate into fields which the critic deemed barren. The services which that Review rendered to the progress of improvement, in the discussion of the great political and social questions in which improvement at one time looked hopeless, need not here be de-

tailed. It is sufficient for us to say, that it stimulated a healthful spirit of inquiry, and altogether contributed largely to raise the standard of public intelligence. The "Quarterly Review" came in 1809 to supply what was deemed a necessary antidote to the political opinions of the "Edinburgh." Its editor, William Gifford, was far less tolerant as a critic than Jeffrey, and he had altogether more of partisanship in his estimate of literary merit. But if he was often stern, and sometimes unjust to those of opposite opinions, he was not a tool in the hands of the party leaders with whom he agreed. If Brougham, and Sydney Smith, and Francis Horner, and Mackintosh, were associated with Jeffrey, Gifford could marshal Canning, and Southey, and Scott, and Croker, in the rival ranks. The partisans who wore the drab livery were not a whit less dangerous than the smarter champions of the yellow and blue. Each of the visored knights affected not to know the leaders whom they encountered in the *mêlée*. Jeffrey never mentioned Gifford, nor Gifford Jeffrey. The multitude shouted, and ranged themselves under the rival banners. After forty years of contest there was very little left to fight about. It is amusing to look back upon this warfare. It is consolatory to know that through the very fierceness of the battle the cause of truth and justice was advanced. It was felt that, after all, the practical ends of life are best secured by a compromise of extreme opinions. In the arbitrement of posterity upon literary merit, we come to know how powerless are the rash or prejudiced decisions of the highest courts of criticism. Keats was not "snuffed out by an article;" Wordsworth was not doomed to oblivion by "This will never do."

Following in the wake of the great reviews, there came, in due course, a higher order of Magazines. "Blackwood," about the close of the Regency, acquired an influence that extended far beyond Scotland. There was so much fun in its malice that its violent politics scarcely impeded its universal welcome, at least in England. There was so much of the outpouring of genius in Christopher North, that few cared to inquire whether that fancy and pathos, that exquisite perception of the grand and beautiful in nature, were in unison with the narrow hatreds that belonged to an Edinburgh clique. The very excess of John Wilson's partisanship looks as if ever and anon he worked up his generous nature to uncongenial wrath, and then put on his Sporting Jacket and sallied forth to breathe the pure air of the Moors, in a spirit of peace with all mankind. In raising the whole tone of periodical literature he gave the world a series of prose writings that fully manifested how truly he was a poet. Out of the new race of monthly Miscellanies

issued other prose writers who made their mark upon their own time, and will long continue to have a niche in fame's temple. Amongst the foremost are Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, Thomas de Quincey.

The least voluminous of modern Essayists, Lamb, is the most original. His quaint turns of humour and pathos will command admiration, when the wearisome platitudes of many a great moralist are forgotten. He looked upon society with a deep sympathy and a comprehensive charity. The man who wrote to a friend, "I often shed tears in the motley Strand, for feeling of joy at so much life," could not speak of human sorrows and infirmities with indifference. He had as acute a sense of what is hateful or ridiculous as the keenest of satirists, but he seeks not to extirpate evil by abuse, or to shame folly by sarcasm. Of a very different order of mind was Hazlitt. The quantity which he wrote sufficiently indicates the fertility of his genius; and in many of his critical essays we feel the shrewdness of his judgment and the correctness of his taste. But as he counted amongst his merits that of being a good hater, we must not expect to find a just and impartial estimate of contemporaneous persons or things in his political or historical writings. He has the merit of being amongst the first to regard Shakspeare from a higher point of view than the race of commentators, too often carping and truculent. But the Stephenses and Malones, nevertheless, kept alive a wholesome spirit of inquiry as to the real meaning of the greatest in all literature, when he uses words and phrases which appear nonsensical or obscure to the ordinary reader. Hazlitt approached Shakspeare with the same reverential spirit in which Coleridge laboured with a higher faculty of philosophical criticism. Leigh Hunt, of this trio of Essayists who often worked in companionship, will probably continue to have the larger number of admirers. He walked in the pleasantest places of literature. To him the great imaginative writers—especially those of Italy, and of our early school upon which Italian poetry impressed its character—offer "a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets." In his youthful career he endured a harder fate than most of those who were opposed to the ruling powers; but he carried "the sunshine of the breast" into his prison, and the same unflinching spirits bore him through many of the disappointments of his after life. The same qualities that made the charm of his conversation pervade all his writings. The greatest of the thinkers who was cradled in the Magazine Literature, De Quincey, belongs more properly to the next period; although his "Opium Eater" was produced in the "London Magazine of 1821. The "Essays"

of John Foster, a Baptist minister, which first appeared in 1805, constituted one of the most treasured volumes of a period in which there were fewer books than at the present time, and when good sense, extensive knowledge, and liberal aspirations could secure a warm welcome for miscellaneous works, although not belonging to the class of light literature. These Essays will not readily be neglected even in an age which seeks the excitement of less natural writing.

The school of Political Economists that succeeded Adam Smith—Malthus, James Hill, and Ricardo—had important influences on the political action of their time. So, also, had the great philosophical jurist, Jeremy Bentham. We shall have to recur to these names at another period. Of a different school was a political economist who took a broader view of the relations of Capital and Labour than these scientific writers, who had principally regard to the production of wealth. Dr. Thomas Chalmers, in his "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," advocated the belief that the wants of the poor might be provided for without the machinery of the English Poor Laws. In his own locality of Glasgow he organized a system which was successful in making private benevolence prevent the necessity of a public recognition of pauperism. He was convinced that religion presented the only cure for the evils of society. The eloquence with which he enforced this doctrine, and the sound judgment which he applies to the great questions of what is now called "social science," have had a more permanent influence than his views of the Poor Law system.

The history of the progress of Scientific Discovery is too large a subject, and requires too many technical details, to permit a notice here beyond an enumeration of the principal discoverers. Sir William Herschel was still pursuing his observations at the age of eighty, when the first encourager of his astronomical pursuits, George III., died. He discovered the planet Uranus in 1781. It has been said of him, that "no one individual ever added so much to the facts on which our knowledge of our solar system is founded."* His great telescope of forty feet focal length was completed by him at Slough, on the 28th of August, 1789, on which day he discovered with it the sixth satellite of Saturn. The principle of the reflecting telescopes of Herschel was an improvement upon those of earlier construction.

The discoveries in chemistry, and their applications to the Arts, in the earlier portion of the reign of George III. were principally derived from the experiments of Black, Cavendish and Priestley.

* "English Cyclopædia."

To these philosophers at the beginning of the present century, succeeded the most original of inquirers, and the most popular of teachers, sir Humphrey Davy. His Lectures at the Royal Institution diffused a love of science amongst the general community. His invention of the Safety Lamp in 1815, showed how the profoundest investigations might result in an apparently simple contrivance of the highest utility, like most of the great inventions that have changed the face of the world. Dalton in 1808 produced his Atomic Theory. Wollaston followed Dalton in a course of similar research, and in other walks made his experiments the bases of large additions to the Industrial Arts. But of all those who by Science diminished the amount of domestic sorrow, and enlarged the average term of human life, was the physician who for half a century had been striving in vain to make the medical world feel confidence in his discovery of Vaccination. For thirty years after this antidote to the small-pox was first practised in 1800, the wholly ignorant and imperfectly educated still stood in the way of the general diffusion of this great blessing of our era. Now the law prescribes that every child born in the kingdom must be vaccinated. We look back upon the time when many who had escaped with life from the terrible disease that killed ninety-two in every thousand of the population, bore into our public places the indelible marks of the scourge, and we rejoice now to behold the unscarred faces of the young as the best tribute to the memory of Edward Jenner.

With the striking exception of Mungo Park, no remarkable traveller had gone forth from England to enlarge the bounds of geographical discovery during the period of the war. Henry Martyn, Claudius Buchanan, and other zealous men were then missionaries in India, and prepared the way for the noble labours of the second Bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber. In 1820 the observations of Captain Parry in the Polar Seas led to a government expedition for exploring the Arctic Circle, in the expectation of discovering the North-West Passage. These undertakings belong to a chapter which we must devote to the Science of a period nearer the present time, when the vast results of the connection between Philosophy and the Industrial Arts may be briefly traced.

It may be desirable, however, here to mention two great mechanical inventions that have had the most decided influence on the progress of society. About the first decade of the Nineteenth Century, there was a real beginning in Great Britain of that mode of navigation which was destined to make distant countries less remote, and to change the whole system of communication in our

own waters. Henry Bell had his Steam passage-boat running on the Clyde in 1811. In a few years steam-boats were plying on the Thames. In 1816 there were persons who had the hardihood to make a voyage in such a smoke-puffing vessel even as far as Margate. In 1818 Jeffrey thus described a steam-boat on Loch Lomond, which surprised him as he was sitting with his wife in a lonely wild little bay; "It is a new experiment for the temptation of tourists. It circumnavigates the whole lake every day in about ten hours; and it was certainly very strange and striking to hear and see it hissing and roaring past the headlands of our little bay, foaming and spouting like an angry whale; but, on the whole, I think it rather vulgarizes the scene too much, and I am glad that it is found not to answer, and is to be dropped next year." * Vast as have been the results of the application of Steam to Navigation, we may almost venture to say that the application of Steam to Printing cannot be regarded as a less important instrument in the advance of civilization. The Printing Machine has had as great an influence upon the spread of knowledge in the Nineteenth Century, as the invention of printing itself in the fifteenth century, The first sheet of paper printed by cylinders and by steam, was the 'Times' newspaper of the 28th of November, 1814. The maker of that Printing Machine was Mr. Koenig, a native of Saxony. Machines, less cumbrous and more adapted to all the purposes of the typographical art, gradually came into use. Without this invention the most popular daily paper could only produce with the most intense exertion, five thousand copies for the demand between sunrise and sunset. Sixty thousand copies of a London morning paper can now be distributed through the country in two or three hours after the first sheet has been rolled. These astonishing changes in the powers of Journalism are not more important than the effects upon all Literature, in the reduction of the price of books by this invention of the Printing Machine and the concurrent invention of the Paper Machine.

* "Life of Lord Jeffrey," vol. ii. p. 181.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF BRITISH WRITERS.

In the Fifth Volume of the Popular History of England a Table is given of the principal British Writers in each century, from the beginning of the sixth century to the end of the eighteenth. Added to the name of each author are given the dates of his or her birth and death, as far as could be ascertained, and, in some cases, the title of the work by which the writer is best known. The names are arranged in three columns—Imagination,—which includes the Poets and Novelists; Fact,—writers on History, Geography, and other matters of exact detail; Speculative and Scientific,—those who treat of Philosophy and Science. This division is, to a certain extent, useful; but it is difficult to carry it out with precision, especially in cases where the writings of one author belong to several classes of literature. The subjoined Table is a continuation of that in Volume V., comprising the principal writers of the present century, with the exception of those who are now living (December 18, 1861). These will remain to be added in a Supplementary Table.

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE & SCIENTIFIC.
A.D. 1800 Henry Kirke White, 1785-1806, Poems Robert Tannahill, 1774- 1810, Songs and Poems John Leyden, 1775-1811, Poems and Translations	A.D. 1800 Mungo Park, 1771-1805, Travels in Africa Charles James Fox, 1749- 1806, History J. Macdiarmid, 1779-1808, Biography	A.D. 1800 Henry Cavendish, 1731- 1810, Physics, Composi- tion of Water Richard Cecil, 1748- 1810, Sermons, Relig- ious Biography Edmond Malone, 1741- 1812, Commentator on Shakspeare Alexander Murray, 1775- 1813, European Lan- guages John Playfair, 1748- 1819, Euclid's Geome- try Arthur Young, 1741- 1820, Agriculture Sir Joseph Banks, 1743- 1820, Natural History John Bell, 1763-1820, Anatomy Thomas Brown, 1778- 1820, Metaphysics J. Bonnycastle, d. 1821, Astronomy, Algebra Jas. Perry, 1756-1821, Political Journalist (Morning Chronicle) John Aikin, 1747-1822, 'Evenings at Home.' James Sowerby, 1757- 1822, English Botany C. Hutton, 1737-1823, Mathematics David Ricardo, 1772- 1823, Political Econo- my
James Grahame, 1765- 1811, The 'Sabbath,' and other Poems Jane Austen, 1775-1817, 'Pride and Prejudice,' and other Novels. Matthew G. Lewis, 1775- 1818, Poems and Novels Hector McNeill, 1746- 1818, Scottish Poems: 'The Scottish Adven- turers,' a Novel	James Forsyth, 1763, 1815, Travels in Italy Claudius Buchanan, 1766- 1815, Christian Re- searches in India	
Elizabeth Inchbald, 1753- 1821, 'A Simple Story,' and other Tales John Keats, 1796-1821, Poems	Patrick Colquhoun, 1745- 1820, Statistics, Police of the Metropolis	
Percy Bysshe Shelley, 1793-1822, Poems	E. D. Clarke, 1769-1822, Travels in Russia and the East	

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE & SCIENTIFIC.
A.D. 1800 Robert Bloomfield, 1766-1823, 'The Farmer's Boy,' and other Poems Charles Wolfe, 1791-1823, 'Ode on the Burial of Sir John Moore' George, Lord Byron, 1788-1824, Poems Anna Lætitia Barbauld, 1743-1825, Poems, Tales, Hymns in Prose Reginald Heber, 1783-1826, 'Palestine,' and other Poems Robert Pollok, 1799-1827, Course of Time Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831, 'Man of Feeling' George Crabbe, 1754-1832, Poems Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1832, Poems, Waverley Novels Anna Maria Porter, 1781-1832, Historical Novels Hannah More, 1745-1833, Sacred Dramas, 'Cælebs in Search of a Wife' William Sotheby, 1756-1833, Poems, Translations Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1772-1834, Poems and Essays Charles Lamb, 1775-1834, Poems, 'Essays of Elia' Thomas Pringle, 1789-1834, Poems, 'South African Sketches' James Hogg, 1772-1835, 'The Queen's Wake,' and other Poems, 'Winter Evening Tales' Felicia Hemans, 1794-1835, Poems	A.D. 1800 David Bogue, 1749-1825, History of Dissenters W. Mitford, 1744-1827, History of Greece George Canning, 1770-1827, Microcosm, Anti-Jacobin Hugh Clapperton, 1788-1827, Travels in Africa James Rennell, 1782-1830, Geography William Roscoe, 1753-1831, Biography Sir James Mackintosh, 1765-1832, History of England, Progress of Ethical Philosophy Alexander Chalmers, 1759-1834, Biographical Dictionary James Dallaway, 1763-1834, Travels, Archaeology Thomas M'Crie, 1772-1835, Life of Jno. Knox H. D. Inglis (Derwent Conway), 1795-1835, Travels John Gillies, 1747-1836, History of Ancient Greece William Taylor, 1765-1836, History of German Poetry	A.D. 1800 Richard Payne Knight, 1750-1824, Philology, Essay on Taste A. Rees, 1743-1825, Cyclopædia Samuel Parr, 1747-1825, Philology Jno. Flaxman, 1755-1826, Lectures on Sculpture Wm. Gifford, 1757-1826, Politics and Criticism (Quarterly Rev.) Dugald Stewart, 1753-1823, Metaphysics P. Elmsley, 1773-1825, Philology W. H. Wollaston, 1776-1828, Physical Science Thos. Tredgold, 1788-1820, Building and Engineering Thomas Young, 1773-1829, Physics, Hieroglyphics Sir Humphry Davy, 1778-1829, Chemistry William Hazlitt, 1778-1830, Essays on Shakespeare John Abernethy, 1763-1831, Physiology, Surgery Robert Hall, 1764-1831, Sermons, Essays Archbishop Magee, d. 1831, Sermons, Treatise on the Atonement Jeremy Bentham, 1747-1832, Jurisprudence, Political Economy George Burder, 1752-1832, Village Sermons Adam Clarke, 1760-1832, Oriental Literature, Biblical Commentary Sir John Leslie, 1766-1832, Physics William Carey, 1761-1834, Translations of the Scriptures into Eastern Languages T.R. Malthus, 1766-1834, 'Essay on Population' Edward Irving, 1792-1834, Interpretation of Prophecy William Cobbett, 1762-1835, Politics and Rural Economy Robert Morrison, 1782-1834, Chinese Language.

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE & SCIENTIFIC.
A.D. 1800 William Godwin, 1756-1836, 'Caleb Williams,' and other Novels George Coleman, the Younger, 1762-1836, Dramas Sir S. Egerton Brydges, 1764-1837, Poems Anne Grant (of Laggan), 1755-1838, Poems, 'Translations from the Gaelic,' 'Letters from the Mountains' Lætitia E. Landon (Mrs. Maclean), 1802-1839, Poems James Smith, 1775-1839, Novels, 'Rejected Addresses' John Galt, 1779-1839, 'Ayrshire Legatees,' and other Tales of Scottish Life W. M. Praed, 1802-1839, Poems and Essays Thomas Haynes Bayley, d. 1839, Poems and Tales Francis Burney (Madame D'Arblay), 1752-1840, 'Evelina,' and other Novels Thomas Dibdin, 1771-1841, Dramas Theodore E. Hook, 1788-1841, Novels Allan Cunningham, 1784-1842, Poems John Banim, 1800-1842, Irish Novels Thomas H. Lister, d. 1842, 'Granby,' and other Novels. Robert Southey, 1774-1843, 'Curse of Kehama,' and other Poems William Beckford, 1761-1844, 'Vathek,' an Oriental Romance Henry F. Cary, 1772-1844, Poems, Translation of Dante Barbara Hofland, 1770-1844, Novels, Domestic Tales	A.D. 1800 Sir W. Gell, 1777-1836, Classical Topography and Antiquities Henry Roscoe, 1799-1836, Lives of Eminent Lawyers Sir R. C. Hoare, 1758-1838, Travels, Antiquities of Wiltshire, &c. Sir Alexander Burnes, 1805-1841, Travels in Bokhara and Cabool T. D. Fosbroke, 1770-1842, Topography, Archaeology Sir Robert Ker Porter, 1775-1842, Travels in the East Wm. Hone, 1779-1842, 'Every Day Book' Thomas Arnold, 1795-1842, History of Rome	A.D. 1800 Sir Chas. Wilkins, 1749-1836, Oriental Literature W. Marsden, 1754-1836, Oriental Languages Richard Valpy, 1754-1836, Philology John Pond, 1767-1836, Astronomy James Mill, 1773-1836, Political Economy, History of India W. Elford Leach, 1790-1836, British Crustacea John Latham, 1740-1837, Ornithology Joshua Marshman, 1767-1837, Chinese Literature John Jamieson, 1759-1838, Dictionary of the Scottish Language Archibald Alison, 1757-1839, Essays on Taste William Smith, 1769-1839, Geology Sir Anthony Carlisle, 1768-1840, Anatomy and Surgery Lant Carpenter, 1780-1840, Theology Sir Astley Cooper, 1768-1841, Surgery Olinthus Gregory, 1774-1841, Mathematics, Evidences of Christianity Joseph Blanco White, 1775-1841, 'Letters from Spain,' Controversial Writings against Roman Catholicism Thomas Rickman, 1776-1841, Gothic Architecture Patrick Kelly, 1756-1842, Mathematics, 'Universal Cambist' Sir Charles Bell, 1774-1842, Treatise on the Hand, Surgery

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE & SCIENTIFIC.
A.D. 1800 Thomas Campbell, 1777-1844, 'Pleasures of Hope, and other Poems' John Sterling, 1806-1844, Poems, Tales, and Essays	A.D. 1800 Henry John Todd, 1763-1845, Bibliography, New Edition of Johnson's Dictionary John Adolphus, 1770-1845, History of the Reign of George III. John Gurwood, 1791-1845, Wellington's Despatches Hugh Murray, 1779-1846, Geography Sharon Turner, 1768-1847, 'Sacred History of the World,' History of the Anglo-Saxons Thos. F. Dibdin, 1776-1847, Bibliography Sir John Barrow, 1764-1848, Biography, Arctic Voyages Isaac Disraeli, 1766-1848, History, 'Curiosities of Literature' Sir N. Harris Nicolas, 1799-1848, History, Genealogy, &c. Horace Twiss, 1786-1849, Life of Lord Eldon, &c. Patrick Fraser Tytler, 1790-1849, Biography, History of Scotland	A.D. 1800 William Maginn, 1793-1842, Politics, Periodical Literature John Foster, 1770-1843, Essays on Popular Ignorance, and other subjects R. W. Rham, 1778-1843, Dictionary of the Farm John C. Loudon, 1783-1843, Botany, Horticulture John Dalton, 1766-1844, Chemistry Francis Baily, 1774-1844, Astronomy John Abercrombie, 1781-1844, Metaphysics, Theology Sydney Smith, 1771-1845, Politics, Periodical Essays J. F. Daniell, 1790-1845, Chemistry, Meteorology Christ. Wordsworth, 1774-1846, Theology H. Gally, Knight, 1787-1846, Antiquities, Architecture Geo. Joseph Bell, 1770-1847, Principles of the Law of Scotland Thos. Chalmers, 1780-1847, Theology, Metaphysics, Political and Social Economy Joseph John Gurney, 1788-1847, Christian Evidences Andrew Combe, 1797-1847, Principles of Physiology applied to Health J. C. Prichard, 1785-1845, Ethnology Edw. Copleston, 1776-1849, Theology Anthony Todd Thomson, 1778-1849, Materia Medica Edward Hawke Locker, 1777-1849, Lectures on the Bible and the Liturgy, &c. William Kirby, 1759-1850, Entomology Francis Jeffrey, 1773-1850, Essay on Taste, Critical Essays (Edinburgh Review) Edw. Bickersteth, 1786-1850, Scripture Help Guide to the Prophecies
Regina Maria Roche, 1764-1845, 'Children of the Abbey,' and other Novels H. Barham, 1788-1845, 'Ingoldsby Legends' Thos. Hood, 1798-1845, 'Song of the Shirt,' 'Comic Annual,' &c. Laman Blanchard, 1803-1845, Poems, Essays, and Sketches Robert Plumer Ward, 1765-1846, Novels Sir Thos. Dick Lauder, 1784-1848, Highland Legends William Tennant, 1785-1848, Dramas, 'Anster Fair,' a Poem Frederick Maryat, 1792-1848, 'Peter Simple,' and other Sea Novels Maria Edgeworth, 1767-1849, Moral Tales, Novels of Irish Life Horace Smith, 1780-1849, 'Brambletye House,' and other Novels, 'Rejected Addresses' Ebenezer Elliott, 1781-1849, Poems, 'Corn Law Rhymes' Bernard Barton, 1784-1849, Poems Margarite, Countess of Blessington, 1789-1849, Novels, 'Idler in Italy,' &c. W. Lisle Bowles, 1762-1850, Poems Wm. Wordsworth, 1770-1850, Poems Jane Porter, 1776-1850, Historical Novels W. H. Maxwell, 1794-1850, 'Wild Sports of the West,' 'Random Shots from a Rifleman'		

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE & SCIENTIFIC.
A.D. 1800	A.D. 1800	A.D. 1800
Harriet Lee, 1756-1851, 'Canterbury Tales', Joanna Baillie, 1762- 1851, Dramas, 'Tales of the Passions', Martha Mary Sherwood, 1774-1851, Novels and Tales Thos. Moore, 1779-1852, Poems, 'Irish Melodies'	John Lingard, 1771-1851, History of England H. Fynes Clinton, 1781- 1852, Fasti Hellenici, &c. George R. Porter, 1792- 1852, Statistics, 'Pro- gress of the Nation' Eliot Warburton, 1810- 1852, Travels Sir William Bethan, 1779- 1853, Irish Antiquar- ian Researches, The Gael and Cimbri E. W. Brasley, 1773- 1854, Topography, Anti- quities. John Gibson Lockhart, 1794-1854, Life of Sir Walter Scott, Editor of Quarterly Review Sir George Head, 1782- 1855, Travels James Silk Buckingham, 1786-1855, Travels Josiah Conder, 1789-1855, 'The Modern Traveller' Sir Edward Parry, 1790- 1855, Voyages to the Arctic Regions Sir T. L. Mitchell, 1792- 1855, Expeditions into the Interior of Aus- tralia John Britton, 1771-1857, Topography, Antiquities John Macgregor, 1799- 1859, Commercial Sta- tistics Henry Hallam, 1778- 1859, Constitutional History of England Chas. Macfarlane, 1800- 1858, Travels, History	George Dunbar, 1774- 1851, Greek Lexicon John Pye Smith, 1774- 1851, Scripture and Geology Richard Phillips, 1778- 1851, Chemistry George Crabbe, 1779- 1851, Dictionary of Synonyms John Charles Tarver, 1790-1851, English and French Dictionary Samuel Lee, 1783-1852, Oriental Languages John Dalrymple, 1804- 1852, Anatomy of the Eye William Jay, 1769-1853, Sermons Ralph Wardlaw, 1779- 1853, Theology, Church Establishments James F. W. Johnston, 1796-1853, Agricul- tural Chemistry F. W. Robertson, 1816- 1853, Sermons, Lec- tures George Stanley Faber, 1773-1854, Christian Evidences, Prophetical Interpretation Edward Forbes, 1815- 1854, Geology, Natural History Julius C. Hare, 1796- 1853, Theology Sir H. de la Beche, 1796-1855, Geology Martin Barry, 1802- 1855, Physiology Thomas Tooke, 1771- 1856, Political Econo- my, History of Prices Wm. Buckland, 1784- 1856, Geology William Yarrell, 1784- 1856, Natural History John Ayrton Paris, 1785-1856, On Diet Sir William Hamilton, 1788-1856, Metaphysics John Forbes Royle, 1777-1856, Botany T. D. Hincks, 1767-1857, Oriental Languages Andrew Ure, 1728-1857, Chemistry, 'Diction- ary of Arts and Manu- factures' John Wilson Croker, 1857, Politics, Criticism John Harris, 1804-1857, 'Mammon' (prize essay), Theology and Physics
Amelia Opie, 1768-1853, Poems, 'Tales of the Heart' Jas. Montgomery, 1771- 1854, 'The World be- fore the Flood,' and other Poems, Hymns for Public Worship Miss Ferrier, 1782-1854, 'Marriage,' 'Destiny,' 'The Inheritance' Thomas Noon Talfourd, 1795-1854, Dramas Thomas Crofton Croker, 1798-1854, 'Fairy Le- gends' and 'Popular Songs of Ireland' Samuel Phillips, 1815- 1854, 'Caleb Stukely,' 'Essays from the Times' Samuel Rogers, 1763- 1855, 'Pleasures of Memory,' 'Italy,' &c. John Wilson, 1788-1855, 'The Isle of Palms,' 'Trials of Margaret Lindsay,' &c. Mary Russell Mitford, 1780-1855, Poems, 'Our Village,' and other Sketches Robt. Montgomery, 1807- 1855, 'Omnipresence of the Deity,' and other Poems Charlotte Brontë (Curren Bell), 1824-1855, 'Jane Eyre,' and other Novels Douglas Jerrold, 1803- 1857, 'Men of Charac- ter,' 'Mrs. Caudle's Lectures,' Dramas Sydney, Lady Morgan, 1785-1859, 'Wild Irish Girl,' and other Novels Leigh Hunt, 1784-1859, Poems, Essays.		

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE & SCIENTIFIC
A.D. 1800 Thos. DeQuincey, 1786-1859, 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater,' Essays Thos. K. Hervey, 1804-1859, Poems, Essays G. P. R. James, 1801-1860, Novels Anna Jameson, 1794-1860, 'Female Characters of Shakspeare,' 'Handbook to Galleries of Art' Albert Smith, 1816-1860, Novels, Tales, Burlesque Sketches Lady Charlotte Bury, 1775-1861, Novels J. W. Cunningham, 1778-1861, 'The Velvet Cushion,' Poems Catherine Gore, 1800-1861, 'Mothers and Daughters,' 'The Banker's Wife,' and other Novels Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 1809-1861, 'Aurora Leigh,' and other Poems Charles James Lever, 1808-1861, 'Harry Lorrequer,' 'Charles O'Malley'	A.D. 1800 John Lee, 1779-1859, Ecclesiastical History Sir James Stephen, 1788-1859, History, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography Thomas, Lord Macaulay, 1800-1859, Essays, History of England Wm. Mure, 1799-1860, History of Greek Literature Sir Henry G. Ward, 1796-1860, Travels David Jardine, 1794-1860, History of the Gunpowder Plot Sir Charles Fellows, 1799-1860, Travels in Asia Minor Sir Francis Palgrave, 1783-1861, History of the Anglo-Saxons John, Lord Campbell, 1779-1861, Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Chief Justices of England	A.D. 1800 J. M. Kemble, 1807-1857, Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature Hugh Miller, 1802-1856, Geology Stephen Robt. Rintoul, 1787-1858, Politics, 'Spectator Newspaper' Geo. Combe, 1788-1858, Phrenology, 'Constitution of Man' Jane Webb Loudon, 1800-1858, Gardening for Ladies Wm. J. Broderip, 1788-1859, Natural History Dionysius Lardner, 1793-1859, Physics John P. Nichol, 1804-1859, Astronomy Alexander Fletcher, 1772-1860, Theology John Narrien, 1782-1860, Mathematics, Military Engineering William Spence, 1783-1860, Entomology Horace Hayman Wilson, 1786-1860, Sanskrit Language R. Bentley Todd, 1809-1860, Surgery Sir Howard Douglas, 1775-1861, Military and Naval Defences T. Southwood Smith, 1788-1861, Philosophy of Health W. J. Donaldson, 1812-1861, Philology

CHAPTER XXV.

State of the Fine Arts to the close of the Regency.—Architecture.—Imitation of Greek models.—St. Pancras Church.—Wyatt and Gothic restorations.—Soane.—Holland.—Smirke.—Wilkins.—Nash.—Regent-street and Regent's Park.—Churches.—Bridges.—Telford.—Rennie.—Sculpture.—Banks.—Bacon.—Flaxman.—Chantrey.—Westmacott.—The Townley, Phigaleian, and Elgin Marbles.—British Institution.—Dulwich Gallery.—Painting.—West.—Copley.—Puseli.—Haydon.—Lawrence.—Wilkie.—Turner.—Painting in Water Colours.—Engraving.—Line Engravers.—Wood Engraving.—Bewick.—Lithography.

It is the purpose of the present chapter to carry forward the survey of the state of the Fine Arts from 1783 to the end of the Regency.

Architecture in the last years of the eighteenth century was far from being in a flourishing condition. There was much building, but there was little Art. It was the epoch of the rise of that style of architecture which culminated during the Regency and then collapsed: the style of imitative Greek art. Towards the end of the century was commenced a publication that should be of service in the earlier stage of our inquiry.* It formed, when completed, two costly folio volumes, was addressed to "the Professor, the Student, and the Dilettante, in this noble branch of the Polite Arts," and professed to give "Plans and Elevations of Buildings, public and private, erected in Great Britain" during the past few years. Estimated simply from the examples in these volumes, the character of our architecture and the condition of architectural taste sixty years back must indeed have been at a low ebb. And evidently there was on the part of the author, himself an architect of position, the full intention to afford a favourable representation of the current architecture. He gives views and descriptions of a few public buildings, many mansions, but no churches—an omission easily explained, for no churches were erected then with any pretensions to architectural character, nor indeed till the last years of the Regency. The buildings are by the leading architects of the time; by the Wyatts, Soane, Wilkins, Adams, Mylne, Holland, Nash, and others most in request with private employers, as well as public bodies. In looking over the examples, we see cer-

* "The New Vitruvius Britannicus," by George Richardson, Architect, 2 vols. folio. London, 1797—1803.

tain general characteristics, which are really the characteristics of the architecture of the period : a formal and symmetrical arrangement to which convenience is often made to give way ; in the exterior design, poverty of thought and absence of imagination or invention ; the general mass without grandeur or beauty ; the ornamental details of the most meagre and common-place description. But it was a time when what we should now call poverty was regarded as purity. Dallaway, an authority in those days, writing at this very time,* whilst speaking of the beauty of the newly erected Trinity House, complains that its "purity of style" is injured by the introduction of bas-reliefs on the façade. All the examples in the "New Vitruvius" are, or claim to be, Greek in character, except two or three which are professedly Gothic. With Chambers had ended the classical Italian style. His Somerset House had indeed not long been finished ; yet not only is there no representation of it here, but in none of the buildings shown is any imitation of it traceable. Almost every building, whether public or private, has a Greek portico or pediment—usually Ionic—affixed against a wall of the baldest and most un-Grecian character, pierced with plain holes for windows.

And this sort of thing went on nearly to the end of the period under review. In the latter part of it there was indeed improvement of a certain kind. Grecian travel, or a close acquaintance with Grecian models, came to be as regular a part of every architect's course of study, as a visit to Rome and the measurement of Roman remains had been a few years before. As a consequence, the Grecian orders were copied with greater accuracy, and Grecian mouldings were more or less liberally introduced. But the portico continued to be the grand feature. So that the portico was an exact copy, or followed strictly the proportions, of some extant example in Athens or Ionia, the body of the building was, externally at least, of comparatively little consequence. Nor was it by any means deemed essential that the portico should have any special adaptation to place or circumstance. An Ionic portico was made, during even these last and best years of Greek imitation, to grace indifferently the front of a lunatic asylum, a post-office, or a church ; whilst the massive Doric was considered equally applicable to a theatre or a mint, a palace or a corn-market. The culminating example of this mechanical reproduction of a Greek type may be seen in the church of St. Pancras, by Euston-square, London, at once the latest, most "correct," and costliest of the semi-

* "Anecdotes of the Arts in England, or Comparative Observations on Architecture," &c., 4to., 1800.

Greek churches. On the southern side of a temple dedicated to the Grecian nymph Pandrosus, which stood on the summit of the lofty Acropolis, and under the clear sky of Athens, was a porch the supports of which, instead of being the usual columns, were six exquisitely sculptured female figures "compo," instead of the bright Penthellic marble—and placed against the side of a church in almost the lowest part of the flat and foggy New Road. And, as though to push the solecism to its limit, whereas the original stood on the south side of the temple under the full glare of a mid-day Athenian sun, while a much larger Ionic portico occupied the corresponding position on the north side, in the church the porch was reproduced in exact counterpart on both sides; the northern porch, untouched by a gleam of sunshine being that which is in full view of the entire stream of traffic, while the southern porch is comparatively hidden. It only requires to be added to complete the æsthetic conception, that these London porches were made to serve as vestries, a chimney-pot being the crowning ornament of each, whilst the basements are burial-places. With such evidence of mere routine reproduction we can hardly be surprised to find, at the very close of the period, one of the most distinguished architects of the time declaring it to be "a melancholy fact that Architecture has not kept pace with our other advances towards perfection—nay, that in that noble art we are at least a century behind our neighbours on the continent." * This was too strongly expressed, perhaps, but it is the fact that it was a time of cold conventionalism and unreasoning imitation. Yet, palpable as now seems the absurdity of merely copying Greek buildings or portions of buildings, without regard to purpose, place, or climate, or to the entirely different circumstances of the age and the people for which the buildings were intended, we must bear in mind that the copying from Greek temples only gave way before the copying of Italian palaces and Gothic churches. The really "melancholy fact" is, that in all the forty years here passed in review, probably not a building could fairly be quoted as an example of considerate adaptation of style to purpose, or of thoughtful originality of design.

Whilst, however, the architecture of this period claimed to be essentially Greek, one of the most conspicuous of its professors secured a large measure of his celebrity by the practice of Gothic. As we saw in a previous chapter, James Wyatt sprung into fame by the erection, in 1772, of the Pantheon. He had since been extensively employed in the erection of country mansions of the set

* Sir John Soane, "Civil Architecture," folio, 1829, p. 12.

"classic" style, and he continued to be so employed to the end of his days. But the death, in 1784, of Essex, the protégé of Horace Walpole, who had long acted almost exclusively as the architect of cathedrals, colleges, and other important Gothic buildings, left an opening which Wyatt hastened to occupy. Lee Priory, Kent (1784), his first essay in this style, was praised by Walpole. He soon found grander opportunities for displaying his capability of rivaling the mediæval designers or improving on their designs. Chief among his Gothic buildings were Fonthill, erected (1795, &c.) at an almost fabulous cost for the celebrated Beckford; the palace at Kew, of "castellated Gothic," which was left unfinished, and finally pulled down without ever having been occupied; and Ashridge, Hertfordshire, built for the earl of Bridgewater. Regarded as imitations of the Gothic of any period, or as what is now spoken of as a development of Gothic, these buildings would appear quite puerile. They are in fact an incongruous admixture of what may, perhaps, be called Gothic forms and details, though of the latest and most meagre description, adapted to structures which neither in plan nor elevation are in any sense Gothic. But about some of them, Ashridge in particular, there is a certain grandiose picturesqueness never seen in the architect's pseudo-classic mansions. And it must be remembered in mitigation of his Gothic heresies, that Gothic, when Wyatt began to practise it, had received no such searching investigation as that to which it has since been subjected. Not only were its principles undefined, but even its details had never been accurately represented. It was in fact to antiquaries as much as to architects an unknown language, and Wyatt was too busy a man to spend much time in deciphering its hieroglyphics. It is noticeable, however, as an illustration of the little genuine feeling he had for Gothic architecture, as well as of the little regard that was given to the subject generally, that at Oxford—where, if anywhere, Gothic would have seemed the appropriate style—when Wyatt was called in to construct a library for Oriel college, he, as we find it stated in an architectural work of a somewhat later time, "introduced a correct Ionic;" whilst for the gateway at Christchurch, he introduced "a beautiful Doric," though it is considerably added, "the columns, when compared with the Greek, appear too slender." But his most indefensible Gothic misdeeds were his so-called "restorations." As the chief professor of Gothic architecture he was employed in repairing several of our noblest cathedrals, and in so doing altered or destroyed with reckless hand whatever seemed to him unnecessary or even unsymmetrical. Especially was this the case at Hereford, Litchfield,

and Salisbury; at the last he altogether demolished among other things a bell tower, and several chapels of exquisite beauty. Magdalen, Merton, All Souls, Balliol and several other Oxford colleges, also suffered in different degrees from his unhappy restorations. Samuel Wyatt, a brother of James, had a considerable reputation, and his works are not wholly devoid of invention. Like his brother he was largely employed in constructing private residences. His best building of a public character was Trinity House, Tower Hill, of no great architectural merit, but noteworthy as having on the front relievi by Bacon, and in the interior one of the latest of those allegorical ceiling paintings that once furnished such profitable occupation for the pencils of Verrio, and Laguerre. Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, the nephew, scholar, and faithful follower of James Wyatt, belongs only in part to this period; his great work, the alteration of Windsor Castle, was not commenced till 1824; whilst Sidney Sussex College was eight or ten years later. His earlier works were chiefly private residences of the ordinary Wyatt type.

Sir John Soane ought to serve as the representative of the highest order of architectural ability of this period. On the death of Taylor, in 1788, he was appointed architect to the bank of England. On the death of Chambers (1796) he was made architect to the Woods and Forests. He was a royal academician, and professor of architecture in the Royal Academy; and he was knighted on account of his professional eminence. Soane's chief building is the Bank of England, which was greatly enlarged and entirely remodelled by him, the works extending over a period of thirty years (1788—1829). The interior, including the public rooms, has been much altered by Mr. Cockerell, since Soane's time, which may be regarded as an evidence of inconvenient arrangement or of extended business; the exterior has also been altered, and improved in the alteration, by giving an increased elevation to the principal entrance-front; but the great portion of the exterior, on which Soane's reputation now mainly rests, is still nearly as he left it. At the time of its erection it was commonly regarded as a masterpiece. It is now as commonly condemned. There can be no question that it is deficient in one of the grand requisites of good architecture—propriety. The columns have nothing to support; beneath the pediments are no doorways; there are the forms of windows, but they admit no light. The whole is a mask. The parts are for ornament, not use. They may please at the first glance, but the mind refuses to dwell with a continuous pleasure on objects which suggest a use they do not supply. Else, there are parts of this screen of an elegant and even picturesque appearance. Such

is the well-known north-west angle, Sloane's own favourite composition, with its skilfully arranged and graceful Roman-Corinthian columns. Every one feels this to have been a happy conception of the architect, and it serves excellently to conceal the oblique meeting of the walls—a defect that if left apparent would have been an almost fatal injury to a building of classical character. So again some of the inner-courts are very elegant and effective. Soane had considerable ingenuity in these lesser matters. Wherever any irregularity of ground-plan existed, or any peculiarity of arrangement was required, he was usually ready with some quaint or graceful contrivance that would meet or conceal the difficulty. But a sort of scenic ingenuity is the highest merit his works possess. They have portions of much beauty, but as a whole are mean, if not insignificant. The exterior of a building of so important a character, and covering so vast a space as the Bank of England, might have been expected to form a grand and imposing mass: in reality it is little more than a long, low, unmeaning, decorated wall-screen. Few of Soane's buildings remain unaltered. The front of the Treasury, Whitehall, has been entirely remodelled by Sir Charles Barry. The Courts of Law, Westminster, remain nearly untouched; but they will probably soon be swept away altogether. The Bourgeois Gallery and Mausoleum at Dulwich, and his own house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, are perhaps the chief of Soane's buildings which remain as he left them, but, like the Law Courts, they are inconvenient, cramped, and unsatisfactory.

Holland, who, as architect to the Prince of Wales, remodelled Carlton House, and added the Ionic portico and screen, was one of the first to employ the true Ionic order, if he was not, as some have fancied, the first to introduce it. He enjoyed a large measure of celebrity in his day, but little is left of his more important buildings. Old Drury, opened in 1794, was destroyed by fire in 1809. Carlton House was pulled down in 1826. The Brighton Pavilion was orientalized by Nash. The East India House (designed by him in 1799, but often erroneously ascribed to Jupp, the company's surveyor) is about to be demolished. The loss of these is, however, of little consequence, except as being that of a link in the history of English architecture.

Sir Robert Smirke was the first to erect a Doric portico in the metropolis. This formed the grand entrance to Covent Garden Theatre, built by him in 1808-9. Smirke had travelled in Greece as well as Italy, and published professional comments on the edifices he examined. His Doric portico was announced as the first absolutely correct reproduction of a pure Greek order. It satisfied

classical connoisseurs, and the architect at a bound became famous. He did not indeed attempt to carry "pure Greek" principles beyond the portico, but he placed on the façade statues and bas-reliefs by Flaxman, which served to indicate the purpose of the building, a purpose the building itself would scarcely have suggested. The theatre was destroyed by fire in 1856. The chief architectural feature of the long front of the Mint, erected by Smirke in 1811, is a pediment supported on Doric columns, but these rest on a rusticated basement, and there is little else in the building that is Greek either in form or spirit. Smirke erected many other public and private edifices, but his two greatest works, the Post Office and the British Museum, belong to a later period.

Another of the travelled architects of the classic Greek epoch was Wilkins, who died professor of architecture to the Royal Academy in 1839. Like Smirke, he first came into notice by his descriptions of ancient Greek remains, the result of a professional visit to Athens. His first important building of a public character was Downing College, Cambridge, commenced in 1807, which as far as completed proved to be beyond comparison the dulllest, heaviest, and most common-place collegiate building in the two universities. But it was called Greek, and it was considered to be classic; and when the East India Company soon after determined on erecting a college, Wilkins was appointed its architect. Haileybury College is almost a duplicate of Downing College. Wilkins also attempted Gothic. His first large building in this style, Donington Castle, Leicestershire, erected about the close of the 18th century, hardly rose in any respect above the level of Batty Langley Gothic. When called on to execute some Gothic buildings at Cambridge, the proximity of King's College Chapel gave a little more elevation to his style. But he still thought it an evidence of refinement to cover the open oak roof of a college-hall with white paint. He will probably be longest remembered by the National Gallery and University College, but these were not commenced till after the time with which we are at present concerned. The Nelson Columns which he erected at Yarmouth and in Sackville-street, Dublin, only deserve mention as illustrations of the taste of the time and of the architect.

Nash, one of the most conspicuous of the architects of the latter portion of this period, commenced his career as a builder as well as an architect. He erected a large number of mansions in England and Ireland, the major part of them "classic" in style with the inevitable Ionic portico; others "castellated," in which strong battlemented keeps and machicolated towers are inter-

mingled with large plate-glass windows and undefended doorways in a manner that would have very much surprised the fierce feudal lords, whose grim abodes these were supposed to reproduce. Nash was the favourite architect of the Prince Regent; but his grand architectural effort, Buckingham Palace was not commenced till 1825. We have here, therefore, to speak of him in connection mainly with the formation of Regent-street, which, whatever may be the character of its architecture, must be regarded as a grand improvement on previous London streets, and as having greatly stimulated improvement in our street architecture. Regent-street was begun in 1813. In laying out its course Nash aimed to produce the greatest amount of effect. He combined several houses together so as to produce the appearance of a single large building; and he varied the design of almost every block. He made the new street of greater width than any former street in the metropolis, and where it crossed the two great thoroughfares of Oxford-street and Piccadilly he formed widely-sweeping circuses. At the southern end he provided a long colonnade. At the northern end where the broad street curves sharply round he carried forward a church entrance, crowning a circular porch-tower with a lofty spire, so as to produce a striking termination to the vista. In the same way the position of each of the churches and public buildings in the new street was laid down with a view to scenic display. But this was the object throughout. Unluckily, in his eagerness for show,—stone fronts being impracticable on account of the expense,—he made all the fronts of his stately “street of palaces” of plaster, and what seemed elaborate carving was mere moulded stucco. It was not left for a succeeding generation to denounce this as “sham.” Wits and critics alike launched their weapons against the architect, some of them glancing off against his royal patron.* Nash about the same time laid out Regent’s Park, and designed the Terraces which border its pleasant glades. It was in this kind of work he was most at home. He was a poor architect, but he has given us the finest street we yet have in London, and one of the pleasantest parks. The Regent’s Canal, another of Nash’s projects, was carried out simultaneously with

* One of the best of the many witticisms circulated at the time, was an epigram in which it was proposed to visit on the prince the evil deeds of his architect:—

“Augustus at Rome was for building renown’d,
For of marble he left what of brick he had found;
But is not our George, too, a very great master?
He finds London brick, and he leaves it all plaster.”

Regent's Park, to the beauty of the northern side of which he made it materially to contribute.

It has already been said that scarce any churches were erected during the period before us. There were indeed several of the "proprietary chapels," then the popular class of new churches, but they were usually plain brick buildings of the cheapest description. Towards the end of the period there came about a change. Marylebone Church, commenced in 1813 by the elder Hardwick, was a substantial and costly edifice; and is a fair specimen of the architecture of the time. A still more costly structure St. Pancras Church, already referred to, was commenced in 1819. It was designed by the Inwoods, and is remarkable as the most elaborate attempt made in this country to apply (not to adapt) pure Greek forms to a Protestant church. Marylebone Church cost about 60,000*l.*; St. Pancras very nearly 80,000*l.* It is worthy of note that in the forty years ending with 1820 scarcely a Gothic church had been erected, whilst during the next forty years the land was covered with them. But the movement which led to the astonishing revival of church building had already commenced. In March, 1818, parliament voted a million for the erection of new churches; and a Commission was appointed to direct the expenditure of the money. The result of the labours of the Commission soon became evident. The Gothic revival was some years longer in making itself felt.

It is needless to carry farther our examination of the architecture of this period; but there is one class of structures, Bridges, which must be noticed, because about this time they passed definitively out of the hands of the architect into those of the civil engineer. The transfer may indeed be said to have originated with one who was a bridge-builder, if he could not be called an architect, before he became an engineer. Thomas Telford was apprenticed to "a general house-builder" of Langholm in Dumfries, and when the future designer of Menai Bridge, and the engineer of some of the greatest works that had ever been undertaken in this country, first set up as master on his own account, he was ready to undertake any kind of masonry, from cutting letters on grave-stones, to the building of country byres, high-land churches, or plain stone bridges. When he came to London he worked for awhile under Chambers on Somerset House, then in course of erection. He felt no hesitation therefore, on the score of professional disqualification, when required as county surveyor to construct a bridge of some size across the Severn at Montford. This was a stone bridge of the usual type, but

in it he introduced some valuable constructive modifications. His next bridge, which crossed the Severn at Buildwas, was of iron on stone piers, and was long regarded as a model of its class. An iron bridge had been built at Coalbrookdale in 1775. Telford's iron bridge was erected in 1795-6, and was a vast improvement on its predecessor. It consisted of an unusually flat arch of 150 feet span. An iron bridge erected about the same time at Sunderland, by Mr. T. Wilson, consisted of a single arch of 236 feet span, and of such a height above the river as to permit the passage under it of vessels of 300 tons burden. The success of these important works insured the use of the new material. Telford was employed upon engineering works of enormous extent, in the course of which he had to erect many hundred bridges, and he employed iron or stone indifferently according to the nature of the locality, and the greater economy or fitness of either material in each particular case. Telford's grand works, the Highland Roads and Bridges, the Caledonian Canal, the Ellesmere Canal, the Holyhead Road, and others of scarcely less importance, belong to this period, but hardly fall within the compass of a survey of the Fine Arts. In the Highland improvements alone he constructed above a thousand miles of new road, and twelve hundred bridges; on the line of the Ellesmere Canal he spanned the valleys of the Dee and the Chirk with aqueducts of a greater height and magnitude than had been previously ventured upon; while several of the bridges on the Holyhead road were of importance both as engineering works, and as works of art. Such especially was the grand Menai Suspension Bridge, begun in 1819, a work that has indeed been surpassed as an engineering triumph by its neighbour, the tubular bridge of Robert Stephenson, but in beauty the suspension bridge far excells its younger rival.

John Rennie, the elder, like his great compatriot Telford, was of humble Scottish origin. His earliest occupation was that of a millwright, but his remarkably mechanical ingenuity brought him into notice, and he was while yet a young man employed on works requiring much constructive skill. He settled in London as an engineer about 1782. In 1799 he commenced a handsome stone bridge of five arches at Kelso, and he afterwards constructed some others that were much admired. But his chief work in this line was Waterloo Bridge, which he commenced in 1811, and completed in 1817, at a cost of above a million. This is by general consent one of the noblest bridges of modern times. Indeed for simple grandeur of character, convenience of roadway, and stability of construction, it would be difficult to name its peer among

bridges of any earlier period, and the only bridge of subsequent erection which has, in this country at least, equalled or surpassed it in these most important particulars is the new London Bridge, for which Rennie himself made the designs, though its erection was confided to his sons George and John. The iron bridge which crosses the Thames at Southwark was another of Rennie's bridges. The iron bridge at Vauxhall was designed and erected by Mr. James Walker. Rennie's magnificent engineering works, the East and West India Docks, with their vast ranges of warehouses; the London Docks; the Prince's Dock, Liverpool; Plymouth Breakwater, and the improvements carried out by him in the Government dockyards of Chatham, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Pembroke, with other important works at various harbours, proofs of the amazing growth of the country in wealth and commerce, and of the great increase of engineering skill, rather than works of Fine Art, can only be mentioned here.

In Sculpture the leading artists were Flaxman, Banks, Bacon, and Nollekens, all of whom have been spoken of in a previous chapter, and Chantrey and Westmacott, who belong more particularly to a later period. Our notice of sculpture may therefore on the present occasion be very brief. The first two of the sculptors just named, produced during this period some works of great poetic power, and the last also executed some of much beauty. But in the main sculpture dealt rather with portraits of the living and memorials of the dead, than with efforts of imagination. And in monuments of a public character, especially those with which the nation honoured the men who had fought her battles by land and sea, our sculptors continued to repeat with strange persistency the conventionalisms and machinery which had for ages ceased to have any intelligent meaning, or to affect either the heart or the understanding of any class of spectators. British soldiers and sailors, and even senators, philanthropists, and philosophers, were clad in the scanty folds of a "classical" drapery, in some instances almost without drapery at all, and, although the monuments were to be erected in the midst of a Christian cathedral, and in full view of a congregation engaged in Christian worship, were surrounded with heathen gods, goddesses, and attributes; or if, as was sometimes the case, the hero wore his full regulation uniform, he yet had his due attendance of undraped heathen deities. Banks was unfortunately one who yielded most unreservedly to this classic misconception. The monuments to Captains Burgess and Westcott in St. Paul's, two of the latest of his works, are among the least defensible of their class. Happily Banks will not be

judged by his public monuments. The exquisite recumbent figure of Penelope Boothby in Ashbourne Church, showed with what pathos he could invest a private memorial when he trusted to the simple promptings of the feelings. His "Mourning Achilles," of which the model is in the British Gallery, no patron having had sufficient taste to commission its execution in marble, is perhaps the noblest work of the kind produced by an English sculptor; and in other works he excelled as much in grace as here in grandeur.

Bacon, who died in 1799, produced at this time little besides public monuments of level mediocrity; but these he produced with a facility and profusion that aroused the envy of his rivals and the admiration of the multitude. The best are such as those of Dr. Johnson and John Howard in St. Paul's, in which he had no occasion to go beyond simple portraiture; but even in these the attempt to attain elevation of style by arraying such men in a costume borrowed from antiquity, has nearly destroyed personal resemblance, and even mental characterization. Nollekens shared only to a small extent in these public commissions, but he was in great request for private monuments. His strength lay however in portraiture; and his busts and statues are now the most life-like representations left of many of the most memorable personages of his time.

Flaxman lived throughout this period, the truest and greatest sculptor England had ever produced. Sculpturesque design was as much the genuine expression of his mind as it was that of the sculptors of ancient Greece. In some of his imaginative works as well as in several of his public monuments, his genius was fettered by the current conventionalisms; but even in works of the latter class, as the monument to Lord Mansfield, he showed of how much grandeur of moral expression sculpture was capable. His private monuments, especially some of those to females, are of the most touching tenderness, and of the purest Christian sentiment. In the magnificent group at Petworth of the Archangel Michael overcoming Satan, illustrative of the famous lines in Milton, we have proof that our sculptors might find in our own poets, or in the Book which is a part of the very life of every one, subjects well fitted for sculpturesque treatment, and which, whilst they would require and repay the utmost exertion of mental power, and technical knowledge and skill, would as much come home to the feelings and the understanding of the men and women of to-day, as did the gods and heroes of the old Greek sculptors to the hearts of their contemporaries. The deities of a dead mythology never can thus come home to any modern people unless treated as symbols

of some deep or subtle truth, as they on rare occasions have been by genius of a high order. Flaxman's *Psyche* may perhaps take rank in this class. His *Pastoral Apollo* is like a breath of rustic poetry. But the *Venuses*, *Dianas*, *nymphs*, and the like, which Flaxman's contemporaries and successors put forth in any quantity at every exhibition, will be gazed at with as little genuine sympathy on the part of the spectator as was felt in their production by the sculptor. How thoroughly Flaxman's mind was imbued with the purest Greek feeling is evinced by his illustrations to *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and *Æschylus*; while in nobleness of conception, and beauty and delicacy of expression, the illustrations to *Dante* are fully equal to them.

Chantrey, during the latter years of the regency, had taken his place among the foremost living portrait sculptors. The manly simplicity of his style met with early recognition, and his chisel found ample and worthy employment. A large proportion of the men most distinguished in letters, art, and public life, sat to him, and in most instances he was considered to be successful in preserving the likeness, as well as in maintaining a certain elevation of character. His busts are finer than his portrait-statues, and these than his imaginative works. But his statues have the great merit of first fairly grappling with the difficulties of modern costume. The happiest of the monuments in which he ventured on a poetic mode of treatment, "the *Sleeping Children*," in *Lichfield Cathedral*, belongs to the period under review, but the idea was certainly caught from *Banks's* monument of *Penelope Boothby*, and the design was made by *Stothard*. *Westmacott's* earlier poetic works include the "*Psyche*," and "*Cupid*," at *Woburn*; "*Euphrosyne*," belonging to the *Duke of Newcastle*, and many other very pleasing classic subjects; but among them are some of a homelier and more original character, as "the *Distressed Mother*," "the *Homeless Wanderer*," and others of a similar order. *Westmacott* also executed at this time several monumental statues for *Westminster Abbey* and *St. Paul's Cathedral*; the well-known "*Achilles*," erected in *Hyde Park* "by the women of *England*," in honour of the *Duke of Wellington*, and numerous other commissions of a public character.

The taste in sculpture of both artists and the public was no doubt much influenced by the purchase and exhibition of three important collections of ancient marbles. The earliest purchase was in 1804, of the large collection formed by *Mr. Charles Townley*, of sculpture chiefly of Roman date, but the work of Greek artists, and embracing many works of exceeding loveliness and interest.

This formed the nucleus of the magnificent national collection of ancient sculpture in the British Museum. The next grand addition was that of the series of reliefs which had adorned the Temple of Apollo Epicurius, near Phigaleia, and which the Prince Regent bought at a cost of nearly 20,000*l.*, and presented to the nation in 1815. These reliefs, though falling short of the highest excellence of Greek art, are believed to be the work of some of the best scholars of Phidias. They are of great beauty, and of greater interest, as illustrating the history of Greek art. But the most important of the collections was that of the sculpture of the Parthenon, commonly known as the Elgin Marbles, for the purchase of which parliament voted, in 1816, the sum of 35,000*l.* These wonderful works are by far the finest extant examples of Greek sculpture when at its greatest perfection—the sculpture of the time of Pericles, executed by Phidias, or by his scholars under his immediate superintendence. For years the Earl of Elgin, who whilst ambassador to the Porte obtained the firman through which he was enabled to remove the sculpture from the Parthenon, was assailed with the bitterest invectives for this act of Vandalism as it was termed. But in truth, the earl by their removal saved these marvellous works from utter destruction; he was not in time to save them from grievous mutilation. The Parthenon had been shattered in the Venetian bombardment; afterwards, the eastern pediment, with its matchless statuary, was thrown down to fit the building for the service of the Greek Church; later, and up to the hour when they were rescued by Lord Elgin, the statues were used as targets by the Turkish soldiers; and finally, in the war of Greek independence (1827), the building received great additional injury during the bombardment of the city, but the best of the sculpture was then happily safe in the British Museum, preserved for ever for the free study of all.

A national collection of sculpture was thus formed; but it was not till 1824 that a national gallery of painting was founded. Something had, however, been done towards clearing the way for such a consummation. In 1805, a small body of noblemen and gentlemen who felt an interest in art, succeeded in establishing the British Institution, the primary object of which was declared to be “to encourage the talents of the artists of the United Kingdom; and with this view the Shakspeare Gallery, built by Alderman Boydell, was purchased and appropriated to the exhibition and sale of the productions of British artists, and the exhibition of pictures by the old masters. This last was the grand novelty in the scheme. Most of the directors, and many of the subscribers, were them-

selves the possessors of collections of paintings by the old masters, and from their galleries, and the collections of other liberal amateurs, has been obtained annually enough pictures of a high class to make a most interesting and always varied exhibition. These exhibitions for the first time afforded to the general public the opportunity of seeing at their leisure paintings by the great masters; and there can be little doubt that to them is to be ascribed a large measure of the interest in art which resulted in the formation of the National Gallery. The directors at the same time sought to encourage living artists, not only by providing a gallery for the sale as well as exhibition of their works, but by offering annual premiums for pictures of a high character, and by occasionally purchasing their pictures. Among the painters to whom premiums were awarded were Hilton, Haydon, Alston, Bird, Linnell, Martin, and others whose names will be remembered, but as may be supposed more whose names are already forgotten. Up to 1820 the Society had only purchased four pictures, first among which was Benjamin West's "Christ Healing the Sick," for which the directors gave the painter 3000 guineas, and which they presented to the National Gallery immediately after its formation. The interest in art no doubt also received a considerable impulse from the opening to the public in 1812 of the collection of paintings, chiefly of the Dutch and Flemish schools, bequeathed to Dulwich College by Sir Francis Bourgeois, and for the reception of which a gallery was built by Sir John Soane. The Dulwich Gallery does not rank among the great picture galleries, but it has done good service to art in this country, and not least as a precursor of the National Gallery. It is understood that the pictures now forming the Dulwich Gallery, and which were collected by Mr. Noel Desenfans, were offered to the government during the ministry of Mr. Pitt on condition that a gallery should be built for their reception. The offer was declined.

After a few years of enfeebled health, Reynolds finally laid down his pencil in 1787, and died in 1792. From this time till the year at which this chapter closes, West, as president of the Royal Academy, was nominally at the head of the British school of painting. During these years he continued to paint pictures of large dimensions, and treating of the loftiest themes in sacred and profane history. But his style underwent no change, and we have nothing to add to the summary printed in a former volume. His friendly rival was John Singleton Copley, whose manner is favourably shown in his "Death of Chatham," now a leading ornament of the British section of the National Gallery. Fuseli, too, painted,

lectured, and taught; but his spasmodic compositions now scarcely excite a passing remark; and though critics termed them sublime, it may be doubted whether they ever were in any degree popular. His greatest effort was his Milton Gallery, a series of fifty paintings illustrative of the poetry of Milton. The pictures were publicly exhibited in 1799, and again in the following year, but the receipts at the doors were insufficient to defray the expenses, and the painter would have been seriously embarrassed had not private admirers come forward to purchase enough of the pictures to save him from the consequences of his temerity.

Among the younger aspirants for immortality in "high art," the unfortunate Haydon was in the latter years of the regency the most conspicuous. His "Macbeth," "Judgment of Solomon," "Christ's entry into Jerusalem," and other gallery paintings, had aroused equal admiration and criticism, and Haydon in an evil hour was tempted to defend his own theories of art and to denounce those of his adversaries. Controversy has irresistible fascinations for some minds. Haydon was one of her victims. To his private and personal quarrels he added one with the Royal Academy. The result was what might have been predicted. He became a fluent speaker, and a piquant if not a very correct or altogether trustworthy writer. In his proper calling he made no advance. His earliest works were indeed his best. And as he found once ardent admirers grow cold, and timid friends fall away, his bitterness increased, and from this time to his unhappy death he was a disappointed man. Yet he might have been a good painter, and he was certainly a good teacher, if we may estimate a teacher's ability by the success of such pupils as Eastlake, Lance, and the Landseers. Hilton was elected an Academician in 1820, but he had as yet chiefly painted classical subjects, and had altogether failed of popular recognition. Etty had at present scarcely made his name at all known. Martin had startled the critics and fascinated the public by his "Joshua" (1814), and his still more extraordinary "Fall of Babylon" (1819). Stothard was delighting a narrow circle with his elegant but rather feeble paintings; and spending his real strength in making vignettes of almost matchless grace for engraving, at the rate of half a guinea or a guinea a-piece.

In portraiture, from the early part of the nineteenth century to his death in 1830, Lawrence was regarded as the undisputed successor to Reynolds. Northcote, Opie, Hoppner, Beechey, and Jackson, portrait painters of considerable ability and followers more or less of Reynolds, enjoyed a fair share of royal or popular patronage, but none obtained like Lawrence universal favour. Per-

haps Lawrence owed somewhat of his good fortune to the very contrast afforded by his easy superficial elegance to the more sombre splendour of his predecessor. It would be foolish to compare Lawrence as a painter with Reynolds, but Lawrence was undoubtedly in his way an admirable artist. His sitters were the noblest and fairest in the land, and, whilst preserving the likeness, he seldom failed in the expression of manly intellect, and never in that of female beauty. His grand series of portraits of the distinguished actors in the affairs of 1814 and 1815 now in the Waterloo Gallery, Windsor Castle, could probably not have been so well painted by any contemporary artist. In a certain broad and vigorous delineation of a male head, however, Lawrence was surpassed by Raeburn, at this time the principal portrait painter in Scotland. But Raeburn was a supremely national painter. It was the hard-featured shrewd Scottish head he gloried in painting and painted so well. The southron fared but indifferently under his vigorous pencil. Of a wholly different stamp was the elegant Harlow, who might in time perhaps have rivalled his master, Lawrence, but who died in opening manhood. His "Trial of Queen Katharine," despite its popularity, gave little promise of greatness as a painter of history; it was in fact rather a group of portraits of the Kemble family, and as such it should be estimated.

Portraiture in the hands of Lawrence assumed a new phase at this period. But a far greater change was made in the painting of scenes of domestic life by David Wilkie. Hogarth had painted both high life and low life, but it was with the pencil of a stern and relentless satirist, and in order to point a moral. Bird had still more recently depicted scenes of humble life, but with a halting and unequal touch. Wilkie was the first to paint with thorough artistic skill, and a gentle genial humour and quiet appreciation of character, the pleasant side of the everyday life of the peasant and the yeoman. His earlier pictures, "The Village Politicians," "The Blind Fiddler," "The Card Players," "The Village Festival," "The Cut Finger," "Blindman's Buff," "The Penny Wedding," and the like, were all of this homely cheerful character. It was not till 1815 that he touched a more pathetic chord in his "Distraint for Rent." From the outset Wilkie achieved an almost unbounded popularity. His pictures told a story that all could understand; expressed a sentiment with which all could sympathize; and were in all respects painted with a truthfulness which every one could recognize. They won, therefore, the general suffrage; and at the same time their conformity, in composition, colour, and other obvious technical qualities, to the princi-

ples of the Dutch masters who excelled in similar subjects, was equally efficacious with the *cognoscenti* who then gave the law in pictorial criticism. Up to the close of the period before us, Wilkie continued to paint carefully studied subjects of the healthy homely class in which he first acquired fame. Two or three years later he visited the continent, and from that time he entirely altered his manner of painting and range of subjects. But that change we need not here anticipate. At the time we now leave him he was undoubtedly the most generally popular painter in England.

Far greater and probably more permanent was the influence on English art of the genius of Turner than that of either of the painters we have yet noticed. Landscape painting towards the close of the last century was fast falling into conventionalism and inanity. The authority of the men who had just passed away, and the imitation of the old masters, paralyzed individual effort. Turner commenced his career by making coloured drawings, in which he aimed at little more than correct topographical representation. Long after he began to paint in oil he continued to study and imitate the manner of his predecessors,—Wilson, Louthenbourg, and occasionally Gainsborough, in English scenery; Van-develde in representations of the sea; whilst Claude was his guide in classical compositions. But year after year he showed more and more self-reliance and originality; and ever increasing knowledge of the capabilities of landscape art, and extended acquaintance with the phenomena of nature. The wonderful range of Turner's powers as a landscape painter were not wholly developed in the period before us. He visited Italy for the first time in 1819, and his Italian pictures were consequently as yet unpainted. But his power as a painter of English scenery had reached its farthest extent. The "Crossing the Brook," the noblest English landscape of its kind ever painted, was exhibited in 1815. It now forms one of the choicest of the Turner treasures in the National Gallery. Its hitherto unapproached expression of space, magical aerial perspective, quiet beauty of colour, and poetical feeling, gave it a standing quite apart from the work of any previous painter of English scenery. Gainsborough doubtless excelled Turner in a poetic rendering of close home scenery; Wilson perhaps excelled him in a certain classical elevation of style. But neither Wilson nor Gainsborough could have painted a picture like this. Nor did Turner ever equal it. "Richmond Hill," painted in 1819, was a grievous falling off; and he never again painted English scenery on a grand scale, for of course such pictures as "Rain, Steam, and Speed" are to be classed as poetic fancies rather than English scenes.

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But it was not merely as a painter of English landscape scenery that Turner was pre-eminent. In his "Shipwreck," now in the National Gallery; "A Gale at Sea," in the gallery of the Earl of Ellesmere; "The Wreck of the Minotaur," belonging to the Earl of Yarborough, and some others, he had painted a stormy sea with a force and majesty such as no previous painter had ever reached. In such works again as the "Garden of the Hesperides" (1806); "Apollo and Python" (1810); "Building of Carthage" (1815); and "Decline of Carthage" (1817); he had treated classical subjects with singular brilliancy and vigour of imagination. And not only these but a multiplicity of other pictures showed at once his wonderful versatility and poetic feeling, as well as his close observation of nature, especially of every variety of atmospheric phenomena, and his unrivalled knowledge of effect.

It is sometimes said that it was not till towards the close of his life that Turner's greatness as an artist was recognized. But this is a mistake. From almost the very outset of his artistic career, his superiority was admitted both by his professional brethren and such of the public as then took an interest in art. He was elected an associate of the Royal Academy at the earliest age (24), at which, by the laws of the academy he could be elected; and again, at the earliest legal age (27), he was elected a full member. Collectors bought his pictures at constantly increasing prices; and engravers and publishers eagerly outbid each other for his drawings, knowing well that engravings after Turner were more popular than engravings after any other landscape painter. He had indeed by the time at which we are arrived become a wealthy man by the exercise of his art,—which is certainly more than at that time could have been said of any other English landscape artist,—and in a country like England pecuniary success is at least an evidence that a man is admired by those to whom he addresses his efforts. There were differences of opinion respecting Turner's works, as there always are differences of opinion respecting the works of a man of original genius, but his genius was not without recognition. It was not till later, when his pictures had become to the ordinary observer unintelligible eccentricities, that his popularity as a painter began to wane.

During the later years of this period there were several other admirable landscape painters:—Callcott, a pleasing and graceful artist, coming sometimes close to the quieter manner of Turner, sometimes approaching the manner of the landscape painters of the Netherlands, but never very original or very vigorous; Constable, both original and vigorous—a hearty, unsophisticated delin-

eator of homely English scenery, and especially of the scenery of the eastern counties—but a good deal of a mannerist, and somewhat confined in his range; Nasmyth, the best of the minute copyists of our woodlands and commons, ill-understood, and little appreciated in his life, and now perhaps a little overrated; Hofland, a genuine lover of quiet river scenery; and Collins, the ablest painter of his day of coast and inland scenery in combination with rustic groups.

Animal painting had in George Morland, at the early part of this period, a representative of great ability, but of coarse intemperate habits, and the character of the man too often found expression in his pictures. He was succeeded by James Ward, only lately passed from among us at a patriarchal age, a clever painter, but superseded while still young, by a yet younger rival, Landseer, and falling, perhaps as a consequence, into hopeless and most eccentric mannerism. Edwin Landseer, though yet a youth, had attained celebrity before the close of this period, but his real artistic career was hardly commenced.

The essentially English art of Water-colour Painting dates its rise from this period. In the catalogues of the earliest exhibitions of the Royal Academy we find entries of "stained drawings." These belong to the first crude stage of the art. They were produced by the entire drawing being in the first instance made in light and shadow, with a gray or neutral tint. Over this the several local colours were passed in thin transparent washes, the ground tint softening the harshness of the superposed local colours. The sharp markings of the details were then added, usually with a reed pen. In this manner, modified by the habits of the respective artists, some very pleasing drawings were made by Paul Sandby, Hearne, and especially Cozens, a landscape draftsman of refined feeling and considerable power. Turner and his friend and fellow student, Thomas Girtin, for some time practised in this manner; but they were led gradually to abandon it, and adopt the method — which originated with them — of painting every object in the first instance in its proper local colour, and by subsequent shades and tints, and various manipulatory processes, modifying this first painting till the whole picture is brought to the desired appearance. By this improved method, water-colour painting acquired an exquisite freshness and transparency quite its own, and which in the opinion of many almost atoned for the absence of the depth, force, and richness of oil. Girtin was a landscape painter of considerable ability if not genius, and some of his water-colour paintings are of exceeding beauty; but he died young, and it is mainly to Turner

that the infant art owed its early culture and vigorous growth. His sketches and finished pictures in water-colours are extremely numerous and extremely fine; and in them may be traced at least the germs of almost every improvement or modification of the water-colour process. Turner early turned aside to oil painting, though he continued to execute his vignettes for the engravers in water-colours; but many able artists devoted themselves wholly to the rising art; and brought it to the perfection which it ultimately reached. Among these may be mentioned Prout, unrivalled as the delineator of picturesque old houses and fragments of crumbling ruins; and David Cox, one of the boldest, and at times one of the grandest, painters of English hills, meadows, and sandy coasts, under the influence of storm and rain. So rapidly did the new art become popular, and so confident were its professors in their own strength and resources, that in 1805 they formed themselves into a Society of Painters in Water Colours, which has ever since continued to hold with unfailling success an annual exhibition of the works of its members.

The great extension of a taste for art was in no way more clearly shown than in the increased demand for engravings and for illustrated publications. The higher branches of engraving were however hardly so successfully cultivated. There was no engraver like Strange or Woollett, and the prints called for by the public were of a less elevated class of subjects. But engravers of unquestionable ability were very numerous, and an unparalleled number of excellent prints was published. Boydell's *Shakspere* was issued towards the close of the century at a vast expense. To such works as this, the folio *Milton*, Macklin's *Bible*, the *Poet's Gallery*, and the like, succeeded a host of topographical works, editions of the poets, essayists, and novelists, with small vignettes, and handsome folios and quartos of antiquarian and architectural subjects. In the former class the drawings of Turner may be said to have formed a school of landscape engravers, neat, refined, and brilliant beyond previous example in the execution of small plates, but wanting in grandeur and vigour, when grappling with plates of a large size. The architectural publications, especially those of John Britton, and the elder Pugin, aided by the singular talent of the Le Keuxes in engraving mediæval buildings, did much to arouse that strong interest in Gothic architecture which has in our own day led to such remarkable results.

The demand for illustrated works had however an inevitable tendency to stimulate their more rapid and cheaper production. Engravers, instead of executing their plates throughout with their

own hands, employed pupils and assistants on the earlier and less important parts. Further to expedite the process machines were at this time invented, the best being that of Mr. Lowry, by which the skies, plain backgrounds, and the like, could be ruled in, and thus the work of weeks be accomplished in a few hours. The tendency of this employment of mechanical appliances, and of the system of journeywork, was undoubtedly to interfere with the development of the highest individual excellence; but the increasing of the quantity and cheapening the cost of works only inferior to those of the first class in the higher refinements of the art, assisted largely to diffuse a knowledge and a love of art. The use of steel plates instead of copper, which carried this cheapening process so much farther, was introduced early in the century; but steel plates were not tried for fine art purposes till about 1818, and did not fairly come into use till five or six years later.

At the head of the line engravers, at the commencement of this period, was William Sharpe, who has left some good prints from the works of the old masters, but who was greatest as a portrait engraver: his print of John Hunter after Reynolds, is of its kind a masterpiece. Other line engravers of ability, his contemporaries and successors, and like him engravers of subject pieces and portraits, were Fittler, Sherwin, Warren, John Landseer the father of the painter, James and Charles Heath, Raimbach, who engraved the earlier prints after Wilkie, and John Burnet, like Raimbach, best known by his prints after Wilkie, but like him an excellent engraver of general subjects. The landscape engravers in line were very numerous, and the later ones especially brilliant executants. Among them were Middiman, Byrne, Cooke, John Pye, a thoroughly conscientious and able artist, the Findens, and others. In mezzotinto engraving, landscape was most successfully cultivated during this period, as portraiture had been in the preceding. Earlom, who engraved the *Liber Veritatis* of Claude; Lupton, who engraved many plates in the *Liber Studiorum* and the *Rivers* of Turner; Charles Turner, who in his plate from Turner's *Shipwreck* produced the noblest print of its class yet published; and S. Reynolds, were eminent in this branch of art. Aquatinta, now almost a lost art, was at this time successfully practised by F. C. Lewis, Daniell, and others. Bartolozzi at the beginning of the period was in the height of popularity for his engravings in the dotted or chalk manner, but they were really of a very meretricious character. William Blake was also an engraver in various manners, some of them peculiar to himself. But Blake is best known by his designs, full of the wildest extravagances, yet with constantly recurring quaint,

graceful, and suggestive fancies, always however running along the narrow line which proverbially divides genius from madness.

Wood Engraving dates its revival from this period. Thomas Bewick, to whose rare application and ability this revival is almost entirely to be ascribed, began to engrave on wood while apprentice to a general engraver; and he received from the Society of Arts a prize for a wood-cut of a "Huntsman and Hounds," almost as soon as his apprenticeship had terminated. Bewick resided all his life at his native place, Newcastle-on-Tyne; drew most of his designs, and engraved them with a combined vigour and delicacy of line, power of expression, and felicitous characterization of surface, that came with all the freshness of novelty upon his contemporaries. Bewick published his "General History of Quadrupeds," the work by which he acquired celebrity, in 1790. It passed through several editions, and secured a ready reception for all his subsequent publications. In finish it was surpassed by later works, but only his "British Birds" (1797-1804) equalled it in design. Among single prints, the finest was his "Chillingham Bull." Bewick was always happiest in drawing and engraving objects of natural history. But his little tail-pieces, especially those illustrative of the effects of cruelty to animals, have some of them touches of a grim humour that would have done no discredit to Hogarth's pencil.

Lithography was invented by Alois Senefelder towards the end of the 18th century. It was introduced into England in 1801 by M. P. H. André, under the designation of Polyautography. André's chief publication was a series of thirty-six prints from sketches by West, Stothard, and other eminent artists; but his rude and blurred impressions were regarded as mere curiosities. In 1805 he transferred his business to a Mr. Volweiler, who was equally unsuccessful. The art seems then to have been neglected for some years, till Mr. R. Ackerman established a press, from which was issued in 1819 the illustrations to his translation of Senefelder's "Complete Course of Lithography." These prints, though much better than André's, were still very deficient in strength and clearness. It was not till the subject was taken up by Mr. Charles Hullmandel, who to the training of an artist added some chemical knowledge and great manipulative dexterity, that the capabilities of the art were fairly developed in this country. A really good lithograph can, however, hardly be said to have been produced in London as early as 1820.

REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

1820.—LIST OF THE KING'S MINISTERS.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury.
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Duke of Wellington	Master General of the Ordnance.
Viscount Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Viscount Castlereagh	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Right Hon. George Canning	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. C. B. Bathurst	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. W. W. Pole	Master of the Mint.
Right Hon. F. J. Robinson	Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Trade.
Earl of Mulgrave	Without office.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Charles Long	Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester	} Joint Postmaster-General.
Marquess of Salisbury	
Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot	} Joint Secretaries of the Treasury.
S. R. Lushington, Esq.	
Right Hon. Thomas Wallace	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Thomas Plumer	Master of the Rolls.
Right Hon. Sir John Leach	Vice-Chancellor.
Sir Robert Gifford	Attorney-General.
Sir John Copley	Solicitor-General.

GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

Marquess of Cholmondeley	Lord Steward.
Marquess of Hertford	Lord Chamberlain.
Duke of Montrose	Master of the Horse.
His Royal Highness the Duke of York	Commander-in-Chief.
Sir Hildebrand Oakes	Lieut-General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. William Huskisson	First Commissioner of Woods and Forests and Land Revenue.

IRELAND.

Earl Talbot	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Charles Grant	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. Sir G. F. Hill	Vice-Treasurer.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Meeting of Parliament on the demise of George III.—Prorogation and dissolution.—The Cato-street Conspiracy.—Debate on the subject of Queen Caroline.—Differences between the King and the Cabinet regarding the Queen.—The ministerial propositions finally agreed to.—Opening of the new Parliament.—Preparations for the Coronation The Queen expected.—Her arrival.—Green bag containing papers laid before Parliament.—Adjournment.—Conferences for averting a public proceeding.—Failure of the negotiation.—The Bill of Pains and Penalties.—Scenes in the streets.—Scenes in the House of Lords.—The Third reading of the Bill carried by a small majority.—The Bill finally abandoned.—Joy of the country.—Discussions on the subject of the Queen in the next Session.—The Coronation of the King.—The Queen vainly endeavours to be present.—Her death and funeral.

UPON the Accession of George the Fourth there were the same Ministers in the Cabinet as those which formed the Administration of the Earl of Liverpool at the close of the war; with the exception of Mr. Canning, who in 1816 succeeded the earl of Buckinghamshire as President of the Board of Control.*

The Statutes of William and of Anne provided that the demise of the Crown should not interfere with the regular course of Constitutional government: Under these Statutes the Parliament, although adjourned to the 15th of February, assembled on Sunday morning the 30th of January; adjourned till the next day; and then proceeded to the swearing in of members. On the 17th of February, the Houses having again assembled, a message was delivered from the King, recommending that such measures should be adopted by the House of Commons as were necessary to provide for the exigencies of the public service, during the short period that must elapse between the termination of the present Session and the opening of a new Parliament, which it was his Majesty's intention to call without delay. The Houses sat till the 28th of February. During a few days after the death of his father, the King had been seriously ill, not without some apprehension that this would be the shortest reign in English history. When the Parliament was prorogued, with a view to its immediate dissolution, the Speech of the Royal Commissioners alluded to

* See volume vii. p. 576. The List in the opposite page of the King's Ministers, of the Great Officers of State, of the Law officers, and of the Irish Administration, is of the date of June, 1820.

"the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which has lately been detected."

"The Cato-street Conspiracy," atrocious as were the objects which it proposed to accomplish, base and brutal as were the wretched persons engaged in it, fearful as might have been the national terror had it been successful, was certainly not calculated, as affirmed in the Royal Speech, "to vindicate to the whole world the justice and expediency of those measures" [the Six Acts] to which the Parliament had resorted "in defence of the laws and Constitution of the Kingdom." The detection and prevention of what was something more formidable than "a little plot in a hay-loft," * though not in any degree a symptom of a revolutionary spirit in the country, were certainly not advanced by the enactment of an unconstitutional code. The proceedings of a knot of sanguinary madmen had for some time been well-known at the Home office. "The principal informant was a modeller and itinerant vendor of images, named Edwards, who first opened himself at Windsor, as early as the month of November, to Sir Herbert Taylor, then occupying an important official situation in the establishment of George III." † Arthur Thistlewood, the leader of the gang who desired to assert their patriotism by the murder of all the King's ministers, had been a subaltern officer in the militia, and afterwards in a regiment of the line. He had sojourned in France in the early stages of the French Revolution, and was amongst the number of those who held that violence and insurrection were the proper modes of redressing the evils of what they considered bad government. He was one of the persons engaged in the Spa-fields riot; and in company with Dr. Watson, was tried for high treason. Upon his acquittal his rashness displayed itself in sending a challenge to Lord Sidmouth, for which folly he was convicted of a misdemeanour, and underwent a year's imprisonment. This term of confinement expired about the period of the affray at Manchester. Upon his trial he declared that his indignation at this occurrence prompted him to take his resolution of murderous vengeance: "I resolved that the lives of the instigators should be the requiem to

* Sydney Smith's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 195.

† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 316. The Author of the "Popular History" well recollects this man, who had a small shop in the High-street of Eton, where the most profitable exercise of his art was in the production and sale of a little model of Dr. Keate, the head master of Eton, in his cocked hat, the consumption of which image was considerable, from its rapid destruction by the junior boys as a mark to be belted at. Sir Herbert Taylor, whose honour was unimpeachable, was utterly incapable of suggesting to the spy that he should incite these wretched men to the pursuance of their frantic designs. Yet in this, as in most similar cases, the functions of the tempter and the betrayer are very closely united.

the souls of the murdered innocents." He adds, "In this mood I met with George Edwards." He had decided that "insurrection became a public duty" before he met with George Edwards, "the contriver, the instigator, the entrapper," as he terms him.*

A noble writer, whose facts are in most cases of far higher value than his opinions, says, "the history of the Thistlewood Conspiracy, as related in the criminal annals of the period, illustrates in a remarkable manner the diseased state of political feeling then existing in England."† Lord Sidmouth has himself testified to the general healthfulness of public opinion: "Party feelings appeared to be absorbed in those of indignation, which the lower orders had also evinced very strikingly upon the occasion."‡ It was not in the nature of Englishmen to entertain any other feeling than indignation at the scheme of assassination which was intended to be carried into effect on the 23rd of February. On Tuesday the 22nd, the Earl of Harrowby, President of the Council, was riding in the Park without a servant, when he was addressed by a person who said he had a letter directed to Lord Castlereagh. On the 23rd Lord Harrowby was to have had a Cabinet dinner at his house in Grosvenor-square, to which, as is usual, none but members of the Cabinet were invited. The person who accosted Lord Harrowby met him the next morning in the Ring at Hyde Park by appointment. That person was Thomas Hidon, a cow-keeper, formerly a member of a Shoemakers' Club, where he knew one of the conspirators, Wilson. By this man Hidon was invited to come forward and be one of a party to destroy his Majesty's ministers, when they were assembled at dinner, by hand grenades thrown under the table, and by the sword if any escaped the explosion. The paper which Lord Harrowby received from Hidon was described as "a note containing the whole plot."§ The plans of Thistlewood had been also communicated to an Irishman named Dwyer, who revealed at the Home Office what he had heard. The evidence of Hidon and Dwyer sufficiently agreed to make the Cabinet take their resolution. They determined not to dine at Lord Harrowby's house, but that the preparations for dinner should go on as if no alarm had disarranged them. Mr. Birnie, the police magistrate, was to proceed to Cato-street, with a strong party of police-officers, at seven o'clock, the appointed dinner hour. In Cato-street, which runs parallel with the Edgeware-road, a loft had been engaged by the

* "State Trials." See also "Annual Register," 1820, p. 946.

† Duke of Buckingham, "Court of George IV.," vol. i. p. 9.

‡ "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 320.

§ "Annual Register," 1820, p. 932.

parties to the plot, and during the afternoon of the 23rd they had been observed conveying sacks into their place of rendezvous. A detachment of the foot-guards had been ordered to turn out for the purpose of accompanying the police, but through some mistake the civil officers had to enter the loft to execute their warrant without the military support. As Smithers, the police officer, first confronted the twenty-four whom he found assembled, having gone up into the loft by a ladder, he was stabbed through the heart by Thistlewood, whilst three others of his comrades were stabbed or shot. The lights were put out, and in the confusion Thistlewood, with about fourteen, escaped. The leader, however, was arrested the next morning, the government having offered a reward of a thousand pounds for his apprehension. When the soldiers arrived they captured nine of the party, with arms and ammunition.

Thistlewood and four of his principal accomplices were tried for high treason in April. Chief Justice Abbott, in passing sentence of death upon the prisoners, expressed what was the universal public sentiment—"That Englishmen, laying aside the national character, should assemble to destroy in cold blood the lives of fifteen persons unknown to them, except from their having filled the highest offices in the State, is without example in the history of this country, and I hope will remain unparalleled for atrocity in all future times." These five were executed on the 1st of May. A motion of Alderman Wood on the day after the execution, the object of which was to blame the conduct of the government in the employment of Edwards, did not call forth the same animadversion as in the former case of Oliver at Derby. Lord Campbell says,—and few will disagree with him in his opinion—"I do not think that Ministers deserved any censure for the manner in which they conducted themselves in this affair."* In such cases there is always the difficulty of interfering too soon or too late. Some members of the Cabinet proposed that the dinner should take place; that guards should be stationed near Lord Harrowby's house, and that the conspirators should be arrested at the moment of their attempt. Others contended that ministers, being in possession of evidence to satisfy reasonable men, ought to stop the progress of the crime before it went on to the last step. "Lord Castlereagh was for going to the dinner in the face of it all at the hour invited, and letting each gentleman arm himself if he thought proper; whilst the duke of Wellington counselled to the course that was taken."† The Cato-street Conspiracy for a while absorbed every other

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. x. p. 3.

† Rush, "Residence at the Court of London," second series, vol. i. p. 289.

topic of popular interest. If this extraordinary event had not occurred, the public journals would probably have attached more importance to a short debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of Queen Caroline. On the 21st of February, in a Committee of Supply, Mr. Hume, the Member for the Montrose Burghs, —who, since his return in 1818, had begun to take an active part in the discussion of financial questions—pressed to know whether any distinct provision was to be made for the Queen, inasmuch as the Act which granted to the Princess of Wales the sum of 35,000*l.* a year, expired on the demise of his late Majesty. He complained, also, that the Queen was slighted, and asked why her name was not inserted in the Liturgy. Mr. Tierney took the same course, with an important variation: “While the noble lord (Castlereagh) called her merely that ‘high personage’ instead of recognizing her as the Queen—while all Italy, nay, all Europe, was filled with rumours of her guilt, and of official inquiries about it—while her name was omitted in the Liturgy—while she was not acknowledged,—he could not agree to vote her the means of maintaining herself, until the reasons for such extraordinary circumstances as he had recited should be satisfactorily explained.”* Mr. Brougham, who was the chief legal adviser of the Queen, maintained that her title did not depend upon any words in the Liturgy, or upon any Act of Council, or upon any expression of a Minister of the Crown. The provision for the maintenance of her dignity was, it appeared, to be made out of the general sum for which the Minister was about to move, and that arrangement was at present to his mind quite satisfactory. He totally disregarded the rumours which were imagined to cast a cloud of suspicion upon the Queen’s character. Till some specific charge should be submitted to that House, his lips should be sealed upon the subject. If any charge should be preferred, he must beg it to be recollected, that this illustrious personage was not remarkable for any slowness to meet accusation, nor for any difficulty to prove her innocence. He trusted no appeal upon this matter would ever be made to any turbulent passions out of doors. Lord Castlereagh rose to thank the honourable and learned gentleman for a speech which did equal honour to his head and his heart.

The perfect agreement between Mr. Brougham and lord Castlereagh must have excited some surprise. But the Queen’s legal adviser was no doubt fully cognizant of an arrangement by which the Cabinet had on the 21st of February tided over a difficulty which only four days before threatened their removal from office. On the 13th lord Sidmouth had written to earl Talbot, the Lord

* Hansard, vol. xli. col. 1625.

Lieutenant of Ireland, a brief note, in which he apologizes for not having answered a letter received on the 12th. "If you knew how the day was passed you would not be surprised at the omission. The Government is in a very strange and I must acknowledge in a precarious state."* The King had for his confidential private adviser Vice-Chancellor Leach, who, in 1818, had arranged the Milan Commission, for the purpose of making inquiries into those rumours of the conduct of the Princess of Wales, which appeared to have determined the King to press the conduct of some very hazardous enterprise upon his Ministers. Six months before the death of George III., the Cabinet had a full sense of the difficulty and danger that would arise if Caroline of Brunswick should return to England as Queen Consort. But they steadily refused to meet the difficulty by acceding to the Prince Regent's passionate desire for a divorce. With Mr. Brougham, as the Princess of Wales's law-adviser, they then communicated "in order to bring about some arrangement which should hold good in the event of her Royal Highness becoming Queen."† In August, "the lady in question," as Mr. Brougham terms his client, wrote to him to express her resolve to come over herself, saying she had written to Lord Liverpool to tell him so. The Princess of Wales's law-adviser expresses himself with some vivacity upon the public danger, and the private discomfort to himself, that would result from this rash determination. "I am confident from her letter of to-day that she now intends to come, and I am still more clear that her coming would be pregnant with every sort of mischief." Mr. Stapleton, who was private Secretary to Mr. Canning, gives the date of this letter, August 5th, 1819, but does not state to whom it was addressed. It is evidently addressed to some official personage, as Mr. Brougham says, "You had better communicate this. I rely on the honour of the party principally concerned to have justice done to my motives, in the event of the other setting the mob against me, which she is quite capable of doing."‡

In a minute of the Cabinet on the 10th of February, the Ministers communicated to the King their opinion, individually as well as collectively, that a proceeding for high-treason against the Queen was out of the question, and that a measure of divorce might seriously prejudice the interests of the King and of the Monarchy. They honestly stated that any private individual, circumstanced as the King had been with respect to the Princess, could not expect to obtain a divorce according to the established

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 310.

† Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," 1859, p. 265.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

usage of Parliament. They were of opinion, therefore, that the notoriety of what had been and still were the situation and conduct of the Princess of Wales upon the Continent, would induce Parliament to give a ready consent to any measure which, while it afforded to the King security against the invasion of his dignity and comfort by the return of the Princess to England, would be calculated, at the same time, to avoid discussions and disclosures offensive to public decency, and likely to disturb the peace of the country. They proposed, therefore, a Bill to make provision for the Queen by an annuity, payable only during her continued residence abroad. They thought that the King would be fully justified in withholding those distinctions which it was in the option of his Majesty to confer upon her,—to be named in the Liturgy, and to be crowned. They add, “the intercourse which took place with Mr. Brougham last summer affords just reason for believing that the Princess would be advised to acquiesce in an arrangement founded upon these principles.” On this Minute Mr. Canning made a memorandum. “As a part of the whole I agree to the proposed alteration in the Liturgy. . . . I could not have agreed to the omission of her name if any *penal* process, of whatever kind, had been in contemplation.”*

On the 12th of February the King replied *seriatim* to the various objections to his wishes offered by the Cabinet. He altogether disapproved of the proposal of settling an annuity upon the Princess, payable only during her residence abroad. On the 14th of February the Cabinet re-stated to the King their unanimous opinion that, whatever other measure they might feel themselves justified in proposing, the originating a Bill of Divorce is that which they cannot recommend. On the 17th the King yielded, being “ready, for the sake of the public decorum and the public interest, to make, therefore, this great and this painful sacrifice of his personal feelings.” He recited the terms of the proposed arrangement, “to avoid all future misconception ;” and he added, “the King further understands that it is the intention of his servants to assert and justify the omission of the Princess’s name from the Liturgy.”

Such was the prologue to the great “sensation” drama which was to be enacted four months afterwards. All political agitation appeared to have subsided. Mr. Hunt, and others concerned in the Manchester meeting, were tried at York on the 16th of March and nine following days, on the charge of unlawfully assembling for the purpose of moving and inciting to contempt and hatred of the

* The Minutes and the Memorandum are given in Mr. Stapleton’s work, pp. 266 to 274.

Government. Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, John Knight, Joseph Healey, and Samuel Bamford, were found guilty, and being brought up for judgment in the Court of King's Bench, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. At the Leicester Assizes, on the 23rd of March, sir Francis Burdett was found guilty of a seditious libel. The verdict was impeached in the Court of King's Bench, and the various arguments upon the case had the effect of postponing the judgment till the beginning of 1821. The baronet was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of two thousand pounds. Amidst this political quiet, now and then a flying rumour about the Queen appeared in the newspapers. In the gossip of the higher circles there was no foreboding of a coming storm. "Brougham attends frequently at the Treasury upon the Queen's business," writes Sydney Smith on the 15th of April. Every one was thinking of the expected Coronation, in which it appears to be understood as a matter of course, that the Queen was not to appear. "The King sits all day long with Lady C—, sketching processions, and looking at jewels; in the meantime, she tells everywhere all that he tells to her."* The placidity of the royal mind appears to have been somewhat disturbed in the midst of these pleasant occupations. On the 26th of April the Chancellor writes to his daughter, "Our Royal Master seems to have got into temper again, as far as I could judge from his conversation with me this morning. He has been pretty well disposed to part with us all, because we would not make additions to his revenue."† These minor troubles have a happy capacity for adjustment in a constitutional monarchy, when responsible Ministers possess the requisite degree of firmness. The King opened the session of the new parliament in person on the 27th of April, and had a brief popularity in declaring that he left entirely at the disposal of Parliament his interest in the hereditary revenues, and that so far from desiring any arrangement which might lead to the imposition of new burdens upon his people, or even diminish the amount of reduction incident to his accession, he had no wish that any addition whatever should be made to the settlement adopted by Parliament in 1816.

Amidst this sunshine the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, was seen from afar. Some members of Opposition began again to call attention to the position of the Queen. Mr. Tierney, in a debate on the Civil List on the 8th of May, said that he never expected to be called upon to vote for a Bill to provide for the main-

* "Mémoir of Sydney Smith," vol. ii. p. 195.

† Twiss, "Life of Eldon," vol. ii. p. 362.

tenance of the royal family and household, out of which the Queen of England herself was to be excluded, after being recognized by the lord high chancellor. His allusion was to this circumstance: In the Court of Chancery, on the 11th of April, Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman had presented their appointments as attorney-general and solicitor-general to the Queen, which appointments the lord chancellor immediately accepted, saying that "he would consult no views, and regard no considerations in the matter, except such as were purely professional." In the last days of May the preparations for the King's Coronation still formed the chief topic at court. The committee for settling the forms of that ceremony had reported to the King that, as there was to be no crowning of a Queen, peeresses should not be summoned to attend. His Majesty had a ready answer, that as "Queen Elizabeth, though a lady, had both peers and peeresses, so he, though he has no Queen, will have both ladies and gentlemen to attend him."* While these discussions were proceeding within the palace, the people in public places were thinking very seriously of some other possible occurrence than a coronation—so seriously, that they committed their opinions to the usual issue of a bet. Some, who thought the Queen would not come very speedily, paid fifty guineas to receive a guinea a day till she did come. This was the common entry in the gambler's 'book' on the 29th of May, on which day Eldon wrote, "I retain my old opinion that she will not come unless she is insane." On the 1st of June the Queen was at St. Omers, having rapidly travelled thither, accompanied by alderman Wood. She had previously despatched a courier with letters to London, demanding that a yacht should be sent to convey her to England, and that a palace should be provided for her reception. The Cabinet authorized lord Hutchinson immediately to proceed to St. Omers to make the proposal of an annuity according to the arrangement of February, but with conditions which appear to have been capable of a different construction from those which formed part of the proposition made in the "intercourse which took place with Mr. Brougham last summer." Her Majesty's attorney-general accompanied lord Hutchinson. The proposition, which it appears was made then for the first time in a letter addressed by lord Hutchinson to Mr. Brougham, and which, as her legal adviser, he read to the Queen, was rejected by her under his advice. † Her Majesty, with her civic councillor, hurried off to Calais, was quickly on board a packet, landed at Dover amidst the shouts of the populace, and entering London on the evening of the 6th surrounded by huzzaing thou-

* Twiss, "Life of Eldon," vol. ii. p. 366.

† Hansard, vol. i. new series, col. 973.

sands, took up her abode at the house of alderman Wood in South Audley-street. On that same evening a message from the King was presented to both Houses, stating the arrival of the Queen, and announcing that his Majesty had thought it right to communicate certain papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty since she left this country. On the table of each House a green bag was laid which contained the papers, sealed up.

In the House of Lords, after some discussion, it was agreed that the papers should be referred to a Secret Committee. In the House of Commons, previous to taking into consideration the King's Message, Mr. Brougham, as her majesty's attorney-general, presented a communication from the Queen, in which she stated that she had returned to England in consequence of measures pursued against her honour and her peace by agents abroad. She protested against the formation of a Secret Committee to examine documents privately prepared by her adversaries. She complained of the omission of her name in the Liturgy, as calculated to prejudice her cause. Lord Castlereagh declared that the Secret Committee was only a preliminary step, to ascertain whether there was any case to proceed with. Mr. Brougham strongly resisted the appointment of the Committee, and commented in the most unqualified terms upon the proposition made to the Queen, which was nothing more nor less than to ask her to say, "Give me fifty thousand a year, and I will plead guilty." Mr. Canning, in vindicating the conduct of the Government, expressed his earnest desire, that this unhappy business should be terminated without any further public proceedings. In reply to Mr. Brougham's complaint of the terms offered to the Queen, he declared that they were the same terms which the Queen's legal adviser had previously considered reasonable. Mr. Brougham, in reply, complained that if Mr. Canning had not considered himself bound to secrecy, he, Mr. Brougham, felt himself, in some degree, under that obligation. He pledged himself to show that there was nothing inconsistent in his taking part in the negotiation of July, and in his present course. There was one circumstance in the date of the transaction referred to, which constituted an essential difference between the terms then suggested, and those proposed by lord Hutchinson. "The illustrious person was not then Queen, and it was a very different proposal that she should forbear to assume a title which might fall to her at some distant and contingent time, and that she should lay down what she had in course of law assumed. Widely different, too, was that proposal from the proposition of lord Hutchinson; the one calling on the Princess of Wales not to assume a particular

title, which might afterwards descend to her, the other to renounce any title taken from the royal family of England."* Mr. Brougham declared, on his honour, that her Majesty was not in the slightest degree implicated in the proceeding adverted to. "The right honourable gentleman might treat as he pleased the person who made those propositions, but her Majesty had no more knowledge, no more influence over those propositions, than the child unborn." The historical inquirer may ask, how was it that the Queen had "no more knowledge than the child unborn" of those propositions? We cannot doubt that when the time for a complete revelation shall arrive, there will be a juster solution of the question than the suspicions of Mr. Canning of an absence of "plain dealing;" less tinctured, possibly, by political rivalry than his assertion that "the Government was not prepared to pursue their own course by any means but those which were indicated to them; and these indications came from a quarter which wished for extremities."†

The temper of the House of Commons on Wednesday, the 7th of June, was signally manifested by its cordial assent to Mr. Wilberforce's motion, that the debate should be adjourned till the following Friday. Mr. Wilberforce says in his Diary, "I endeavoured to interpose a pause, during which the two parties might have an opportunity of contemplating coolly the prospect before them."‡ The proceedings of the House of Lords were also suspended. On the Friday, Mr. Brougham, by command of the Queen, transmitted a note to lord Liverpool, in which her Majesty said that, submitting to the declared sense of Parliament, she was willing to consider any arrangements that might be proposed consistent with her dignity and honour. Lord Liverpool, in reply, referred to a note delivered to Mr. Brougham on the 15th of April, as the proposition made on the part of the King. The Queen replied that she had never seen this note. Mr. Brougham explained that her official advisers had not had an opportunity of delivering it previous to the interview with lord Hutchinson. It was then agreed that two of the King's confidential servants should meet two persons to be named by the Queen, to frame an arrangement for settling the necessary particulars of her Majesty's future situation, upon the condition of her residence abroad. The duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh were appointed on the part of the King, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman on the part of the Queen. This negotiation failed through the want of concession on

* Hansard, vol. i. second series, col. 971.

† Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," p. 300. Letter from Mr. Manning to Mr. Huskisson, October 2nd, 1820.

‡ Life, vol. v. p. 55.

either side upon one point alone. The insertion of the Queen's name in the Liturgy was demanded on the one side, and refused on the other, although something like an equivalent was tendered by the agents of the King. Mr. Wilberforce has succinctly stated the general character of these proceedings. "The concessions made by the King's servants, as Mr. Brougham afterwards declared in the House of Commons, were various and great. The name and rights of a Queen were granted to her Majesty without reserve, any recognition of which had formerly been carefully avoided. A royal yacht, a frigate, &c., were offered. It was agreed that her name and rank should be notified at the Court either of Rome or Milan—the capitals of the countries in which she had expressed her intention to reside; and that an Address should be presented to the Queen no less than another to the King, to thank her Majesty for having acceded to the wish of the House of Commons."* On the 19th of June this negotiation was announced to Parliament as having failed. Again Mr. Wilberforce attempted to put an end to this unfortunate conflict, by moving a resolution on the 22nd of June, in which, amidst many qualifying phrases, the House declared its opinion that if the Queen would forbear to press farther the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference yet remained, such forbearance would by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry. The motion was agreed to by a very large majority. Mr. Wilberforce, as part of a deputation of members, waited the next morning upon the Queen with this resolution. He and his companions were saluted by the groans of the populace. The answer of the Queen rejected the proposed mediation. When this attempt failed Mr. Wilberforce was accused in the newspapers "with trifling with the House of Commons, and attempting to deceive the people." He had in his possession a triumphant answer to the charge in the positive engagement of the Queen's chief law-adviser. 'She will accede to your Address,' he wrote to Mr. Wilberforce (June 22nd), 'I pledge myself.' His influence was overborne by a less sagacious counsellor, and with 'a political forbearance which,' says the party whom it spared, 'I never knew equalled,' he suppressed this unfulfilled pledge, and bore quietly the groundless charge of an unreasonable interference.† There was now an end of all attempts at compromise. Mr. Canning, when he saw that the chances of an amicable adjustment were over, waited upon the King to express the impossibility for him to take part in any criminatory proceedings towards a per-

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. v. p. 56.

† *Ibid.*, p. 65.

son to whom he had formerly stood in confidential relations. The King, who sent his answer through lord Liverpool, insisted that Mr. Canning should remain one of his Ministers, following his own course with regard to the Queen. He went abroad, to avoid taking any part in discussions of the House of Commons. That House adjourned on the 26th, that the initiatory proceedings upon the Green Bag might take place in the Upper House. On the 4th of July the Secret Committee of the Lords made its Report, declaring that the evidence affecting the honour of the Queen was such as to require a solemn inquiry, which might be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding. Lord Liverpool then proposed a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which had for its object "to deprive her Majesty Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions of Queen-Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth." The second reading of the Bill was fixed for the 17th of August, and on that day commenced what is popularly known as The Queen's Trial.

It is scarcely necessary for us to refer to the chronicles of the time for the purpose of recalling the impressions which live in our memory of the extraordinary scenes of that summer and autumn of 1820. On the 3rd of August the Queen had removed from her temporary abode in London, to take up her residence at Brandenburg House at Hammersmith. For four months from that day there never was a cessation of processions marching to Hammersmith, or of cavalcades shouting around the Queen's carriage. On the day before the judicial proceedings commenced, addresses were presented to the Queen by deputations from the county of Middlesex, from St. Leonards Shoreditch, and from the Mechanics of the Metropolis. These assemblages, whether led by the radical Sheriff of Middlesex, in his state carriage, or by enthusiastic committeemen with white wands, gradually swelled into a multitude, of which the advanced guard were trampling down the laurels in her Majesty's garden at Hammersmith, before the rear-guard had passed Hyde Park Corner. Not on that 13th of November, 1642, when London poured forth its thousands, whilst Rupert was fighting in the streets of Brentford, was there a greater earnestness than in those mechanics who marched to Hammersmith under a burning sun, and marched back again, hungry and weary, satisfied that their shouts had advanced the cause of justice for the oppressed. It is impossible not to recognize something of grandeur in such demonstrations, however capable they may be of affording matter for ridicule.

" All kinds of addresses
 From Collars of SS,
 To venders of cresses,
 Came up like a fair;
 And all through September,
 October, November,
 And down to December,
 They hunted this Hare! " *

The weekly journal from which we quote these lines was the chief of those new papers which "were established with the professed object of maintaining a constant war against all who espoused her Majesty's cause." † There certainly never was a time in which the proper functions of the press were more degraded to the purposes of private slander. But it must be said in fairness, that if the Queen and her partisans were attacked with the coarsest reviling or the bitterest wit, the King and his supporters were no less subject to libellous attacks far exceeding the accustomed licence of periodical writing. Milton has described the controversialists of London, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. It is scarcely necessary to point the contrast furnished by the writers of 1620. The violence and ribaldry of the journals were perfectly in accord with the floods of indecency that were poured out every morning in the short-hand reports of the evidence on the trial—reports which were regularly printed by authority, circulated amongst the Peers, and thence duly copied in the daily papers.

If the scenes that were passing in the streets were extraordinary, certainly the appearance presented by the House of Lords, on any one of the days of this trial, was no less remarkable. That House, the old Court of Requests, had been fitted up anew on the accession of George IV. The elevated arm-chair, from which former monarchs addressed the Parliament, had been supplanted by a magnificent throne—a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by Corinthian columns, and surmounted by the imperial crown. For this special occasion of the Queen's trial, galleries had been erected on each side of the House for the accommodation of the unusual number of Peers who were expected to attend. A chair of state was placed for the Queen a little beyond the bar, fronting the throne and the woolsack. The places for her counsel were immediately behind her. On the 21st of August, the Attorney-General was concluding his speech in support of the Bill, when drums and trumpets, mixed with the shouts of the people,

* From Theodore Hook's song of "Hunting the Hare," in "John Bull."

† "Lord Brougham's Speeches"—Introduction to the case of Blacow.

announced the Queen's arrival. She takes her seat. The interpreters being sworn, Teodora Majocchi was called in. The Queen turned suddenly round, uttered a loud exclamation, and rushed out of the House. This man had been one of her domestic servants. The examination of witnesses for the Bill proceeded till the 6th of September. The Solicitor-General summed up on the 7th, and on the 9th, upon an application from the Queen's counsel, an adjournment took place till the 3rd of October. The examinations and cross-examinations of the witnesses for the Bill, gross and revolting as were many of the details, were signal exhibitions of legal acuteness. It was impossible to deny the right of counsel to put questions offensive to delicacy; but it was scarcely possible not to feel some indignation when a noble lord now and then asked a question which the most brazen advocate would have attempted to clothe in somewhat more decent language. The universal licence of that unhallowed time seemed occasionally to make some of the highest forget their self-respect. There probably would have been more instances of unseemly interference with the ordinary course of legal inquiry if one man had not stood in the midst of that assembly, whose whole bearing was that of authority and command; whose look, denouncing "battle dangerous" if any rash offence were given, made the boldest peer prudent. The great admiral, who in the bay of Algiers, was "all-fightful," complained of "the disrespect of counsel [Mr. Brougham] in fixing his eyes on him at the time that he was presuming to check him for an expression which had not been used by him, but by another noble lord." There was another of the Queen's law-officers who dared even to fix his eyes upon a prince of the blood, exclaiming, "Come forth, thou slanderer." Some who heard these things might well fear that the old respect for "degree, priority, and place" was coming to an end.

On the 3rd of October Mr. Brougham entered on the Queen's defence. His speech on that day and the following may be cited amongst the greatest examples of forensic eloquence. "At half-past twelve to-day," writes lord Dudley, "Brougham concluded a most able speech with a magnificently eloquent peroration. The display of his power and fertility of mind in this business has been amazing; and these extraordinary efforts seem to cost him nothing. He dined at Holland House yesterday, and staid till eleven at night, talking 'de omni scibili'—French cookery, Italian poetry, and so on."* Mr. Rush, the American minister, notices as illustrative of the English bar, and individually of Mr. Brougham, that during the adjournment of the Queen's trial, her Attorney-General

* Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 267.

attended the assizes at Yorkshire, and engaged in a cause in behalf of a poor old woman, upon whose pig-cote a trespass had been committed, for which trespass the old woman obtained a verdict of forty shillings damages.* From the 4th to the 24th of October, the examination of witnesses on behalf of the Queen was continued. Mr. Denman then summed up the evidence in an address, which lasted two days. His denunciations were so unmeasured, that some noble lords complained of the extraordinary licence used by the Queen's counsel. Mr. Rush has remarked of this time, when the most daring words were written and spoken with impunity, not only that every day produced its fiery libels against the King and his adherents, but that Mr. Denman, addressing himself to the assembled Peerage of the realm, denounced in thundering tones one of the brothers of the King. Perhaps more remarkable was the boldness of the same counsel, which compared the proceedings against the Queen to circumstances in the history of Imperial Rome described by Tacitus—how Octavia, the wife of Nero, in consequence of an unjust aversion which existed in the mind of her husband, was dismissed, and a mistress taken in her place; how she was banished by means of a conspiracy, in which slaves were produced as evidence against her, although the greater part of her servants protested her innocence; how Nero persevered, although she was hailed as in triumph by a generous people—and how, on a second conspiracy, she was convicted, condemned, and banished to an island in the Mediterranean. Not so bold, but equally cutting, was the application by Mr. Brougham of the passage from Milton. Having asked John Allen Powell, the solicitor employed on the Milan Commission,—who is your client or employer in this case? and being debarred from putting this question, the Queen's Attorney-General exclaimed, "Up to this moment I have never been able to trace the local habitation or the name of the unknown being who is the plaintiff in this proceeding. I know not but it may vanish into thin air. I know not under what shape it exists—

'If shape it might be called that shape had none,
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,—
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either—what seem'd his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.'†

* "Residence at the Court of London," second series, vol. i. p. 339.

† The orator dovetailed with great skill inconsecutive lines of the famous passage in "Paradise Lost." The allusion might have been too strong for his audience if he had given the entire passage:—

'Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.'

It is not our intention to furnish even the very briefest abstract of the evidence that was brought forward to sustain, or to rebut, the charge against the Queen upon which the Bill of Pains and Penalties was founded,—namely, that her royal highness conducted herself towards Bartolomeo Bergami, a foreigner engaged in her service in a menial situation, both in public and private, “with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on with him a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse.” The impression of the character of the Queen, produced upon all impartial persons by the publication of the evidence, was pretty much the same as that expressed by Sydney Smith after the proceedings had closed :—“The style of manners she has adopted does not exactly tally with that of holy women in the days that are gone, but let us be charitable and hope for the best.”* The evidence and the arguments of counsel having been concluded, the peers, on the 2nd of November, came to the question of the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. The question was debated for five nights; when the motion for the second reading of the Bill was carried by 123 against 95. The majority was smaller than the Government had expected. It was thought by many that this was “too small a majority for such a Bill to be sent into such a place as the House of Commons.”† But the majority was still more reduced when the Divorce clause came under consideration. Some peers were willing to pass the Bill if this clause were removed. In the course of the proceedings lord Harrowby had intimated that the Divorce clause might be withdrawn. Mr. Canning, watching the progress of these proceedings from Paris, at the beginning of October, had written to lord Liverpool that though he thought the omission of the Divorce clause was likely enough to facilitate the passing of the Bill in the House of Lords, that omission would furnish an argument against it in the House of Commons. The Bill would become “a pure penal enactment for immorality; and when, from the beginning of time, did such an enactment take place? And where, if it take place now, is this new species of legislation to end?”‡ The Opposition saw clearly that the way to defeat the Bill was to press for retaining the Divorce clause; and that it should be retained was carried by a majority of 129 to 62. On the 10th of November, on the motion that the Bill be read a third time, the majority was only nine—108 to 99. After the division, lord Dacre was about to present a petition from the Queen,

* “Memoir,” vol. ii. p. 206.

† “Diary of Lord Colchester,” vol. iii. p. 179—Letter of Mr. Bootle Wilbraham.

‡ Stapleton, “George Canning and his Times,” p. 298.

praying to be heard by counsel against the passing of the Bill. Lord Liverpool rose and said that such a course would not now be necessary:—"Had the third reading been carried by as considerable a number of peers as the second had been, he and his noble colleagues would have felt it their duty to persevere in the Bill, and to send it down to the other branch of the legislature. In the present state of the country, however, and with the division of sentiment so nearly balanced, just evinced by their lordships, they had come to the determination not to proceed further with it. It was his intention, accordingly, to move 'That the further consideration of the Bill be adjourned to this day six months.'"

There was a general joy throughout the country at the termination of these proceedings. Those who looked carefully into the matter did not think with the excited multitude that the result was an acquittal of the queen; but all rejoiced that the time was come when the heads of decent families would not be obliged to hide the newspaper from the eyes of their daughters, and when the legislature would have some better work before it than the discussion of a measure whose only fruits had been—"a Government brought into contempt and detestation; a kingdom thrown into such ferment and convulsion, as no other kingdom or Government ever recovered from without a revolution."* There was one advantage to the Government and to the country, which Mr. Canning could not so well see as those who at home were watching the course of public opinion. What the Ministers at the end of 1819 were dreading as symptoms of revolution, were put an end to at the end of 1820 by the very "ferment and convulsion" about the Queen. Mr. Wilbraham writes from Latham House to lord Colchester, during the extremest violence of the popular feeling, "Radicalism has taken the shape of affection for the Queen, and has deserted its old form; for we are all as quiet as lambs in this part of England, and you would not imagine that this could have been a disturbed country twelve months ago."†

On the 23rd of November Parliament was prorogued. On the 29th the Queen went in procession to St. Paul's to return thanks for her deliverance from a great peril and affliction. In the next session of Parliament there were violent discussions on her Majesty's affairs, particularly on her continued exclusion from the Liturgy. An annuity of fifty thousand pounds was provided for her by Act of Parliament. Her popularity gradually declined, and in April, 1821, it was written—"The Queen is gone by as a topic of inflammation; and her taking quietly the fifty-thousand pounds a year,

* Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," p. 299.

† "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 164.

after her protest and declaration that she would not till her right was acknowledged was a *coup de grace* to her. It is said that an attempt is making by lady Jersey, who patronises her, to procure a drawing room at Brandenburg House, but it will undoubtedly fail. She is now hardly named in society or in the newspapers." * Cobbett, who had addressed the most violent letters to the Queen, stimulating her to resist every attempt at compromise, says that after the abandonment of the bill, when the Whig faction flocked about her, the people, who hated this faction more than the other, troubled her with no more addresses. "The faction agitated questions about her in Parliament, concerning which the people cared not a straw: what she was doing soon became as indifferent to them as what any other person of the royal family was doing. The people began again to occupy themselves with the business of obtaining a parliamentary reform; and her way of life, and her final fate, soon became objects of curiosity much more than of interest with the people." †

It is scarcely necessary, after the lapse of more than forty years, to enter upon any detail of the discussions upon questions connected with the Queen, agitated in Parliament after the great investigation was concluded—questions about which the arch-demagogue declared "the people cared not a straw." These discussions occupied many hundred columns of Hansard's Debates during the Second Session of the Seventh Imperial Parliament. On the 11th of July, the last day of the session, and only eight days before the time appointed for the king's coronation, Mr. Hume moved that an address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would issue his proclamation for the coronation of the Queen, "thereby consulting the true dignity of the crown, the tranquillity of the metropolis, and the general expectations of the people." At the moment when Mr. Hume was proposing his resolution the usher of the black rod summoned the Commons to attend in the House of Peers, where Commissioners were assembled to prorogue the Parliament. The motion necessarily fell to the ground. The Coronation took place on the 19th of July. The Queen was destined to a more bitter humiliation than any that she had previously endured. The Privy Council, on the 10th of July, had decided against a claim of her right to be crowned at the same time as the King. The next day she wrote to lord Sidmouth to declare her intention to be present at the ceremony. In this injudicious and undignified intention her Majesty persisted. Between six and seven o'clock in the morning she presented herself at every en-

* "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol iii. p. 218—Wilbraham to Lord Colchester.

† Cobbett's "History of George IV.," § 454.

trance to the Abbey, and at each was denied admission. The same refusal attended her demand to enter Westminster Hall. A few of the populace huzzaed, and a few hissed, but the prevailing sentiment was indifference. At the beginning of August the Queen was attacked with internal inflammation, and she died on the night of the 7th. The king had sailed for Dublin on the 1st, and he received at Holyhead the intelligence of this sudden termination of a domestic trouble which had long been a source of public anxiety. Before this close of the unhappy lady's life, the people had very generally begun to feel that in their compassion for the desolate and oppressed, they had somewhat overstepped the safe line of a constitutional respect for the chief magistrate. There was a riot at the funeral procession of the Queen's remains from Brandenburgh House. They were to be conveyed to Harwich, and there put on board a government sloop, which was to sail for Stade for the purpose of conveying them for interment at Brunswick. The mourning cavalcade was to avoid the crowded streets; but a mob had determined to force it through the city. The Life Guards having been rudely assaulted at Cumberland gate, leading out of Hyde Park to Tyburn, a serious conflict ensued, when two of the assailants of the soldiers were shot. The procession went through the city with the lord mayor at its head. From this time there was an end of all excitement about the Queen.

There was one result, however, which was of more political importance than the continued struggles of a few demagogues for notoriety. Mr. Canning, on the 12th of December, 1820, resigned his office of Secretary of the Board of Control, on the ground that the discussions respecting the Queen in the session of 1821 would be so intermixed with the general business that a minister could not absent himself without appearing to abandon the parliamentary duties of his station, nor could he be present taking no part in such discussions, without producing embarrassment to himself and perplexity to his colleagues. The King accepted his resignation, but with a smothered displeasure at the course Mr. Canning and his immediate friends had taken. Upon the death of the Queen lord Liverpool strongly pressed the readmission of Mr. Canning to the Cabinet, and the King as stoutly resisted it. His Majesty was not unsupported by some of his official advisers, who disliked the presence amongst them of the most eloquent of the advocates of Catholic Emancipation, and who, upon this and most other questions, dreaded "the flexible innovator" more than they admired "the eloquent conservative." *

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 23.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Death of Napoleon Bonaparte.—Parliamentary strictures on the measures adopted for his secure detention.—Circular of the Congress at Laybach.—Parliament.—Irish outrages.—Agricultural Distress.—New Corn Law.—The King's visit to Scotland.—Death of Lord Londonderry.—His foreign Administration.—Mr. Canning Secretary for Foreign Affairs.—His instructions to the duke of Wellington in his mission to Verona.—French invasion of Spain.—Mr. Canning's remonstrances.—The Spanish American separated States.—Consuls appointed.—Opposition to Mr. Canning's decree to recognize their independence.—Their recognition by the conclusion of commercial treaties.—Circumstances which give to a neutral power the right of recognizing States which have effectually asserted their independence.—Discussions with the minister of the United States of North America.—Spanish aggression upon Portugal.—Promptitude in sending troops for her defence.—Important changes in our Commercial Policy.—Mr. Huskisson and his defamers.—The transfer of England to "the camp of Progress and Liberty."—The Present and the Past.

ON the 5th of May, 1821, died Napoleon Bonaparte. Six years had passed since, in the great festival of the Champ de Mai, he had announced that the people who had called him to the throne must prepare for war. The issue to himself was his imprisonment in this lonely island of the Atlantic, long suffering under a chronic disease, and suffering more from his total want of power to endure his fate with equanimity. A hurricane swept over the island as Napoleon was dying, shaking houses to their foundation, and tearing up the largest trees. We cannot avoid thinking of the similar phenomenon that attended the death of Cromwell. The faithful followers who were around his bed might have felt the sentiment, if they did not know the lines, of Waller:

"He must resign! Heaven his great soul does claim
In storms, as loud as his immortal fame:
His dying groan, his last breath, shakes our isle,
And trees uncut fall for his funeral pile."*

But the last thoughts of the dying men were essentially different. To Napoleon the war of the elements seemed as if "the noise of battle hurtled in the air," and he died muttering the words, *Tête d'Armée*. Cromwell, also a great soldier, passed away with thoughts of peace in his mind, praying that God would give His people "consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love." The

* "Ode on the Death of the Lord Protector."

death of him who had so long filled the world with the terror of his name, produced no great sensation in England or in Europe. There had been strong differences of opinion expressed in parliament as to the character of the measures which had been adopted to render his detention secure. It was urged that an unnecessary degree of restraint was imposed upon the captive, and that the governor of the island was a harsh and injudicious jailor, who performed what he thought his duty in the most vexatious spirit. The answer may be found in a parliamentary speech of Lord Bathurst: "Let them suppose that, instead of sitting to discuss whether a little more or a little less restriction should be imposed, they had thus to examine sir Hudson Lowe at their bar: 'How and when did he escape?' 'In the early part of the evening, and from his garden.' 'Had his garden no sentinels?' 'The sentinels were removed.' 'Why were they removed?' 'General Bonaparte desired it—they were hateful to his feelings; they were removed, and thus was he enabled to escape.'" Prudent and necessary as these restrictions might have been; querulous and insulting as Napoleon undoubtedly was in all his intercourse with the British officer who was responsible for his safe guardianship; it must still be lamented that a man was placed over our fallen enemy who, wincing under the pettiness of the captive's exaggerated complaints, appears to have forgotten how great a part he had played in the world. It is not to be supposed that sir Hudson Lowe felt himself to be an instrument of retributive justice, or was possessed with an overwhelming feeling of the hatefulness of that selfish ambition which had desolated Europe. It was for an American statesman, who believed that the great duty of his country was to continue in "peace and fraternity with mankind," to give his testimony against the character of Napoleon as set forth by Barry O'Meara. Mr. Jefferson thought that this account placed him in a higher scale of understanding than he had allotted him. He had thought him the greatest of all military captains, but an indifferent statesman. His conversations with O'Meara proved a mind of great expansion; but the book also proved that Nature had denied him the moral sense. "If he could seriously and repeatedly affirm, that he had raised himself to power without ever having committed a crime, it proves that he wanted totally the sense of right and wrong. If he could consider the million of human lives which he had destroyed or caused to be destroyed; the desolations of countries by plunderings, burnings, and famine; the destitutions of lawful rulers of the world without the consent of their constituents, to place his brothers and sisters on their thrones; the cutting up of established societies of men, and

jumbling them discordantly together at his caprice ; the demolition of the fairest hopes of mankind for the recovery of their rights and amelioration of their condition ; and all the numberless train of his other enormities ; the man, I say, who could consider all these as no crimes, must have been a moral monster, against whom every hand should have been lifted to slay him." *

On the death of Napoleon there was a larger question presenting itself to the minds of thoughtful men than that which arose out of the contests between the captive of St. Helena and the keeper who was set over him. The condition of the world suggested very grave doubts whether the nations had acquired any guarantees for their freedom or for their repose by the overthrow of the one great oppressor. At the exact period of Napoleon's death the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had assembled at Laybach, and they addressed a circular despatch to their ministers at foreign courts, in which they proclaimed the doctrine that "useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power. Penetrated with this eternal truth, the sovereigns have not hesitated to proclaim it with frankness and vigour. They have declared that, in respecting the rights and independence of all legitimate power, they regarded as legally null, and as disavowed by the principles which constituted the public right of Europe, all pretended reform operated by revolt and open hostility." The sovereigns assembled in Congress did not condescend to explain by what other modes those who contended for constitutional government against a despotic rule could establish their desire for reform. They could not proclaim their demands, however moderate or just, through the authoritative voice of a legislative assembly or the discussions of a free press. The denial of these safeguards of liberty had driven them into revolt and hostility to "legitimate power." This declaration of Laybach was not a mere threat of the mode in which these absolute sovereigns would act under any possible contingency of revolt and open hostility of peoples against rulers. The two great monarchs of Germany had denied to their own subjects the representative government which they had promised. They were now engaged, with the support of the autocrat of Russia, in putting down by military force the insurrections in Naples and Piedmont which had given these portions of Italy constitutions in which the popular voice might have expression. Spain had again

* Tucker's "Life of Jefferson," vol. ii. pp. 500-1.

obtained her Cortes, and had shaken off for awhile the tyranny of Ferdinand the Seventh. The old irresponsible principles of legitimacy were to be re-established in Italy, in Spain, probably in all Europe, as in the times before that great convulsion of France, which, full of instruction, had taught no wisdom to the three monarchs who now assumed to be the armed police of the world. If Bonaparte had deposed lawful rulers without the consent of their constituents, the Holy Alliance was prepared to maintain tyrannical rulers who were hated by their subjects. If Bonaparte demolished the fairest hopes of mankind for the recovery of their rights and amelioration of their condition, the Holy Alliance had succeeded to his unrighteous office. If he had destroyed millions of lives, and had desolated countries for his ambition, the Holy Alliance was ready to perpetrate the same crimes with an equal deficiency of the moral sense, and with an odious hypocrisy which he did not care to assume. The foreign relations of England will, for a few years, be determined by the preponderance of despotic or liberal tendencies in her government. Upon a right choice of men to guide her destinies in this crisis of the world's affairs will depend her future position among the nations.

The man was not in the Cabinet of 1821 who was to shape the foreign policy of England by other principles than those which many construed as subservience to the decrees of absolutism. Nor was he there when the "Gazette" of the 12th of January, 1822, announced that the Marquess of Buckingham was created a Duke. This was the official notification that the Grenvilles had joined the ministry. Lord Grenville retired from public life to spend the evening of his days in planting the pines of Australia around his wastes at Dropmore. His party was represented in the Cabinet by Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, who filled the office which Mr. Canning had resigned at the end of 1820. A more important accession to the ministry was the substitution of Mr. Peel for Lord Sidmouth, as Secretary of State for the Home Department. By the coalition with the Grenvilles there was an accession of official support to Catholic Emancipation. But this was neutralized by the appointment of Mr. Peel, whose opinions on that question were deemed incapable of change. Some hope for Ireland was derived from the nomination of the marquess Wellesley as Lord Lieutenant, in the place of Earl Talbot.

The Session of Parliament was opened by the King in person on the 5th of February. His Majesty continued to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country. In his visit to Ireland he derived the

sincerest gratification from the loyalty and attachment manifested by all classes of his subjects. He believed that his presence in Ireland been productive of very beneficial effect, although it was a matter of the deepest concern to his Majesty that a spirit of outrage had led to daring and systematic violations of the law. The commerce and manufactures of the kingdom were flourishing; the agricultural interest was deeply depressed. It is scarcely necessary for us to record the wearisome debates in which the real remedies for Irish Outrage and Agricultural Distress were kept out of view. A renewal of the Insurrection Act, and a suspension of the Habeas Corpus, were determined on, for tranquillizing Ireland. The relief of Agriculture was to be effected by a loan to parishes for the mitigation of local distress, and by the repeal of the Malt-Tax. The pressure of taxation and the change in the currency, were the imputed causes of the adversity of the cultivators and the uncertain resources of the landowners. Some began to think that the protective laws had some effect which was not beneficial to the industry of the farmer. Lord Liverpool expressed his belief that no material or immediate relief could be effected by an alteration of the Corn-laws. He admitted that the existing system was a failure, inasmuch as it gave a complete monopoly to the British grower until wheat reached eighty shillings a quarter, and after that point had been attained suddenly permitted the importation of foreign corn without any restraint whatever. In 1816, 1817, and 1818, there had been three deficient harvests, and prices having risen above the rate by which the opening of the ports was decided, immense supplies of foreign corn were thrown upon the market. From 1819 to 1822 the native growers had the monopoly of the home market, and during these years the agriculturists endured the severest seasons of distress which had been experienced by that body in modern times; and the engagements which they had been induced to make, under the fallacious hopes of the Corn-laws of 1815, swept them from the land by thousands.* A new Act was passed in 1822 to permit importation, upon a high duty when wheat had reached seventy shillings a quarter, and at lower duties when it was above that price and under eighty-five shillings. This Act was inoperative, as prices never reached the assigned limit. The time was far distant for going to the root of the great evil to the producers of fluctuating prices, and of the greater evil to consumers of alternations of abundance and starvation.

The great measure of Catholic Relief, which was carried in the

* See an able article on "The Wheat Trade," in "Companion to the Almanac" for 1839.

House of Commons in 1821, but was rejected by the Lords, was on the 30th of April in the present session proposed by Mr. Canning in a modified form. He introduced a Bill to relieve Roman Catholic Peers from the disabilities imposed upon them with regard to the right of sitting and voting in the House of Peers. The motion was carried in the House of Commons, but was rejected in the Lords. It was at this time understood that Mr. Canning was to leave the great scene of his oratorical triumphs, and to accept the post of Governor-General of India. "Canning Governor-General!" wrote Mr. Ward from Florence. "It is impossible to say that this is the most natural or desirable termination to the career of the most distinguished speaker in the English parliament; but I have no doubt but that the appointment is a fortunate one for the country he is sent to govern. In his case, I think I should have judged differently, and preferred the House of Commons."* To be in the House of Commons without office would have been a sore trial for the man who naturally looked forward to be the prime minister of England, when royal prejudices and party rivalries should have ceased to impede his progress. He had made up his mind that his future exertions should be devoted to India. He had been five years at the Board of Control, and he knew how much might be effected, by a wise policy of peace, to make the British rule one of justice and benevolence. His future was otherwise ordained.

On the 10th of August the King had embarked at Greenwich, for the purpose of visiting Scotland. On the 18th he landed at Leith. The reception which his Scottish subjects gave to the first sovereign of the House of Brunswick, who had come amongst them to banish the last lingering remembrance of the House of Stuart, was most cordial and sincere. It was said of George the Fourth, when he visited Ireland in the previous year, that "he seems to have behaved not like a sovereign coming in pomp and state to visit a part of his dominions, but like a popular candidate come down upon an electioneering trip.† In Edinburgh, the King, holding his levées in Holyrood House, dressed in the Highland costume, was dignified as well as gracious. At a banquet given by the Lord Provost, he proposed the health of his host as "Sir William Anderson, baronet,"—a dignity thus extemporaneously conferred,—and he afterwards gave as a toast, "Health to its chieftains! and God bless the land of cakes." When he quitted Scotland he left behind him a reputation which made the well-wishers of the monarchy, throughout the kingdom, regret that he

* Lord Dudley's Letters, p. 312.

† *Ibid.*, p. 296.

generally adopted a system of seclusion which allowed few opportunities for appreciating his popular qualities. It must have required some effort on the part of the King to maintain the hilarity which he exhibited in Edinburgh. On the evening of the 15th he received, while on board the royal yacht in Leith Roads, the news that lord Londonderry had died by his own hand. This fatal termination of a temporary insanity took place on the 12th. The King, on hearing this intelligence, immediately wrote to the Lord Chancellor:—"On Friday was the last time I saw him: my own mind was then filled with apprehensions respecting him, and they have, alas! been but too painfully verified. My great object, my good friend, in writing to you to-night, is to tell you that I have written to Liverpool, and I do implore of you not to lend yourself to any arrangement whatever until my return to town."*

A tardy justice has in some respects been done to the memory of lord Londonderry. A few miscreants hissed when his coffin was taken out of the hearse at the door of Westminster Abbey; Byron, in the same indecent spirit, spoke of him as "Carotid-artery cutting Castlereagh;" the calumny for a long time passed uncontradicted that he had put down the rebellion in Ireland by cruel and indiscriminate punishment; his abilities were undervalued, and his power in debate spoken of with scorn. Nevertheless, a conviction is now pretty generally felt that he had many of the qualities which constitute a statesman,—courage, decision, plain sense, gentleness and suavity of manners in public as in private. It has been said, "Lord Castlereagh's foreign administration was as destitute of all merit as possible; no enlarged views guided his conduct, no liberal principles claimed his regard."† This assertion must be taken with some qualification. The American minister, who was in intercourse with him for four years, asserted that, from the end of the Revolutionary war, there was no British statesman who made more advances, or did more in fact, towards placing the relations of England and the United States upon an amicable footing.‡ With reference to the particular period of which we have been treating, it has been said by the noble author already quoted, that "on the eve of the Parliament meeting (19th of January, 1821), lord Castlereagh delivered a note to the Holy Allies, expressing in feeble and measured terms a very meagre dissent from the principles of interference." There are, no doubt, many courteous expressions in the Circular of lord

* Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 464.

† Lord Brougham, "Statesmen of the Time of George III." vol. ii. p. 126, 8vo ed.

‡ Rush, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 2.

Castlereagh, which might warrant a belief that his dissent from the measures of the Holy Alliance was feeble—a belief entertained by some that it was even simulated. The Secretary of State declares that the King has felt himself obliged to decline becoming a party to the measures proposed by the Allies, either as to the establishment of certain general principles, or as to the mode of dealing, under these principles, with the existing affairs of Naples:—"No government can be more prepared than the British government is, to uphold the right of any state or states to interfere where their own immediate security or essential interests are seriously endangered by the internal transactions of another state. But, as they regard the assumption of such right as only to be justified by the strongest necessity, and to be limited and regulated thereby, they cannot admit that this right can receive a general and indiscriminate application to all revolutionary movements without reference to their immediate bearing upon some particular state or states, or be made prospectively the basis of an alliance." No doubt the time was approaching when England must speak a plainer language to the Allied Sovereigns against their own interpretation of "the strongest necessity to interfere with the internal transactions of other states." Lord Londonderry was about to depart for a Congress at Verona, when, in an access of insanity, he thus miserably died. Whether he would have spoken the stronger language when the principle of interference was about to be extended from the affairs of Italy to the affairs of Spain, may remain in doubt. Another took his place at the Foreign Office, whose language, though equally courteous, was not to be mistaken.

Mr. Canning was on his way to Liverpool for the purpose of taking leave of his constituents before he sailed for India. Every one believed that he would not now go to India. The desire of some of his former colleagues to get rid of him was very generally known; many were equally convinced that the government could not go on without him. His own mind was naturally in a position of doubt and anxiety. He writes to a friend on the 26th of August, "I have now nothing to tell, and I have no pleasure in speculating on what may happen. I wish I were well on board the *Jupiter*." * He was kept in doubt till the 11th of September, when the Foreign Office was offered to him by lord Liverpool. To the last day he said he hoped that the proposal made to him might be one which he could refuse—"that which has been made was the only one I could not refuse." He would "place public duty against private liking and

* "George Canning and his Times," p. 362.

convenience." M. Guizot says that lord Liverpool had endeavoured in vain to induce the King to consent to the appointment of Mr. Canning. "'I will undertake it,' said the duke of Wellington, who was accustomed to treat George IV. with a rough and unyielding respect, to which the intimidated monarch always ended by giving way. He yielded on this occasion."* Mr. Canning entered the Foreign Office with a clear view of his path of duty. After a few weeks of official experience he writes,—“For fame, it is a squeezed orange, but for public good there is something to do, and I will try—but it must be cautiously—to do it. You know my politics well enough to know what I mean, when I say that for *Europe*, I should be desirous now and then to read *England*.”†

The successor chosen to represent Great Britain at the Congress was the duke of Wellington. His Grace set out on his mission on the 17th of September. On the 21st he wrote to Mr. Secretary Canning that he had had a long discussion with M. de Villèle on the relations of the French government with Spain. The French minister said that if the Congress were to separate and come to no decision on the affairs of Spain, it was probable that France and Spain might be forced into a war, and he proposed that the Allies should make a declaration of the line they would each take. The duke applied to Mr. Canning to receive his Majesty's instructions in case this proposition was made at the Congress. The answer of Mr. Canning was in terms that could not be misinterpreted. “If there be a determined project to interfere by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference, so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that when the necessity arises, or (I would rather say) when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party.” The French government had assembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, under the pretence of establishing a *cordon sanitaire* to keep out a fever that was raging at Barcelona. The real object of this army was acknowledged at the Congress. It was to enable Ferdinand the Seventh to put down the constitution under which his subjects were more content to live than under his absolute rule. The declaration of the duke of Wellington under his instructions from the Foreign Office, prevented any open support of this project being given by the other great powers. The

* Guizot, “Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel,” p. 28.

† “George Canning and his Times,” p. 364.

king of France, in opening the Chambers at the end of January, 1823, left no doubt of the intentions of the French government. Louis XVIII. announced that he had recalled his minister at Madrid, and that a hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of his family, were ready to march to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry the Fourth. He declared that hostilities should cease at the moment "that Ferdinand the Seventh should be free to give his people the institutions which they could not hold except from him."* Mr. Canning wrote to our ambassador at the French court that this paragraph "is construed as implying, that the free institutions of the Spanish people can only be legitimately held from the spontaneous gift of the sovereign, first restored to his absolute power, and then divesting himself of such portion of that power as he may think proper to part with. The Spanish nation could not be expected to subscribe to this principle; nor could any British statesman uphold or defend it. . . . It is indeed a principle that strikes at the root of the British Constitution." The French invaded Spain. England had taken her stand upon a principle, but that attitude did not involve the necessity of going to war. Mr. Canning declared in parliament that the king's government would abide by a system of neutrality, except under certain conditions. If Portugal were to be attacked, such an assault would bring Great Britain into the field with all her force to support the independence of her ancient and faithful ally. Spain, though claiming her colonies as a right, had in fact lost all power over them, and the British government would not tolerate for an instant any cession which Spain might make of colonies over which she did not exercise a direct and positive influence. Mr. Canning's declaration of neutrality brought upon him the remonstrances and reproaches of a few members of the Opposition. He triumphantly vindicated his conduct. The proposed censure of what some deemed the feeble tone assumed by the government terminated in an almost unanimous vote of approbation of what had been done. The Opposition could not consistently maintain that the policy of Mr. Canning was in any essential point a departure from the principles that had been most eloquently asserted by Mr. Brougham at the opening of the Session: "He would look forward, in order to avoid all subject of vituperation, reserving his blame for the foreigners whose tyrannical conduct obliged this nation to hate them, and his co-operation for whatever

* "Annuaire Historique Universel pour 1823."

† The papers concerning the negotiations relative to Spain are given in "Mansard," vol. viii. cols. 904-964.

faithful servant of the Crown would, in the performance of his duty to the country, to freedom, and to the world, speak a language that was truly British,—pursue a policy that was truly free—and look to free States as our best and most natural allies against all enemies whatsoever; quarrelling with none, whatever might be the form of their governments; keeping peace wherever we could, but not leaving ourselves unprepared for war,—not afraid of the issue, but calmly resolved to brave it all hazards; determined to maintain, amid every sacrifice, the honour and dignity of the Crown, the independence of the country, the ancient law of nations, the supremacy of all separate States,—all those principles which are cherished as most precious and most sacred by the whole civilized world.”* At this crisis, however, the desires of the English people were probably best represented in a letter of a great humourist to the countess Grey:—“For God’s sake do not drag me into another war! I am worn down, and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind; I must think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards; I am sorry for the Greeks; I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny. Bagdad is oppressed; I do not like the present state of the Delta; Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be the champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe, and I am afraid the consequence will be, that we shall cut each other’s throats. No war, dear lady Grey!—no eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic! I beseech you, secure lord Grey’s sword and pistols, as the housekeeper did Don Quixote’s armour. If there is another war, life will be not worth having.”†

The spectacle of the South American colonies was calculated to awaken the sympathies of every English statesman of large and liberal views. But there were difficult questions involved in this struggle, which rendered it imperatively necessary for the minister directing the foreign affairs of England to proceed with the utmost caution. Mr. Canning had made, on the 30th of April, 1823, a declaration in the House of Commons which went through Europe, that whatever might grow out of a separate conflict between Spain and France, the immediate object of England was to hinder the impress of a joint character from being affixed to the war,—to take care that the war should not grow out of an assumed jurisdictio-

* Hansard, vol. viii. col. 94, and Brougham’s “Speeches,” p. 299, ed. 1857.

† Sydney Smith’s “Memoirs and Letters,” vol. ii., pp. 235—236.

of the Congress. Mr. Canning's determination had the effect of preventing the great powers of the Continent engaging in the attack upon the Constitutionalists of Spain. The French armies marched to Madrid, which they occupied on the 24th of May. They overran Spain, they accomplished the release of Ferdinand who had been detained at Cadiz; the Cortes were overturned. Spain entered upon that long night of tyranny and superstition which left her among the feeblest and most degraded of nations. Such was the position of affairs at the close of 1823. At the opening of the session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1824, the Royal Speech alluded to the strict neutrality which the king had observed during the war in Spain. With respect to the provinces of America which had declared their separation from Spain, his conduct had been open and consistent, and his opinions frankly avowed to Spain and to other powers. "His Majesty has appointed Consuls to reside at the principal ports and places of those provinces, for the protection of the trade of his subjects. As to any further measures, his Majesty has reserved to himself an unfettered discretion, to be exercised as the circumstances of those countries, and the interests of his own people, may appear to his Majesty to require." On the 4th of March Mr. Canning laid upon the table of the House of Commons a memorandum of a conference between himself and the Prince de Polignac. Mr. Canning said, at this interview in October, 1823, that being convinced that the ancient system of the Colonies could not be restored, the British government could not enter into any stipulations binding itself either to refuse or to delay its recognition of their independence; that the British government had no desire to precipitate that recognition so long as there was any reasonable chance of an accommodation with the mother country by which such a recognition might come first from Spain; "but that it could not wait indefinitely for that result; that it could not consent to make its recognition of the new states dependent upon that of Spain, and that it would consider any foreign interference, by force or by menace, in the dispute between Spain and the colonies, as a motive for recognizing the latter without delay. The lapse of time has shown that Mr. Canning had as great difficulty in the accomplishment of his policy in opposition to the influence exercised in the highest quarter at home, as in the hostility of those powers who had constituted themselves a union for the government of the nations. At the end of November, 1824, Lord Sidmouth withdrew from the Cabinet, upon the ground of his inability to reconcile his opinions to that of so many of his colleagues, who advocated the immediate recognition by

his Majesty of the independence of Buenos Ayres. Mr. Charles Williams Wynn wrote to the duke of Buckingham on the 28th of January, 1825, six days before the meeting of Parliament, "There have been steps to revive the discussions of December last, proceeding wholly from *foreign* influence, which, to my mind, manifest a decided wish to break up the government." On the 27th of January, the King had addressed a long letter to lord Liverpool, for the purpose of its being laid before the Cabinet. This Royal manifesto is the language of one who appears, like the Seven Sleepers, to have awakened from a long slumber, and to have spoken in a tongue with which men had ceased to be familiar. "The Liberalism of late adopted by the King's government appears to the King to be a substantial part of that creed which was hailed in the House of Commons in those revolutionary days when it required all the talents and firmness of the late Mr. Pitt to put it down. . . . Can the present government suppose that the King will permit any individuals to force upon him at this time a line of policy of which he so entirely disapproves, and which is in direct opposition to those wise principles that the King's government has, for so many years, supported and uniformly acted upon." The King then asks, Why was the Quadruple Alliance formed? and he answers, For the maintenance of the treaties of Europe, and also for the purpose of controlling the ambition and jealousies of the great allied powers themselves in relation to each other. "The Jacobins of the world, now calling themselves the Liberals, saw the peace of Europe secured by this great measure, and have therefore never ceased to vilify the principle of the Quadruple Alliance. The King desired therefore distinctly to know whether the great principles of policy established by his government in 1814, 1815, and 1818, were or were not to be abandoned. Lord Liverpool, in his answer to the King, stated that so entire an agreement subsisted between his Majesty's servants, as to request his permission to give their answer generally and collectively. He pointed out the divergence of opinion between his Majesty and his allies as to the nature of their engagements for maintaining the peace of Europe, especially in 1815, in 1818, and in 1821. "Whatever difference or shades of difference of opinion may have hitherto existed amongst your Majesty's servants on the subject of Spanish America, they humbly submit now to your Majesty their unanimous opinion, that the measures in progress respecting Spanish America are in no way inconsistent with any engagement between your Majesty and your Allies; that those measures are now irrevocable; and that the faith and honour of the country are

pledged to all their necessary consequences." The King yielded with a tolerable grace. Disappointed as he might be at the unanimous determination of the Cabinet, he saw it was impossible now to accomplish what was his real object—the dismissal of Mr. Canning. The "foreign influence" was undoubtedly what weighed upon the King. Mr. Canning, writing to our Ambassador at Paris, Lord Granville, in March, after using strong terms with regard to Metternich, says, "I have evidence which I entirely believe, of his having been for the last twelvemonths, at least, perhaps longer, at the bottom of an intrigue with the Court here; of which Madame de ——— was the organ, to change the politics of this government by changing me." In April he returned to the same charge against Metternich, and said that he should like him to understand that a renewal of his intrigues would lead to some such public manifestation of Mr. Canning's knowledge of what had passed as might let the House of Commons and the public into the secret. "I wonder whether he is aware that the private communication of foreign ministers with the King of England is wholly at variance, with the spirit, and practice too, of the British Constitution."* The recognition of the South American Republics was confirmed by the declaration in the King's Speech on opening the Session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1825. The firm attitude of the Cabinet had produced the consent of the King that the following passage should represent his opinions:—"In conformity with the declarations which have been repeatedly made by his Majesty, his Majesty has taken measures for confirming by treaties the commercial relations already subsisting between this kingdom and those countries of America which appear to have established their separation from Spain." In the debate upon the Address Mr. Canning alluded to the speech of Mr. Brougham upon the subject of South America. The honourable and learned gentleman admitted that much had been done to which he could not object, but he suggested that things might have been better, especially as to time. "I differ from him essentially; for if I pique myself on anything in this affair it is the time. That, at some time or other, states which had separated themselves from the mother country should or should not be admitted to the rank of independent nations, is a proposition to which no possible dissent could be given. The whole question was one of time and mode. There were two modes: one a reckless and headlong course, by which we might have reached our object at once, but at the expense of drawing upon us

* This very curious correspondence is given in chap. xxv. of Stapleton's "George Canning and his Times."

consequences not lightly to be estimated; the other was more strictly guarded in point of principle; so that, while we pursued our own interest, we took care to give no just cause of offence to other powers." It is important to bear in mind this very clear statement of the general principle that the precise time for the recognition of States throwing off their allegiance is to be determined by circumstances of which a neutral State is the best judge. The explanation which Mr. Canning proceeded to give of the circumstances of the South American Republics at the time of the recognition by Great Britain is equally important, as showing that the claim for recognition depends upon the power of the separating State to maintain and defend itself. Mr. Canning briefly and clearly explained the actual position of the three States with which the British government had to deal, namely, Buenos Ayres, Columbia,* and Mexico. "Long ago the contest between Buenos Ayres and the mother country had ceased. Buenos Ayres comprised thirteen or fourteen small and separate states, which were not till very lately collected into any federal union. Would it not have been an absurdity to have treated with a power which was incapable of answering for the conduct of the communities of which it was composed? So soon as it was known that a consolidation had taken place the treaty with Buenos Ayres was signed. As to Columbia, as late as 1822, the last of the Spanish forces were sent away from Porto Cabello, which was, up till that time, held for the King of Spain. It was only since that time that Columbia could have been admitted as a State of separate existence. Some time after that, however, Columbia chose to risk her whole force, and a great part of her treasure, in a distant war with Spain in Peru. Had that enterprise proved disastrous, the expedition would have returned with the troops to re-establish the royal authority. The danger was now at end. The case of Mexico was still more striking. Not nine months ago, an adventurer who had wielded the sceptre of Mexico left these shores to return thither and re-possess his abdicated throne. Was that a moment at which this country ought to have interfered to decide, by recognition, the government for Mexico? The failure of the attempt of that adventurer afforded the opportunity for recognition; and the instant the failure was known the decision of the British Cabinet was taken." †

During the progress of the deliberations of the British Cabinet

* On December 17th, 1819, in a general Convention of Venezuela and Granada, the two States were united under the name of the Republic of Columbia, of which Bolivar was President. In 1832 this republic was divided into three states.

† Hansard, vol. xii. col. 78.

on the subject of the South American Republics, Mr. Rush, the Minister of the United States, was addressed by Mr. Canning, with a view that the two governments should come to an understanding, and join in a concurrent declaration as to the policy to be pursued by them. Mr. Rush, in a despatch to President Monroe, on the 23rd of August, 1823, says:—"The tone of earnestness in Mr. Canning's note naturally starts the inference that the British Cabinet cannot be without its serious apprehensions that ambitious enterprises are meditated against the independence of the new Spanish-American States, whether by France alone, or in conjunction with the Continental powers, I cannot now say on any authentic grounds."* It would seem that the President having made a communication of this despatch to his celebrated predecessor, it was understood by Mr. Jefferson as a proposition by Mr. Canning, that Great Britain should unite with America in an armed resistance to the possible attempt of the Allied Powers to intrench upon the independence of the infant republics. Mr. Jefferson considered this as the most momentous question that had been ever offered to his contemplation since that of their own independence. The venerable ex-president appears at once to have thrown aside the prejudices against Great Britain which had sometimes marked his official career. "Great Britain is the nation that can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side, we need not fear the old world. With her then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."†

We may here mention that during the residence of Mr. Rush at the Court of London, he entered upon several most important discussions—in 1818, with Lord Londonderry, in 1824 with Mr. Canning,—upon questions of former controversy, and of possible future differences that might arise, between Great Britain and the United States. The most pressing question was with reference to the American claim for a boundary, which would have given the United States Vancouver's Island and the Columbia river. The settlement of this question stood over, the proposal of each negotiator for a modified settlement being rejected by the other. This was the Oregon question, which was not finally settled till 1846, when, in the strong desire for peace, much more was conceded than Mr. Canning consented to admit as the right of the United States. The maritime questions upon which the two

* Rush's "Residence at the Court of London," Second Series, pp. 29—30.

† See Tucker's "Life of Jefferson," vol. ii. p. 515.

countries had gone to war in 1812, which included the relations of neutral and belligerent powers, were declined by the American plenipotentiary to be gone into without the question of impressment being considered, which matter the British plenipotentiaries refused to admit into discussion. Mr. Rush maintained the same principles which he maintained in 1818: "Great Britain claims the right of searching the vessels of other countries on the high seas for her seamen, and here begins the cause of complaint. For, how can the claim ever be enforced consistently with what is due to other nations? Let the steps by which the enforcement proceeds, be attended to. A British frigate in time of war meets an American merchant vessel at sea, boards her, and under terror of her guns, takes out one of the crew. The boarding lieutenant asserts, and let it be admitted, believes, the man to be a Briton. By this proceeding, the rules observed in deciding upon any other fact where individual or national rights are at stake are overlooked. The lieutenant is accuser and judge. He decides upon his own view instantly. The impressed man is forced into the frigate's boat, and the case ends. * There is no appeal, no trial of any kind." * Thus strongly did the minister of the United States remonstrate in 1818, against the difficulty and danger of entrusting such an authority to the discretion and humanity of an irresponsible naval officer. In 1824, Mr. Rush put the argument with equal force, that "the assumption of a right of search *for men*, † whether as a right direct or incidental, was denied by the United States to have the least sanction in public law. The bare claim was affronting to the United States in the dearest attributes of their national sovereignty." The right of search was not denied by the American Plenipotentiary, but he maintained that "the doctrine of perpetual allegiance" was but as "a municipal rule, to be executed at home—not upon the high seas, and on board the vessels of a sovereign and independent state." ‡

In the remarkable letter of the King to his Cabinet which we have just quoted, his Majesty imputed to "the late policy of Great Britain" a "restless desire of self-interest." This was an allusion to the almost universal demand of the mercantile community for the establishment of commercial relations with the new States of South America by treaties of amity and commerce. In point of fact, the ultimate form of recognition consisted in the negotiation and adoption of such treaties. The policy of the British Govern-

* Rush's "Residence at the Court of London," First Series, pp. 200—1.

† The *italics* are used by Mr. Rush.

‡ Rush's "Residence at the Court of London," Second Series, p. 244.

ment was no doubt in some degree determined by the general wish of the mercantile community; but Mr. Canning invariably put the recognition of the South American States upon higher ground: "If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No. I looked another way: I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain, such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain 'with the Indies.' I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." * The paramount object of separating the policy of England from any subservience to the absolutism of the Continent was accomplished. It was accomplished without war. But when, a year later, the adoption by Portugal, of a constitutional government was an offence to the Spanish despot, and he sent an army into Portugal to make the one rule of irresponsible power prevail throughout the Peninsula, Mr. Canning took the attitude of a great War Minister, and by that attitude prevented a war. On the 11th of December, 1826, a message was presented to the House of Commons, stating that his Majesty had received an earnest application from the Princess Regent of Portugal, claiming, in virtue of the ancient obligations of alliance and amity subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, his Majesty's aid against a hostile aggression from Spain. On the next day, Tuesday, December 12th, Mr. Canning moved an Address, in answer to the Royal Message, in a speech which was declared to have been "an epoch in a man's life to have heard him." In his most eloquent periods there was nothing more truly eloquent than his brief statement of the manner in which the government had received the news of the Spanish aggression. The first intimation of the event was a demand on the 3rd from the Portuguese ambassador for assistance. The government desired to obtain official and precise intelligence of facts on which to found an application to Parliament. "It was only on Friday night that this precise information arrived. On Saturday his Majesty's confidential servants came to a decision. On Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty. On Monday it was communicated to both Houses of Parliament; and this day, Sir, at the hour in which I have the honour of addressing you, the troops are on their march for embarkation." † Mr. Canning concluded his magnificent speech with these words:—"We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted foreign dominion shall not come." The British troops were in the

* Hansard, vol. xvi. col. 397.

† *Ibid.*, col. 367.

Tagus in less than a fortnight after these words were spoken. Not a shot was fired. The Spanish troops retired from the Portuguese frontier. The British armament returned home. It had accomplished what Mr. Canning proposed to accomplish: "Let us fly to the aid of Portugal, by whomsoever attacked, because it is our duty to do so; and let us cease our interference where that duty ends."*

In carrying forward this rapid view of the foreign administration of the country during the four years since the accession of Mr. Canning to office, we have necessarily passed over some points of political importance to which we must advert in a future chapter. But as the foreign relations of the country received a marked change during this period, an equal change was wrought upon its commercial policy during the same period—a change that may therefore properly be regarded as forming part of the same system of taking a broader and more comprehensive view of human affairs than was agreeable to those who thought that "all advances towards improvement are retrogradations towards Jacobinism."

In January, 1823, Mr. Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade. He was held to be a political adventurer, and it was not till 1825 that his great talents and vast financial and commercial knowledge gave him a seat in the Cabinet. Liverpool, in 1823, had not hesitated to accept in Mr. Huskisson, as its representative, a second political adventurer. In 1816 Mr. Canning had told his constituents that he pleaded guilty to the heavy charge that had been made against him that he was an adventurer. "A representative of the people, I am one of the people, and I present myself to those who choose me, only with the claims of character, be they what they may, unaccredited by patrician patronage." The talent and knowledge of Mr. Huskisson soon rendered him the highest official authority in his own walk, in spite of Lord Eldon's dislike of this colleague and his principles, "looking to the whole history of this gentleman."† In the Session of 1823 Mr. Huskisson developed a broader system of commercial policy than any previous government had dared to propose, in opposition to the prejudices of generations—to the belief that the prosperity of the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain rested upon the exclusive employment of her own shipping, upon prohibitory duties, upon restrictive duties almost amounting to prohibition, and upon the Balance of Trade. Mr. Wallace and Mr. Robinson had taken some steps towards commercial freedom, but Mr. Hus-

* Hansard, vol. xvi. col. 369.

† Twiss, "Life of Eldon," vol. ii. p. 468.

kisson, by rapid strides, advanced towards the completion of a healthier system than had as yet prevailed in the world. In 1823 he carried through Parliament a measure known as the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, the object of which was that Duties and Drawbacks should be imposed and allowed on all goods equally, whether imported or exported in British or in foreign vessels; but reserving the power of continuing the existing restrictions with respect to those countries which should decline to act upon a system of reciprocity. The Bill was passed on the 4th of July. On that occasion Mr. Stuart Wortley made a remark which we may now regard somewhat as a prophecy:—"So many impolitic restrictions called protections being removed from the trade and shipping, it would be impossible to retain, for any considerable time, the protection given to agricultural produce."*

The measure of 1823, which struck a heavy blow at the old navigation laws, provoked little opposition compared with the clamour against the proposition of Mr. Huskisson, on the 5th of March, 1824, that the prohibitions on the importation of silk manufactures should cease on the 5th of July, 1826; that the duties on raw silk should be largely reduced; and those on thrown silk reduced one half. We all now know the value of the great argument which Mr. Huskisson employed:—"The system of prohibitory duties, which has been maintained with respect to the silk trade, has had the effect—to the shame of England be it spoken—of leaving us far behind our neighbours in this branch of industry. We have witnessed that chilling and benumbing effect which is always sure to be felt when no genius is called into action, and when we are rendered indifferent to exertion by the indolent security of a prohibitory system. I have not the slightest doubt that if the same system had been continued with respect to the cotton manufacture, it would at this moment be as subordinate in amount to the woollen as it is junior in its introduction into this country."†

It is unnecessary for us to pursue this subject beyond the point of showing the beginnings of that great system of Free Trade which has raised this country to a height of prosperity which could scarcely have been contemplated by the most enthusiastic advocates of a liberal commercial policy in the time of Mr. Huskisson. In his own day he had to endure an amount of opprobrium somewhat in excess of that which usually attaches to all reformers. About six months before his measures with regard to the import of foreign silks were to come into operation, Mr. Baring, on presenting a petition from Taunton against the introduction of French

* Hansard, vol. ix. col. 1439.

† "Huskisson's Speeches," vol. ii. p. 249.

silks, expressed a hope that the subject would undergo discussion at an early period, seeing that hundreds and thousands of individuals anticipated ruin and starvation from the late regulations. The discussion was brought on upon a motion for a Select Committee by Mr. Ellice, the member for Coventry. In seconding the motion, Mr. John Williams declared that if the authors of this measure were prepared to make the sacrifice of the existence of half a million of persons in support of an abstract theory, the strength of their resolution would only prove the quality of their hearts. "A perfect metaphysician, as Mr. Burke had observed, exceeded the devil in point of malignity and contempt for the welfare of mankind." Mr. Huskisson most triumphantly vindicated his motives, and asserted his confidence that the power and resources of the country had been increased by those measures of commercial policy which it had fallen to his lot to submit to Parliament. Mr. Canning, on this occasion, came to the defence of his friend, in affirming that the doctrine and spirit which animated those who now persecuted him was the same which had embittered the life of Turgot, and consigned Galileo to the dungeons of the Inquisition—a doctrine and a spirit which had at all times been at work to stay public advancement, and to roll back the tide of civilization. Very noble and impressive was one part of Mr. Canning's speech:—"Sir, I consider it to be the duty of a British statesman, in internal as well as external affairs, to hold a middle course between extremes; avoiding alike extravagances of despotism, or the licentiousness of unbridled freedom; reconciling power with liberty: not adopting hasty or ill-advised experiments, or pursuing any airy and unsubstantial theories; but not rejecting, nevertheless, the application of sound and wholesome knowledge to practical affairs, and pressing, with sobriety and caution, into the service of his country any generous and liberal principles, whose excess, indeed, may be dangerous, but whose foundation is in truth. This, sir, in my mind, is the true conduct of a British statesman; but they who resist indiscriminately all improvement as innovation may find themselves compelled at last to submit to innovations although they are not improvements." *

A distinguished statesman and writer of France has thus described the most important effect of Mr. Canning's foreign policy: "By his speeches, by his measures, in recognizing the republics of Spanish America, and in protesting boldly, though merely by word, against the entrance of the French into Spain, he soon effected a

* Hansard, vol. xiv. cols. 854—55.

change (sooner perhaps than he would have been inclined to do if he had not found it necessary), in the foreign policy of England, and transferred her from the camp of resistance and of European order into the camp of progress and liberty." * This was the all-sufficing benefit which Mr. Canning conferred upon his country. Once fairly severed from the principles and acts of the great Continental powers, and embarked upon her own course of "progress and liberty," the ultimate hopes of sanguine politicians might still be very far from immediate realization. The great problem of the union of freedom with order might be no nearer a solution in the year 1860 than in the year 1790. The "war of opinion" might have its vicissitudes of anarchy and of despotism. It might eventually seem to have been a mere flourish of eloquence, when the great orator, with "an attitude so majestic that he seemed actually to have increased in stature," exclaimed, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." The representative governments of Europe which had arisen out of the dust and ashes of Napoleon's tyranny might be again trodden down by other despots. The new republics of America might for years be torn to pieces by internal commotions, and their second condition might be even worse than their first. The proud confidence of the founder and upholder of the democratic constitution of the United States might be proved fallacious, in an exhibition of arrogance as offensive as that of absolute rulers; whilst his belief that men enjoying in ease and security the full fruits of their industry would follow their own reason as their guide, † might some day be held as visionary, when the action of the supreme government should be dictated by the passions of the multitude. Yet for all this we may mistrust the partisan assuming the office of the historian, when we learn that the experience of the world since the year 1819, "which was the turning-point in our policy, both foreign and domestic," has "diffused a very general doubt amongst thoughtful men, whether the whole representative system is not a delusion;" and are told that "the ruin of industry, and the destruction of property, effected in Great Britain, since the manufacturing school obtained the ascendancy in Parliament, much exceeds anything recorded in the history of pacific legislation." ‡ To the restoration of a convertible paper-currency, advocated by Mr. Horner and finally carried by Peel; to the retirement of England from the Quadruple Alliance

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 24.

† See Jefferson's Letter to Judge Johnson, in his "Works;" and in Tucker's "Life," vol. ii. p. 506.

‡ Alison, "History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon," vol. i. p. 54 and p. 56, 18.

and the recognition of South American republics accomplished by Canning ; to the removal of commercial restrictions and prohibitions effected by Huskisson ; to these causes the ghosts of ultra-Toryism that still walk the earth and will not be laid, attribute what they deem the evils which have fallen upon their country in the peaceful revolutions of the reigns of William the Fourth and Victoria. If such were the causes of that vital change in the condition of England, which enables us with an honest exultation to contrast the Present with the Past, doubly blessed were the partial successes of those eminent statesmen. Some thoughtful man of their day might have anticipated the sentiment of a later poet :—

“ Progress is

The law of life—man's self is not yet man !
Nor shall I deem his object served, his end
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth,
While only here and there a star dispels
The darkness, here and there a towering mind
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows.” *

* Browning.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Negro Slavery in the West Indies.—The Missionary Case.—Opening of Parliament, 1825.—Public Prosperity.—Joint-Stock Companies.—Mining Schemes.—The Panic in the Money-Market.—The Panic arrested.—Extensive failures of Commercial Houses.—Joint-Stock Banks established.—State of the Catholic Question.—Death of the duke of York.—Illness of Lord Liverpool.—Negotiations previous to the choice of a Minister.—Mr. Canning's Administration.—Violent opposition to Mr. Canning in both Houses.—Charge against the Prime Minister that he had given an unconstitutional pledge to the King on the subject of Catholic Emancipation.—Close of the Session.—Death of Mr. Canning.—His last Ministerial act, the conclusion of a Treaty on the Affairs of Greece.—Principles of International Law laid down by Mr. Canning.—List of the Cabinet of Mr. Canning.—Note on the Negotiations which preceded Mr. Canning's Premiership.

WITH the object of presenting a continuous view of the foreign policy of England from the period of the accession of Mr. Canning to office in 1822, we have passed over several matters of public importance to which we must now advert.

Negro Slavery in the West Indies was the subject of animated debates in the House of Commons in 1823 and in 1824. The difficult question of negro emancipation in our Colonies has been happily settled by a magnificent effort on the part of the government and the people. The curse of Slavery no longer exists on a single rood of the vast possessions and dependencies of the British Empire. But this result could not have been attained without the persevering efforts of the same zeal which had accomplished the abolition of the Slave Trade. A few of the first Abolitionists still remained. Younger men had joined their ranks, with the determination to banish Slavery from our own Colonies, and if possible to unite all Christendom in a league against the hateful traffic, which some States still openly perpetrated and others indirectly encouraged. On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton moved as a resolution, "That the state of Slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution, and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British Colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." Mr. Canning met this resolution by proposing other resolutions, to the effect that decisive measures should be taken

for ameliorating the condition of the Slave population of the British Colonies; that through such measures the House looked forward to such a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave population, as might prepare them for a participation in civil rights and privileges. Mr. Canning's proposal was unanimously agreed to by the House. The West Indian interest at home was greatly alarmed. The resident proprietors were in a state of indignant terror when the Colonial Secretary issued a Circular which announced the determination of the British Government to interfere between the owner and his slave. This Circular contained an absolute prohibition to inflict the punishment of flogging under any circumstances upon female slaves, and a strong recommendation with regard to males that the whip should no longer be carried into the field and there displayed by the driver as the emblem of his authority, or employed as the ready instrument of his displeasure.* In most of the West India Islands the Circular of lord Bathurst produced only votes of indignation in their Local Assemblies. In Demerara the Court of Policy passed regulations in compliance with the instructions of the Circular, but the negroes entertained a belief that orders had come from England for their complete emancipation. The Government of the Colony had previously issued a prohibition against the negroes attending divine service except under certain conditions, in the belief that the sectaries incited them to insubordination. On the 18th of August a rising took place amongst some of the slaves, who imprisoned their masters but shed no blood. On the 19th martial law was proclaimed, and under sentences of Courts-martial forty-seven negroes were executed, and a great number were tortured by the most merciless flogging. The Colony was subjected to martial-law for five months. Under this law Mr. John Smith, a missionary of the Independent persuasion, was tried upon a charge of having incited the negroes to revolt, and of having concealed their intention to rise. He was convicted and sentenced to death. The governor did not venture to execute the sentence, but left the decision to the British cabinet, who rescinded the sentence, but decreed Mr. Smith's banishment from the Colony. Mr. Brougham brought the whole case before the House of Commons, on the 1st of June, 1824. The missionary, who had been cast into a loathsome dungeon, in a weak state of health, had died after some weeks of severe suffering. The feeling produced at home was that of pity for the victim, and of indignation at the injustice of the Court by which he was tried. The proceedings of this general Court-martial, held on the 13th of

* "Annual Register," 1823, p. 130.

October, 1823, published by the Missionary Society, displayed "a series of errors so gross as to mock belief, and of oppressions which are unexampled in the dispensation of English justice." * Mr. Brougham, in this memorable debate, uttered a solemn warning to the Slave-holders:—"Yet a little delay; yet a little longer of this unbearable trifling with the commands of the parent state—and she will stretch out her arm, in mercy, not in anger, to those deluded men themselves; exert at last her undeniable authority; vindicate the just right and restore the tarnished honour of the English name!" In this debate Mr. Wilberforce spoke for the last time in Parliament. The speech of sir James Mackintosh was that of a statesman whose opinions were of far more practical importance than those of the too sanguine abolitionist: "I am as adverse as any one to the sudden emancipation of slaves; much out of regard to the masters, but still more, as affecting a far larger portion of mankind, out of regard to the unhappy slaves themselves. Emancipation by violence and revolt I consider as the greatest calamity that can visit a community except perpetual slavery. . . . I acknowledge that the pacific emancipation of great multitudes thus wretchedly circumstanced is a problem so arduous as to perplex and almost silence the reason of man. Time is undoubtedly necessary."

Of the six Bills for the repeal of Capital Punishments which sir James Mackintosh introduced in the Session of 1820,† three eventually became laws.‡ These were the only formal results of the perseverance of the legislator upon whom the mantle of Romilly had fallen. In 1822 he obtained a pledge from the House that it would proceed to a general consideration of the Criminal laws in the next Session. On the 21st of May, 1823, he proposed nine resolutions, which went at once to do away with capital punishment in a number of offences to which they referred. Mr. Peel, who was now Secretary of State for the Home Department, objected to the extent of these measures. He admitted the necessity of some amendment, and intimated his intention to propose measures which should embrace several of the improvements which sir James Mackintosh contemplated. His son has recorded that the defeat on this occasion was a signal to sir James for surrendering the superintendence of further reforms into the hands of one whose position as a minister gave him peculiar facilities for carrying them into effect: "He lived," says his biographer, "to see the propriety

* Introduction to Mr. Brougham's speech in the Missionary Case, in his *Selected Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 116.

† *Ante*, p. 484.

‡ 1 Geo. IV., cap. 115, 116, 117.

of many of these very alterations acquiesced in to an extent which he dared scarcely have imagined, and which drew from him the expression, instancing the growth of opinion on these subjects, that he could almost think that he had lived in two different countries, and conversed with people who spoke two different languages.*

When the Session of Parliament was opened on the 3rd of January, 1825, the exultation of the Royal Speech upon "public prosperity" was far stronger than ministerial prudence and reserve often ventured to indulge. "There never was a period in the history of this country when all the great interests of the nation were at the same time in so thriving a condition." Alas for the instability of human affairs! In the King's Speech on the 2nd of February, 1826, we have this sentence: "His Majesty deeply laments the injurious effects which the late pecuniary crisis must have entailed upon many branches of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom." The pecuniary crisis was indeed the most unexpected, the most astounding, and the most severe in its consequences, of any derangement of commercial operations ever produced by extravagant hopes and exaggerated alarms. This pecuniary crisis universally obtained the name of "The Panic." It was described by Mr. Huskisson as "such a complete suspension of all confidence as, contradistinguished from commercial distress, rendered it impossible to procure money upon even the most unobjectional security. . . . If the difficulties which existed in the money market had continued only eight-and-forty hours longer, he sincerely believed that the effect would have been to put a stop to all dealings between man and man, except by way of barter."†

There can be no doubt whatever that at the beginning of 1825 the sanguine views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which obtained for him the name of "Prosperity Robinson," were really justified by whatever was apparent in the material condition of the country. In June of that year an article appeared in the "Quarterly Review" which went very carefully into the proofs that there had scarcely ever been a time when every branch of industry had been so generally prosperous. We are taken into the country to look upon fields better cultivated than a few years before; barns and stack-yards more fully stored; horses, cows, and sheep more abundant; implements of husbandry greatly improved: In cities, towns, and villages, more numerous and better shops, and a vast increase of goods, indicating the flourishing circumstances of the

* "Life of Mackintosh," vol. ii. p. 391. † "Huskisson's Speeches," vol. ii. p. 445.

community: In manufactories similar manifestations of the increase of wealth. We are then told that if we could examine the accounts of the bankers of the metropolis, and in the small as well as large provincial towns, we should find that the balances resting with them were increased to an enormous amount. The reviewer then adds: "This indeed may be fairly inferred from the low rate of interest in the floating public securities, from the prices of the funds, from the avidity with which every project for the employment of capital is grasped at, and from the general complaint, almost the only complaint heard, that there is now no way of making interest for money."* Those who in all times are ready to treat such maladies in the body politic by salutary venesection, were most busy and successful at the end of 1824 and the beginning of 1825. Joint-Stock Companies suddenly rose up, some for provident schemes of home industry, but others holding forth the prospect of enormous wealth by working the mines of South America. "All the gambling propensities of human nature were constantly solicited into action, and crowds of individuals of every description—the credulous and the suspicious—the crafty and the bold—the raw and the experienced—the intelligent and the ignorant—princes, nobles, politicians, placemen, patriots, lawyers, physicians, divines, philosophers, poets, intermingled with women of all ranks and degrees—spinsters, wives and widows—hastened to venture some portion of their property in schemes of which scarcely anything was known except the name."†

The South American mining schemes required large remittances in money, and an equal expenditure in stores and machinery for the operations to be carried on. The new South American States asked and obtained considerable loans. Speculations in goods were carried forward to an extent, and with a temporary amount of profit, previously unknown. The rush of purchasers to invest in coffee, in spices, in indigo, in tallow, and in cotton, with a total ignorance of everything connected with the relation of the supply to the consumption, had for a while the effect of producing a general rise of prices. Every article which had not advanced in price was soon made the subject of an exaggerated demand. Very soon after Parliament had separated, cheered by the official announcement of public prosperity, a reaction commenced. The price of every article that had been the subject of this overtrading began to fall. More precipitous was the downward tendency of the loan and share market; for no dividends came from the South American loans; no remittances in the precious metals to attest

* Vol. xxxii. p. 189.

† "Annual Register," 1824, p. 3.

that increased productiveness of the mines which was expected to arise out of the application of British capital and machinery. The rage for speculation had so penetrated into uncommercial circles, and the sober tradesman who once used to be content with the moderate profits of his own industry had so embarked his capital in rash ventures, that, when a want of confidence began to be felt, universal distrust soon succeeded. The Bank of England, which had ten millions of bullion and coin in its coffers in April, had only one million three hundred thousand pounds in November to meet the rapid drain that was going forward. The directors of the Bank of England, in their alarm, suddenly diminished their circulation to the extent of 3,500,000*l.* In the general want of confidence, the country bankers had to endure the consequences of an almost unlimited circulation of their notes, nothing loath as they had been to assist the speculative tendencies of their customers by what seemed a method so easy to themselves. The time was at hand when every man would look suspiciously upon the dirty pieces of paper which he had held to be as good as gold; and these promises to pay would travel, first slowly and then rapidly, to the banker's counter, and many who saw these obligations return to their source would ask what they had done to provoke this run upon them. In London those large balances in the hands of the bankers which the reviewer described as "ready to embrace favourable changes in the price of any commodity, or to be placed at interest as beneficial securities presented themselves," were suddenly withdrawn to meet unforeseen losses, to satisfy unexpected demands, and, in many cases, out of a selfish mistrust of the security of those depositories which had once justly received the public confidence. Selfish and shortsighted was the panic that drove men to the banker's counter, in their ignorant belief that it was his duty to have ready in his till an amount sufficient to pay the balances of every customer. On the 5th of December the banking-house of sir Peter Pole and Company stopped payment. On the 6th the bank of Williams and Company followed. The author of this history cannot easily forget the scene which he witnessed on the morning of the 7th of December. On the night of the 6th two personal friends, partners in a country bank, who had their accounts with Williams and Company, arrived at his house in town to consult with him on the best course to be pursued in this hour of danger. It was agreed that one of the partners should immediately return home and countermand an order that had been given for the closing of the bank on the following morning. The

other partner, who was a member of Parliament, was to set out with the present writer to seek the assistance of friendly capitalists before the general world was astir. In the chambers in the Albany of one of the members of a city bank they found the firm assembled, deliberating by lamp-light, as many others were deliberating, whilst the watchman still cried the morning hour. The request for aid was made, and was as promptly answered: "We shall stop ourselves at nine o'clock." The two friends proceeded to Lombard street and its neighbourhood as the morning dawned. Long before the time of opening, the doors of the banking-houses were surrounded by eager crowds, each struggling to be foremost, as at the entrance of a theatre. Many such doors were opened; and after the first rush some began to be ashamed of their suspicious impatience. Heads of firms stood quietly beside their clerks, sometimes smiling, with an unmistakable meaning, upon those who showed how easily are "benefits forgot;" some pointed to their title-deeds and other securities, as ready for any sacrifice to preserve their commercial honour. Before the close of the year seventy-three banks had failed, of which seven were metropolitan. The country bank in which we felt an interest was saved by the more sensible of the townsmen coming promptly forward to declare their opinion of its solvency and their resolution not to press in the hour of difficulty. This was a very general course throughout the country.

During the three weeks of alarm and misery which preceded the Christmas of 1825, the Cabinet was daily deliberating upon measures to be pursued to stop the disorder and to mitigate its consequences. The Bank Directors came forward to lend money upon any description of property; and relaxed all their accustomed regulations for the discount of bills. The amount of mercantile bills under discount had been four millions on the 3rd of November; it had increased to fifteen millions on the 29th of December. Sovereigns were coined at the Mint at the unprecedented speed of 150,000 daily. At the Bank of England notes were printed with equal promptitude; for with the sanction of the Cabinet it was determined that one and two pound notes which the Bank of England had called in should again be issued for temporary purposes. Still these two supplies of an unexceptionable currency could not be produced fast enough to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the almost total withdrawal of country bank paper. An accidental circumstance solved the difficulty. A box containing about seven hundred thousand pounds of one pound notes, which had been put aside unused, was accidentally dis-

covered at the Bank. Mr. Harman, one of the directors, stated it as his opinion, that the timely issue of these notes "worked wonders—it saved the credit of the country."*

The credit of the country was saved; in other words the excessive demand for gold did not involve the danger at one time apprehended—a suspension of cash payments. The credit of the country was saved; but the destruction of private credit, the consequent ruin of many commercial firms, and the terrible struggle of others to keep their position, were wide-spread consequences of the panic of 1825. It was not till towards the end of January, 1826, that important mercantile failures began to create alarm. These failures continued to a vast extent throughout the whole year. The total number of bankruptcies in 1825 was a little above eleven hundred; in 1826 the number was nearly two thousand six hundred. The destruction of capital and credit paralyzed all the exertions of industry, and produced excessive distress amongst the manufacturing population. Diminished employment and lower wages, added to the loss which many who lived by their daily labour had sustained in the failure of country banks, rendered the year 1826 a very unhappy one to all those, whether wealthy or poor, whose means of support were connected with the industry of the country. Many indeed had to pay the penalty of their indulgence in wild speculation, and others had to suffer a severe retribution for their abuse of the facilities for raising money upon bills, which had gone on till the sudden crash came, and borrowers and lenders were involved in equal difficulty. One well-known example is an illustration of the dangers that always beset men of sanguine hopes, who regard their facility of creating wealth in the future as a power already realized, so as to warrant the large outlay which belongs to accumulated capital. On the 18th of December, 1825, there is this entry in the diary of sir Walter Scott:—"Rich and poor four or five times; once on the verge of ruin, yet opened a new source of wealth almost overflowing. Now to be broken in my pitch of pride, and nearly winged (unless good news should come), because London chooses to be in an uproar, and in the tumult of bulls and bears a poor inoffensive lion like myself is pushed to the wall. But what is to be the end of it? God knows; and so ends the catechism." The lion would not have been pushed to the wall in the tumult of bulls and bears in London if, in building, and planting, and furnishing, and exercising hospitality upon the most sumptuous scale, he had not only anticipated the resources of his own genius, but had incurred debts

* Porter's "Progress of the Nation."

on his private account, and as a partner in a printing establishment, to the extent of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The printing and publishing houses with which Scott was connected necessarily failed, and he failed with them. Then began the heroic period of his life, in which his great intellect received the noblest stimulus—that of a desire by his own unaided exertions to discharge the obligations which he had incurred by his former disregard of prudence and moderation. Many a man who had been bowed down by the storm might have felt the same aspiration again to stand erect, but few could have accomplished it so thoroughly as the great author, who never lost heart or hope, and in the darkest hour said, “If God grant me life and strength for a few years longer, I have no doubt that I shall redeem it all.”

When the Session of Parliament was opened on the 2nd of February, 1826, it was truly said in the royal speech that some of the causes of the evil which occurred were beyond the reach of direct parliamentary interposition, nor could security against the recurrence of them be found, unless in the experience of the sufferings which they had occasioned. But to a certain portion of the evil correctives at least, if not effectual remedies, might be applied. It was desirable to place on a more firm foundation the currency and circulating credit of the country. Lord Liverpool then stated the measures which Government intended to submit for the consideration of Parliament. One of those measures was a regulation by which one and two pound bank-notes should be gradually withdrawn from circulation, and a metallic currency substituted for them. The other measure had reference to the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England, under their charter, which would not expire till 1833. Lord Liverpool said—“If the Bank could be induced to give up so much of their exclusive privilege as related to country banks, and if they would accompany that surrender with a measure which would be desirable for their own sakes, namely, the establishment in some parts of the country of branches of their own institution, the effect on the general circulation of the country would, he thought, be most beneficial.” The privilege of the Bank of England had prevented the establishment of any banking concern with a greater number of partners than six. Lord Liverpool said he was old enough to remember the time when there was scarcely such an institution as a country bank except in great commercial towns, and when the transactions of the country were carried on in Bank of England Notes, and money obtained from London. There had been a great change. Any small tradesman, a cheesemonger, a

butcher, or a shoemaker, might open a country bank. The exclusive privilege of the Bank of England did not touch them. But an association of persons with fortune sufficient to carry on a banking concern with security was not permitted to do so. * The panic of 1825 produced the great measure of 1826, sanctioning the establishment of Joint-Stock banks, under which enactment a banking firm might include any number of partners, except within sixty-five miles of London. This year was also the date of the establishment of Branch Banks of the Bank of England. Scotland was exempted from the prohibition of the small note currency. It is worthy of note, that during the panic not a single Scotch Bank failed.

The difficulties of capitalists in the manufacturing districts produced, as their inevitable consequence, distress amongst the workers. In those days riot was too commonly the concomitant of distress. The popular excitement took the usual course of the days of popular ignorance,—the destruction of machinery. At various places in Lancashire, from the 23rd to the 30th of April, one thousand power-loom were destroyed, with the old accompaniments of reading the Riot Act and calling out the military. At Trowbridge the populace, who found potatoes dearer in their market than on the previous week, believing themselves injured by the monopolists of vegetables, attacked all the standings of the market gardeners and country butchers, so effectually doing their work that they scared away for some time all those who kept down the prices of the town dealers by competition. There were riotous proceedings and destruction of property in most cases where the operatives were suffering distress. Lamentable as such outrages must be in their effects upon the sufferers themselves, they sometimes speak with a stronger voice than the sober arguments of those who would mitigate the suffering by inquiries into its remediable causes. Whilst the noble and the rich of Lanarkshire, in a public meeting, resolved that the distress of the working people of Glasgow was to be attributed to machinery, they, and most other landed proprietors, strenuously resisted any approach to a relaxation of the Corn Laws. The price of wheat had fallen in March below the price of January, chiefly in consequence of a belief that the Government intended to release bonded wheat at a low duty. The ministers declared they had no such intention, and the average price again rose to that of the beginning of the year. The complaints and violence of the manufacturing districts alarmed the government, and at the beginning of May the release of the corn in bond was

* "Hansard," vol. xiv. col. 19.

proposed and carried, with a discretionary power to admit foreign grain to the extent of five hundred thousand quarters, in the event of the next harvest proving unfavourable. These concessions were not obtained without great difficulty,—without a protest on the part of the ministers that they had not, and could not, have any connection whatever with any measure affecting the existing system of the Corn Laws. “If,” said lord Eldon, “the measure pledged that House, or any man in that House, to any alteration unfavourable to the Corn Laws, he would be the last man to stand up as its advocate.” *

At the close of the Session on the 31st of May, the royal intention was announced “to dissolve without delay the present Parliament.” It was the seventh session of that Parliament. The dissolution at this early season had no reference to the state of political parties, but simply had regard to the convenience of the time for a general election. The leading question upon which men’s minds would be most stirred throughout the kingdom, and especially in Ireland, would be that of Catholic Emancipation. The Cabinet remained in the position as to this question which it occupied in 1812, when lord Castlereagh became one of its members. Catholic Emancipation was what is called an “open question,” upon the principle described by Mr. Canning,—“the principle of treating it as a question out of the ordinary course of ministerial business; as one to be argued upon its own merits, such as they might appear to each individual member of the administration.” † Lord Liverpool, as the head of the government, was opposed to the Catholic claims, but his opposition was qualified by the moderation of his character, and no one doubted his sincerity. Lord Eldon again and again avowed his “firm and determined purpose to support to the last our establishment in church and state.” ‡ When Mr. Canning became Secretary of Foreign Affairs, he was unpopular with the Anti-Catholic party in general, and obnoxious to the Lord Chancellor in particular. § Lord Eldon was, however, consoled by the decided views of Mr. Peel on this subject, whose influence with the Anti-Catholic party was materially strengthened by his position as representative of the University of Oxford. Mr. Peel, although then of comparative unimportance as a political leader, was in 1818 preferred by the University as a representative of its orthodoxy, whilst Mr. Canning was rejected. Upon the great “open question,” the party of Mr. Canning in the Cabinet obtained in 1825 a majority in the House of

* “Hansard,” vol. xv. col. 1375.

† Twiss, “Life of Lord Eldon,” vol. ii. p. 538.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xii. col. 491.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

Commons upon a Bill for the repeal of disabilities, the enactment of a state provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, and the raising of the qualification of the Irish franchise from forty shillings to ten pounds. The Bill passed the Commons by a majority of twenty seven. It was rejected by the Lords by a majority of forty-eight. On the 25th of April the duke of York, on presenting a petition from the Dean and Canons of Windsor, made a speech which produced an enormous sensation throughout the country, and especially from his concluding words:—"My own opinions, my lords, are well known. They have been carefully formed. I cannot change them. I shall continue to act conformably to them, to whatever obloquy I may be exposed, in whatever circumstances and in whatever situation I may be placed. So help me God!" The Relief Bill had been read a second time in the House of Commons four days before this memorable declaration by the Prince of the Blood next the throne,—the heir presumptive; but it had no doubt a great influence in producing the large majority in the House of Lords against the bill. Lord Eldon writes:—"If the duke of York's speech was imprudent, it has, nevertheless, on account of its firmness and boldness, placed him on the pinnacle of popularity."* The duke became the Protestant hero; his speech was printed in letters of gold, and zealous Protestants interpreted the words "in whatever circumstances I may be placed," as an assurance that whatever might be the dangers of the country, whatever might be the risk of a rebellion in Ireland, probably of a disruption of the Union, the duke of York, if he came to the throne, would interpret the Coronation Oath as his father had interpreted it. The duke, by the frankness of his character, his attention to the interests of the army, and his popular demeanour, had many friends and admirers, who, nevertheless, privately thought, as the Lord Chancellor privately wrote:—"It is to be regretted that in his highly important and lofty situation he spends so many days with blacklegs, and so many nights at cards."† In the session of 1826 the question of Catholic Emancipation was not agitated in Parliament.

On the 1st of January, 1827, the death of the duke of York was momentarily expected. The duke died on the 5th. The Lord Chancellor mourned deeply over the loss of the Prince, chiefly because he had great influence with the King, and in correspondence with his Majesty upon political questions, and in his recommendation of proper persons to be continued or appointed ministers, was much governed in his judgment, by what had been, and what he thought would be, the conduct of each person as to the Catholic

* Twiss, "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 547.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 547.

claims. This was the one test of fitness for office with the duke of York and with the Lord Chancellor, who thus recorded their mutual opinions.* Mr. Canning was especially hateful to them at the time of the duke's illness, when the Chancellor "saw a great deal of his Royal Highness." The Foreign Secretary's memorable speech of the previous 1st of December, on the subject of the aggression of Spain upon Portugal, "was regarded by the Tories as amounting to a demonstration in favour of liberalism."†

The funeral of the duke of York took place at Windsor on the night of the 20th of January. Nothing in that ceremony was more remarkable than the mismanagement by which the Cabinet ministers were marshalled by the heralds in the nave of St. George's Chapel two hours before the arrival of the funeral procession. The night was bitterly cold. As we ourselves looked down from the organ loft upon the greatest in the land, thus doomed to stand upon the unmatted pavement, shivering and shifting their uneasy positions, we observed the oldest man of the Cabinet taking very wise precautions for his personal comfort and safety. One who was by the side of Mr. Canning, attributes to his kindness of heart a suggestion to the Chancellor that he should lay down his cocked hat and stand upon it.‡ The Chancellor's health was preserved by this precaution. The funeral of the duke proved fatal to Mr. Canning. He caught a cold there which resulted in an illness from which he never really recovered.§

The removal from the active concerns of life of a public man more immediately important to the nation very soon followed the death of the duke of York. On the 16th of February lord Liverpool moved an address to the King, expressive of the concurrence of the Peers in a message recommending a provision for the duke and duchess of Clarence. The next morning the servant of the Prime Minister, going into his sitting-room after breakfast, found him senseless on the floor in a fit of apoplexy. On the 18th lord Eldon thus expressed his opinion as to the results of this event: "His life is very uncertain, and it is quite certain that as an official man he is no more. Heaven knows who will succeed him."||

The hopeless illness of lord Liverpool must have been a heavy blow to Mr. Canning, whatever prospect might have opened to him of taking that post in the state which might be called his by inheritance. The fatal stroke of apoplexy broke up a friendship of forty years between the two statesmen. Immediately after the

* Twiss, "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 581.

† Stapleton—"George Canning and his Times," p. 578.

‡ Twiss, vol. ii. p. 583.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 578.

|| *Ibid.*

funeral of the duke of York they were together at Bath, telling stories of their early years, and amusing each other with recounting all sorts of fun and adventures.* They were college friends at Christ Church. They entered the House of Commons together in 1792. They differed, as leading members of the same cabinet, only upon one point of policy—that of Catholic Emancipation. The moderation of lord Liverpool prevented that difference operating in the slightest degree against the cordial support of his friend's liberal foreign policy, and that support of the Prime Minister carried the Foreign Secretary through the opposition which otherwise might have overwhelmed him. This prop was gone, and he must now trust to his own resources to contend with or to propitiate jealous colleagues, or retire at once from the position which he had won by his administrative talents and his unrivalled eloquence. The Catholic question was the chief barrier which opposed his natural claim to be the head of a ministry such as existed under lord Liverpool. It was a time when the advocates and the opposers of relief to the Catholics would be pitted against each other, and no possible doubt could be entertained of the consistency with which the leaders of each party would maintain their opinions. On the 5th of March sir Francis Burdett had proposed a resolution, "That this House is deeply impressed with the expediency of taking into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, with a view to their relief." In the adjourned debate on the 6th, Mr. Secretary Peel and Mr. Secretary Canning were distinctly marshalled against each other; and each, without any direct personal allusions, sufficiently expressed his own views for the guidance of his followers. Mr. Peel, alluding to the death of the duke of York, and the incapacity of lord Liverpool, declared that he had now an opportunity of showing his adherence to those tenets which he had formerly espoused—of showing that he stood by his opinions when the influence and authority which might have given them currency was gone, "and when it was impossible, he believed, that in the mind of any human being he could stand suspected of pursuing his principles with any view to favour or personal aggrandizement."† The biographer of sir Robert Peel, his diplomatic friend and ardent admirer, says that this language did not meet with entire credence, it being a prevalent opinion that as Mr. Canning was growing daily in influence with the liberal party, Mr. Peel was anxious on his side to secure to himself the firm support of the Tories, "in order to raise himself eventually to the head of the

* Stapleton, p. 580.

† "Hansard," vol. xvi. col. 910.

government.”* Mr. Canning, in his reply, glanced with a very intelligible meaning at the consequences that would result from throwing away any chance of improving the condition of Ireland, if a ministry wholly Anti-Catholic should carry into effect the doctrine of Mr. Peel, that the troubles and difficulties of that country should be met by firmness and decision :—“Firmness and decision, sir, are admirable qualities; but they are virtues or vices according as they are used. I will not take them in the unfavourable sense in which they have been taken generally, by the ears which have heard them this night; for if I did, I should not envy the hand on which would devolve the task of carrying such a system into effect.”† The king had quickly to determine upon his choice, not of either of the principles avowed by these two parliamentary leaders, but of the possibility of reconciling those differences of opinion under a premiership which might allow the continuance of that system of compromise which made the Catholic question an open one for the Cabinet. The king consulted the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Canning. These ministers had repeated conferences with each other, but no solution of the difficulty could be arrived at. There was no one to be found, either Pro-Catholic or Anti-Catholic, who could be placed at the head of the government with the same power and influence as lord Liverpool had exercised for continuing the system of compromise. Mr. Canning saw the difficulty, and offered to retire if the king could form an administration wholly composed of persons thinking as the king himself thought. His Majesty did not see the possibility of maintaining such a ministry; and finally on the 10th of April, gave his commands to Mr. Canning to prepare, with as little delay as possible, a plan for the reconstruction of the administration.‡

On the 12th of April a new writ for the borough of Newport was moved in the House of Commons, in consequence of the acceptance by Mr. Canning of the office of First Lord of the Treasury. At the same time it was agreed that the House should adjourn till the 1st of May. During this interval the greatest excitement prevailed, not only amongst political partisans, but in every circle in which the characters and opinions of public men formed subjects of discussion. The commanding talents and the liberal policy of Mr. Canning produced a very extended hope that he would be able to maintain his great position against the attacks of his numerous enemies. At this time lord Eldon wrote

* Guizot, “Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel,” p. 28. † “Hansard,” vol. xvi. col. 1007.

‡ See Note at the end of this chapter.

—"the whole conversation in this town is made up of abusive, bitterly abusive, talk of people about each other—all fire and flame; I have known nothing like it." * It was pretty generally known that the offers of Mr. Canning to six of his late colleagues in the Cabinet had been either contemptuously or civilly rejected. Those of his colleagues who resigned their offices before or on the 12th, were—the Lord Chancellor, the duke of Wellington, lord Westmoreland, lord Bathurst, lord Bexley, and Mr. Peel. Mr. Canning went into the King's closet and said, presenting these letters of resignation to the King, "Here, sire, is that which disables me from executing the orders I have received from you respecting the formation of a new administration. It is now open to your Majesty to adopt a new course." The King gave Mr. Canning his hand to kiss, and the minister had to look around for new supporters. Lord Bexley afterwards withdrew his resignation. Lord Melville retired from the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and the duke of Clarence was appointed Lord-High-Admiral. The duke of Wellington, contrary to the desire of the King and his minister, subsequently resigned, in addition to his seat in the Cabinet, his office of Commander-in-chief. When the Houses met, after the Easter recess, on the 1st of May, Mr. Canning had completed the formation of his ministry. † On that day all the avenues to the House of Commons were crowded by persons anxious to catch a glimpse of the minister so beloved and trusted, so feared and hated. He walked up the old staircase which led to the lobby with a firm and agile step, and one of the crowd, at least, who looked upon his radiant face, thought of Burke's famous description of Conway, "hope elevated and joy brightened his crest." ‡ The House of Commons on that night presented an unusual spectacle. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Tierney sat immediately behind the minister. Mr. Brougham took his seat on the ministerial side; with other members who three weeks previously had sat on the benches of Opposition. In the House of Peers, lord Lyndhurst was on the woolsack. Three new peers took the oaths, viscount Goderich (late Mr. Robinson), lord Plunkett, and lord Tenterden. Mr. Peel on that night made a most elaborate exposition of the causes which had led to the resignation of himself and other members of the late government. There was no acrimony in his studied oration. Mr. Canning had the gratify-

* Twiss, vol. ii. p. 353.

† We give, at the end of this chapter, a list of the Administration as it stood on the 1st of May, and as it was modified before the close of the session.

‡ See *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 97.

ing assurance from Mr. Brougham, who in the eminent position which he had won had the right to speak the sentiments of a large and powerful body, that the new government should have his support; without the possibility of his taking office himself. Mr. Canning made his explanation calmly as befitted his great place. He could scarcely then have been prepared for the fury of the tempest with which he was soon to be assailed. In the House of Commons he, with his friend Huskisson by his side, was well able to hold his ground against any assailant. Mr. Peel did not offer any opposition to the minister which could imply a difference of opinion amounting to personal hostility. A few of the immediate friends of Mr. Peel were not so guarded in joining what has been termed "a teasing opposition." Some "of that species of orators called the yelpers," of whom Canning was the terror,—for his "lash would have penetrated the hide of a rhinoceros." *—were perpetually pestering the minister "to give some explanation of the circumstances which led to the dissolution of the late, and the formation of the present, administration." Canning was contented to say, "I will not answer a single question relative to the late transactions, unless it be brought forward as a motion." Mr. Brougham steadily supported Mr. Canning in his determination, declaring that such questions were really suggested for the sake of exciting unfair and irregular discussions. Alluding to the same tactics that had been practised in another place, he could only express his unfeigned regret that a prayer that he had heard on the previous Sunday had not hitherto been fulfilled—that it had not yet pleased Divine Providence "to endue all the nobility with grace, wisdom and understanding." Such an enlightenment might have saved a great statesman from what appeared to many as a blot upon his otherwise high-minded career. One of the most judicious politicians of another country has spared us the pain of expressing our own opinions upon the conduct of the most distinguished amongst the Whigs: "Attacked in the House of Peers by lord Grey with *haughty and contemptuous violence*, Mr. Canning had been but feebly defended by his unskilful and intimidated friends in that House; and he was so much wounded at this, that for a moment, it is said, he entertained the idea of resigning his seat in the House of Commons and obtaining a peerage, that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his policy and honour in the House of Lords." † He might have calmly said, with Lear, "The little dogs and all, see, they bark at me;" but "tooth that

* Scott, Diary in Lockhart's "Life," vol. vii.

† Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 31.

poisons if it bite" would leave a rankling wound. The duke of Newcastle might call upon every friend of his country to aid in dispossessing "one who was the most profligate minister who had ever been placed in power." Such impotent rage carried its own antidote. But lord Grey was of another order of minds. Lord Holland stood up boldly to defend himself and his friends from the charge of having given an unworthy support to the minister thus assailed by the strong and the impotent. He showed, as Mr. Brougham had shown, how the liberal opinions of Mr. Canning claimed support from those who professed similar principles.

The attack by lord Grey upon Mr. Canning's foreign policy was not difficult of refutation. But there was one point of material importance upon which lord Grey must have known that he could not receive an answer when he said, "I ask of the noble lords opposite, or of any one of them, to answer me, aye or no,—has or has not an engagement been entered into not to bring forward the Catholic question as a measure of government?" He added, "If such an engagement have been made, that at once settles my mind, because it is a principle which I have always opposed. It is nothing less than that which in 1807 I rejected, and to which nothing shall ever induce me to agree."* It is possible that the somewhat loose manner in which George IV. was accustomed to talk of state affairs to his familiar friends, and which thus became the tattle of the Court circle, might have warranted lord Grey in more than insinuating against the conduct of the Prime Minister that he had given an unconstitutional pledge such as had been refused by the ministry of which lord Grey himself formed a part in 1807. But the confidences of his majesty extended beyond those among whom he passed a life of gentle dalliance and practical jokes at the Lodge in Windsor Great Park. The duke of Buckingham, whom he raised to the loftiest eminence of the Peerage, relates, in the "Private Diary" which the lapse of thirty-five years has brought to light, that the king unbosomed himself to him in the most unreserved manner as to the recent changes of administration. The duke was very wroth with Mr. Canning, who had not propitiated him by the offer of some great office, although the Grenvilles were represented in the Cabinet; and he was himself friendly to Catholic Emancipation. The conversation turned upon this absorbing question: "Canning," said the king, "has pledged himself never to press me upon that subject, and never to be a member of the Cabinet that does." His majesty added, with an oath, that the moment his minister

* "Hansard," vol. xvii. col 724.

"changed his line he goes."* We can understand how the king's uncontradicted talk might have provoked the indignation of lord Grey against one whom he deemed ready to sacrifice honour for power. Two years afterwards his majesty repeated the same narrative of what passed in the closet when there was no witness present. On the 28th of March, 1829, when lord Eldon was using his influence over his sovereign to prevent the Catholic Relief Bill proposed by the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel becoming law, the ex-chancellor makes this entry in his Diary: "His majesty employed a very considerable portion of time in stating all that he represented to have passed when Mr. Canning was made minister, and expressly stated that Mr. C. would never, and that he had engaged that he would never, allow him to be troubled about the Roman Catholic question."† In the "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel"—those most interesting revelations published by the trustees of his papers,—this passage from the Diary of lord Eldon is quoted by him for the purpose of appending to it a vindication of the character of the man of whom Mr. Peel said in the great debate on the Catholic Relief in 1729—wishing that Mr. Canning were alive to reap the harvest which he sowed, and to enjoy the triumph which he gained,—“I was on terms of the most friendly intimacy with my right honourable friend, down even to the day of his death.” The testimony to the political integrity of Mr. Canning upon the question of Catholic Emancipation in 1827 is as follows:—"There must no doubt have been some misapprehension on the king's mind as to the engagement or intentions of Mr. Canning with regard to the Catholic question. I feel very very confident that Mr. Canning would not have accepted office having entered into any engagement, or given any assurances, which would have the effect of placing his government and himself in that relation to George the Fourth with respect to the Catholic question in which preceding ministers had stood to George the Third."‡ What Sir Robert Peel concluded to have been a "misapprehension on the king's mind" has been designated by a coarser term in the "Private Diary" of the Duke of Buckingham, which contains these entries: July 17—Received a letter from George [Lord Nugent]—"He treats the pledge of Canning not to press the Catholic question as a lie of the king's." . . . July 19—"I had a long letter from George, strongly urgent against the

* "Private Diary of Richard, Duke of Buckingham," 1862, vol. i. pp. 13 and 14.

† Twiss, "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. iii. p. 82.

‡ "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. i. p. 275.

line which I have adopted, and declaring the king to tell falsehoods, and to intend to deceive."*

During the two months in which the Session was continued after the re-assembling of Parliament on the 1st of May, the irregular discussions in both Houses left but little opportunity for real progress in the nation's business. The personal hostility to Mr. Canning, which the duke of Wellington almost acknowledged, was something strange in parliamentary tactics, and some attributed it to the traditional jealousy of the aristocracy, whether Whig or Tory, that a plebeian—an adventurer—should presume to take the helm of the State instead of one of their "Order." Others ascribed the personal attacks of many peers and commoners to that hatred of genius, too often entertained by mediocrity of understanding. The incessant exhibition of this spirit rendered it impossible for the minister either to make a triumphant display of his oratorical power, or to carry through any measure of great public importance. He spoke for the last time on the 18th of June, on the subject of the Corn-trade. The Session was closed on the 2nd of July.

When men were speculating in February on the probable successor of lord Liverpool, lord Eldon wrote, "I should suppose Canning's health would not let him undertake the labour of the situation; but ambition will attempt anything"† The prorogation of Parliament did not produce the usual effect of comparative relaxation upon the toil-worn Minister. Four years previous, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Robinson were described after a prorogation, as "boys let loose from school." The American minister who was thus astonished at the deportment of grave statesmen, was more astonished when the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, after dinner, proposed that the company should play at the game of "Twenty Questions." Complete relaxation, however impaired may be the health of a Prime Minister, is one of the few things which he is utterly powerless to command. Mr. Canning had an interview with the king on the 30th of July, when his majesty was so struck by the looks of the Premier, to whom he had given a cordial support, that he sent his own physician to attend him. The next day Mr. Canning had to work in Downing-street. The duke of Devonshire had lent him his villa at Chiswick, in the belief that change of air would restore him. He occupied the bedroom in which Fox had died. On the 31st a few friends had dined with him; but he retired early. The suffering from internal inflamma-

* "Private Diary," vol. i. p. 21. See Note at end of this chapter.

† Twiss, vol. ii. p. 583.

tion which he felt on that last night of July, terminated in his death on the 8th of August. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 16th in the most private manner. But the universal display of sorrow told more than any funereal pomp that a great man had departed.

The settlement of a treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, on the subject of the affairs of Greece, was the latest, as it was amongst the most important, of the official acts of Mr. Caning. That treaty was signed on the 7th of July, 1827. Forty years had elapsed since, a schoolboy at Eton, he had written a very eloquent poem on "The Slavery of Greece." He painted the ancient glories of her arms and her arts; he evoked the great names of her philosophers and her poets, to point the contrast of her glories fading into shame,—servitude binding in its galling chain those who had stood up against Asia's millions,—cities mouldering,—the fallen column on the dusty ground,—worst of all, the sons of the freedom-breathing land sighing in abject bondage, groaning at the labours of the oar or of the mine, trembling before

"The glitt'ring tyranny of Othman's sons."*

The position of Greece since 1821 was such as to arouse the deepest sympathies of every Englishman who knew anything of her ancient story. The Greeks in that year, seizing the opportunity of a war between the sultan and Ali Pasha, rose in revolt. A proclamation issued by the archbishop of Patras produced a general insurrection. For six years a cruel and devastating war had gone on, in which the Greeks, at first successful, had more and more quailed before the greater force which the Porte was able at last to bring against them, by employing the disciplined troops of the pasha of Egypt. The story of this war has a peculiar interest to us in connection with the individual efforts of Englishmen to promote this struggle for freedom,—of Byron, who died at Missolonghi with "Greece" on his lips,—of Cochrane, whose hopes of rousing the Greek leaders to decisive and unanimous action came to an end when all was lost at the great battle before Athens. In September, 1826, the Divan having obstinately refused to enter into negotiations with those over whom they considered themselves the absolute masters,—those "who form part of the nations inhabiting the countries conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms,"†—the British Government proposed to Russia that the Porte should be apprised that the result of this obstinacy would be the recognition of the independence of Greece. What, according to international laws, should be the basis of this recognition, was clearly

* *Microcosm*, 1787, No. 5.

† Manifesto of the Ottoman Porte, 1827.

laid down by Mr. Canning. The Turks were to be told that Great Britain and Russia "would look to Greece with an eye of favour, and with a disposition to seize the first occasion of recognizing, as an independent state, such portion of her territory as should have freed itself from Turkish dominion ; provided that such state should have shown itself substantially capable of maintaining an independent existence, of carrying on a government of its own, of controlling its own military and naval forces, and of being responsible to other nations for the observance of international laws and the discharge of international duties." Such was the exposition which the British government then adopted, in the affairs of Greece, of the principles which should determine the recognition of the independence of a revolting or separating state. The principle of what should constitute a belligerent was laid down with equal clearness by Mr. Canning at an earlier stage of this conflict : "The character of belligerency is not so much a principle as a fact. A certain degree of force and consistency acquired by any mass of population engaged in war entitles that population to be treated as a belligerent, and even if their title were questionable renders it the interest, well understood, of all civilized nations so to treat them. For what is the alternative ? A power or community (whichever it may be called) which is at war with another, and which covers the sea with its cruisers, must either be acknowledged as a belligerent, or treated as a pirate."

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of July, 1827, it was agreed that instructions should be sent to the representatives at Constantinople of the three contracting Powers that they should present a joint declaration to the Divan, stating that as the war of extermination had been prolonged for six years, producing results shocking to humanity, and inflicting intolerable injury on the commerce of all nations, it was no longer possible to admit that the fate of Greece concerned exclusively the Ottoman Porte. They were to offer their mediation between the Sublime Porte and the Greeks to put an end to the war, to settle by amicable negotiation the relations which ought for the future to exist between them, and to propose that all acts of hostility should be suspended by an armistice. A similar proposition should be made to the Greeks. A month was to be given to the Ottoman Porte to make known its determination. If no answer were returned, or an evasive answer were given, the Divan was to be informed that the three Powers would themselves interfere to establish an armistice. Although the admirals of the allied squadrons of the three Powers were to be instructed to take coercive measures to enforce an armistice,

they were to be warned against any hostile step which would be contrary to the pacific character which the three Powers were desirous to impart to their interference.

Such were the views of a statesman who, ardently desiring the preservation of peace, would not hesitate to enforce the true principles of international law that should govern the recognition of a belligerent Power, and of a State claiming to be independent. These were principles which would remain for our guidance in all future questions involving a similar exercise of discretion and forbearance, but calling for resolute action when it might become necessary to assert the right of civilized communities to decide upon such questions without reference to the passions and prejudices of the contending parties. Mr. Canning was most anxious, in the terrible conflict between Turks and Greeks, to avoid any course of action which would lead to direct hostilities, and especially to avert the possible danger of a policy of absolute neutrality on the part of Great Britain which might have placed the Turkish empire at the feet of Russia. By completing the treaty with Russia and France, he secured that co-operation which would prevent that separate action of Russia which would have necessarily resulted in her own aggrandizement. All the complicated previous negotiations for the pacification of Greece had reference to this difficulty.

THE CABINET OF MR. CANNING.

Earl of Harrowby	President of the Council ; succeeded by the Duke of Portland.
Lord Lyndhurst	Lord Chancellor.
Duke of Portland	Lord Privy Seal ; succeeded by the Earl of Carlisle.
Right Hon. George Canning .	First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. W. S. Bourne . .	Secretary of State for the Home Department ; succeeded by the Marquess of Lansdowne.
Viscount Dudley and Ward .	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Viscount Goderich	Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Right Hon. C. W. W. Wynn .	President of the Board of Control.
Lord Bexley	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. William Huskisson	Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Trade.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary-at-War.
Right Hon. George Tierney .	Master of the Mint.
Earl of Carlisle	First Commissioner of Woods and Forests ; succeeded by the Right Hon. W. S. Bourne.

NOTE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH PRECEDED MR. CANNING'S PREMIERSHIP.

The editor of the "Private Diary" of the duke of Buckingham announces that portion which relates to an audience of George IV. as of singular interest: "such an exposition of ministerial intrigue does not exist in any published work." We are constrained to believe that the whole of the exposition, whether relating to the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, or Mr. Canning, is, for the most part, a figment of the king's. We have noticed in the text what his Majesty said as to a pledge given by Mr. Canning (p. 613). We have a few words to write upon what the duke of Buckingham accepted as a story clearly made out "against Peel and the duke of Wellington, the truth of which I cannot doubt." Twice, said the king, he saw the duke of Wellington, and twice the duke said that "he could not be his minister"—"the duke persevered in excluding himself." The king went on to say that "at last Peel, who had kept a very high and mighty bearing" agreed to meet Canning, and after this meeting wrote to him to say that one had been suggested as Premier whose name he did not like to put in writing; that delays intervened, and that at last "Peel came to the king and thundered out the duke of Wellington's name," upon which his majesty said that "having been refused twice by the duke himself," he would not, "in the eleventh hour, have a man crammed down his throat." Peel then refused to act with Canning; the king refused to accept Wellington; named Canning as his minister; and then the resignations took place.

The circumstances thus recorded and credited are totally at variance with the statements and documents published by Mr. Stapleton in 1859. Mr. Canning had a long audience of the king on the 27th of March, the particulars of which are minutely detailed in a paper dictated by him to his secretary. Between the 31st of March and the 6th of April, he had no communication with the king on the subject of the cabinet arrangements; but he had frequent conferences with the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel. On the 9th of April, Mr. Canning, *by the king's command*, saw Mr. Peel, "who came for the purpose of stating the name of an individual whose appointment as premier Mr. Peel conceived likely to solve all difficulties." That individual was the duke of Wellington. Under him Mr. Canning declined to serve, as the duke "for years had been combating in the cabinet Mr. Canning's system of foreign policy." On the next day the king gave his commands to Mr. Canning to prepare a plan for the reconstruction of the administration. The "story clearly made out against Mr. Peel and the duke of Wellington," like many other stories, is destroyed by a little cross-examination. So far from the king refusing the duke of Wellington, he sent Mr. Peel to Mr. Canning to endeavour to induce him to accept the duke as the Anti-Catholic head of the Ministry.

CHAPTER XXIX.

India.—Retrospect from 1807 to 1826.—Lord Minto Governor-General.—Mutiny of Officers at Madras.—Trade of India thrown open.—Government of the Marquess of Hastings.—War with Nepal.—War with the Pindarees.—The War terminated, and the Mahratta Confederacy broken up.—Conquest of Ceylon.—Singapore.—Malacca.—Lord Amherst Governor-General.—War with the Birman Empire.—Campaign of Sir Archibald Campbell.—Peace with the Birman Empire.—Bombardment and Capture of Bhurtpore.—Regulation of the Press in India.—The case of Mr. Buckingham.—Material progress of British India.

At the opening of the Session of Parliament at the end of 1826, the Houses were informed of the termination of war in the Birman territories, and of the conclusion of a peace highly honourable to the British arms, and to the councils of the British Government in India. From 1824 there had been war with the Birman empire, Lord Amherst being Governor-General. From 1813 to 1822, during the government of the marquess of Hastings, there had been war with the Nepaulese, and war with the Pindarees, the latter war involving changes in the relations of the British power with native princes, which eventually led to their complete submission. From 1807 to 1812 there had been war with the Rajah of Travancore; there had been mutinies in the native army; and, by a series of hostile operations, the British had become the sole European power in India. Lord Minto was Governor-General during this first period, succeeding Lord Cornwallis after the very brief term of his government.* We propose to take a brief survey of the events of this period of twenty years, during which time there had been important changes in the relations of the State to the East India Company, and a general impatience amongst the commercial community at the continuance of their monopoly, and at the somewhat arbitrary regulations by which it was deemed necessary to uphold their exclusive privileges. But there had never been a year in which the British empire in India was not extending and consolidating, and the same courage, fortitude, and perseverance evinced in military enterprises which first laid the foundations of that empire, and would still have to sustain it through years of danger and difficulty. Nor let us forget that, during these twenty

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 226.

years in which the native powers adverse to our rule and influence were either crushed or propitiated, some efforts were made to accomplish a more complete subjection of the native populations by a civil rule of justice and beneficence, by repressing, as far as was safe, the barbarous rites of their idolatries and superstitions, and by winning them over to some possible recognition of Christian principles by encouraging rather than repressing efforts for their conversion, and by the establishment of an Anglican Church, whose first bishops were tolerant as well as zealous, active in well-doing, of high talent, and of blameless life.

At the beginning of 1807 India was at peace. On the death of the marquess Cornwallis, the powers of the Governor-General were temporarily exercised by sir George Barlow, who was subsequently entrusted with the full authority of his post by the Court of Directors. The Grenville administration had just come into office, and they wished to bestow the appointment upon one of their own supporters, and especially upon some nobleman. The harmony that had hitherto subsisted between the two independent bodies in whom was vested the government of India, was now interrupted. The ministry, who had at first consented to the continuance in office of sir George Barlow, recalled him, by an exercise of the royal prerogative, in direct opposition to the Board of Directors. The debates in Parliament on this subject were continued and violent. The conflict was finally settled by the appointment of lord Minto. The tranquillity of his government was after a while seriously disturbed by an outbreak against the power of the Company at Travancore. There was war against the Rajah of this state, which originated in a dispute between his Dewan, or chief minister, and the British resident. His troops were beaten in the field during 1808, and the lines of Travancore being stormed at the beginning of 1809, and other forts captured, relations of amity between the Company and the Rajah were restored. A more serious danger arose out of a circumstance which appears now amongst the most incredible things of the past. The officers of the Madras army, who had long been stirred up to discontent, had mutinied, and lord Minto, in August, 1809, sailed for Madras to quell this extraordinary insubordination of British officers. There were various and contradictory regulations existing in the several Presidencies. There were inequalities in the rate of allowances. At Madras, what the Council termed "a very dangerous spirit of cabal" had been pointed out as early as March, 1807, by the Council to the Court of Directors. There was there an officer high in command, lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, who was described in the despatch of the

Council as "the champion of the rights of the Company's army." Colonel St. Leger, as well as other officers, was suspended by an order of the 1st of May, and then open mutiny burst out at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other places. On one occasion only was blood shed in this extraordinary revolt. Many of these officers were very young men, who were incited to acts of insubordination by the example of their seniors. Brave as were the British officers in the field, their exclusiveness and assumption of superiority were offensive to civilians and dangerous in their intercourse with the natives. These misguided men gradually returned to habits of obedience. In September lord Minto published an amnesty, with the exception of eighteen officers, nearly all of whom chose to resign rather than to abide the judgment of a court-martial. It now became the wish of all to obliterate the painful remembrance of the past. During this alarming period, in which the mutiny of the officers might have led to the entire disorganization of the Sepoy army, the King's troops manifested the most entire obedience to the orders of the Governor-General. Lord Wellington, engrossing as was his duty in Spain in December 1809, wrote from Badajoz to colonel Malcolm, to express how much he felt on what had passed in the Madras establishment:—"I scarcely recognize in those transactions the men for whom I entertained so much respect and had so much regard a few years back." Those transactions, he said, were "consequences of the first error—that is, of persons in authority making partisans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the State."*

During the administration of lord Minto a number of successful operations were undertaken in the Eastern Archipelago, which, in 1810, gave us possession of Amboyna and the Banda isles, of the island of Bourbon, and of the Mauritius. The most important of these conquests was the rich island of Java, which, after a severe battle with the Dutch troops near the capital, capitulated in 1810. Sir Stamford Raffles, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java, described it as "the other India." It passed out of our hands at the Peace—a circumstance attributed by many to the complete ignorance of the British government of the great value of this possession. The policy of the Court of Directors was to maintain peace as long as possible upon the continent of India, and thus the depredations of the Pindarees and the Nepaulese were not met by the Governor-General with any vigorous measures of repression. He demanded redress of the Rajah of Nepaul for the

* Despatches, vol. v. p. 330.

outrages of his people, but he did not make any more effectual demonstration to compel a less injurious conduct. His diplomacy had for its main object to prevent the establishment of the French in the peninsula. He concluded treaties with the Ameers of Scinde, and with the King of Caubul, of which the terms of friendship were, that they should restrain the French from settling in their territories. With Persia, where France was endeavouring to establish her influence, a treaty was concluded, binding the sovereign to resist the passage of any European force through his country towards India.

The usual term of a Governor-General's residence being completed, lord Minto resigned in 1813, and proceeded to England. He came at the time when a material alteration was at hand in the position of the East India Company. By the Statute of Queen Anne, and by successive Acts of Parliament, the Company had the exclusive privilege, as regarded English subjects, of trading to all places east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the straits of Magalhaens. In March, 1813, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee to consider the affairs of the East India Company. The Government proposed that the charter of the Company should be renewed for twenty years, during which term they should retain the exclusive trade to China, but that the trade to India should be thrown open on certain conditions. The Government also proposed to appoint a bishop for India, and three archdeacons. The Committee examined various witnesses. The first witness was Warren Hastings, then eighty years of age. He expressed his decided opinion that the settlement of Europeans would be fraught with danger to the peace of the country and the security of the Company, and that the trade between India and England, as then regulated, was far more beneficial than if perfectly free. On the subject of the propagation of Christianity in India, and the proposed episcopal establishment, his evidence is described as having evinced "a most philosophic indifference." * The debates in both House on the Resolutions occupied four months of the session. A Bill was finally passed by which the trade to India was thrown open as proposed, the territorial and commercial branches of the Company's affairs were separated, and the king was empowered to create a bishop of India, and three archdeacons, to be paid by the Company.

Lord Minto was succeeded as Governor-General by the earl of Moira, afterwards marquess of Hastings, who took possession of the government on the 4th of October, 1813. During 1814 and

* Thornton, "British Empire in India," vol. iv. p. 228.

1815 there was war between the British and the Nepaulese. This is sometimes called the Gorkha war, from that portion of Nepaul which surrounded Gorkha, the capital, and which was originally subject to the separate rule of one of the princes of the Nepaul dynasty. The Gorkhas at the period of the government of the marquess of Hastings were subjecting all the smaller states to their dominion, and were able to maintain an army of twelve thousand disciplined men, who were clothed and accoutred like the British sepoys. As they advanced towards the British possessions on the northern frontier, they manifested a desire to try their strength against the Company's troops, and exhibited their ill-will in 1814 by attacking two police-stations in the districts of Goruckpoor and Sarun, and by massacring all the troops in the garrisons there. The first operations of the British troops were unsuccessful; but in 1815 Sir David Ochterlony was enabled to dislodge the Gorkhas from their hill-forts, and to compel their commander, Ammer Singh, to capitulate. A treaty of peace was concluded at the end of 1815, but its ratification by the Rajah being withheld, a large British army advanced to Khatmandu, the present capital of Nepaul. The treaty was ratified and the war concluded at the beginning of 1816. Some portions of territory were ceded to the Company; but for the most part the chiefs who had been expelled by the conquering Gorkhas were restored to their ancient possessions.

The province of Malwa was the chief seat of a body of free-booters, the Pindarees, who carried on a war of devastation with peaceful neighbours, and were more formidable from their want of that political organization which constitutes a state. They lived in separate societies of one or two hundred, governed each by its chief, but they were always ready to combine under one supreme chief for the purposes of their marauding expeditions. In 1814 fifteen thousand horsemen were assembled on the north bank of the Nerbudda, under a leader named Cheetoo. In October, 1815, they seized the opportunity of our troops being engaged in the Nepaulese war to cross the Nerbudda, and having plundered and devastated a territory of our ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, re-crossed the Nerbudda to prepare for another raid with a greater force. Between the 5th of February and the 17th of May, 1816, they had again collected an immense booty, with which they retired, not only having devastated the lands of our allies, but within the Company's frontiers having plundered more than three hundred villages and put to death or tortured more than four thousand individuals. These fierce and successful attacks of the Pindarees

were not solely instigated by their own desire for the rich booty of peaceful provinces. They would scarcely have ventured to defy the British power had they not been secretly supported by a confederacy of Mahratta potentates. The Governor-General had obtained certain information that the Peishwa, the Rajah of Nagpore, Scindia, Holkar the younger, and Ameer Khan, were preparing in concert with the Pindarees to invade the Company's territories whilst our troops were engaged in the Nepaulese war. The Governor-General, at the conclusion of the peace with Nepal, applied to the authorities at home for permission to carry on the war with the Pindarees upon a great scale. Till this permission should arrive he had only to keep the Bengal army in advanced cantonments. When his warrant for extended operations did arrive, the marquess of Hastings was ready with an army in each of the three presidencies to take the field against the Pindarees, and against all their open or secret supporters. The immensity of his preparations, says a French writer, was determined by the importance of his designs. "The Governor-General took the resolution to complete the plan conceived long before and pursued without relaxation by his predecessors—the absolute conquest of the Peninsula."* Whether or no such a design, which was regarded at home as a dream of ambition, had urged the marquess of Hastings to undertake a war of enormous magnitude, it is quite certain that the issue of that war was another most decided advance in the assertion of our supremacy, which manifestly tended to "the absolute conquest of the Peninsula."

At the end of September, 1817, orders were issued for a simultaneous movement of the army of Bengal under the command of the Governor-General, of the army of the Deccan under the command of sir Thomas Hislop, and of various corps from different stations, each marching to points from which the Pindarees could be surrounded, and at the same time their Mahratta and other supporters prevented from uniting their forces. It is not within our limits to attempt any detail of this very complicated warfare. The war with the Pindarees was terminated in the spring of 1818, with the entire destruction or dispersion of these terrible marauders. The best historian of the events which led to this most desirable result is sir John Malcolm, who was himself one of the most active and sagacious of the British commanders. Their complete extinction has been graphically described by him: "Within five years after their name had spread terror and dismay over all India, there remained not a spot that a

* "Annuaire Historique," 1818, p. 357.

Pindaree could call his home. They had been hunted like wild beasts, numbers had been killed, all ruined, those who espoused their cause had fallen. Early in the contest they were shunned like a contagion,—the timid villagers whom they had so recently oppressed were among the foremost to attack them.”*

On the 5th of November the Governor-General had extorted by the presence of his powerful army a treaty with Scindia, in which that Mahratta chief engaged to aid in the destruction of the Pindarees. That army was at this moment attacked by an enemy far more dangerous than any which it would be likely to encounter in the field. It was encamped on low ground, on the banks of a tributary of the Jumna. The Indian cholera morbus, which had broken out at Jessore, had ascended the valley of the Ganges, and reaching the camp of the main British army destroyed in little more than a week one-tenth of the number there crowded together. The camp was broken up and the army marched on, in the hope of reaching some spot where the disease would be less fatal. It was the end of November before the remnant of this fine army having reached Erech, on the Bettwa river, the pestilence seemed to have exhausted its force. During its rage the marquess of Hastings fully expected to be a victim; for his personal attendants were dropping all around him. Bury me in my tent, he said, lest the enemy should hear of my death, and attack my disheartened troops. Scindia had seized the opportunity, not to render aid against the Pindarees, but to invite them to come into his territory. The cholera passed away, and the Governor-General hurried back to his former position to cut off the possible junction between the marauding bands and Scindia's troops. In the remaining months of 1817 and the beginning of 1818 the Mahratta confederacy was utterly broken up by the successes of the British. The Rajah of Nagpore, after a battle of eighteen hours, was defeated, and his town of Nagpore taken on the 26th of November. Holkar was beaten on the 21st of December at the battle of Meehudpoor, and peace was concluded with him on the 6th of January. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas surrendered to the English in the following June, agreeing to abdicate his throne, and become a pensioner of the East India Company.

During the period of the administration of the marquess of Hastings Ceylon was entirely subjected to the British dominion. The Dutch had been in possession of the maritime provinces of this island from the beginning of the seventeenth century, whilst the interior, known as the kingdom of Kandy, was governed by

* Sir John Malcolm, “Memoir of Central India.”

native princes, with whom the Dutch were continually at war. In 1796 these maritime provinces were wrested from the Dutch by a British armament, and our establishments there were rendered more secure by the acquiescence of the king of Kandy in this occupation of the coast districts. The British administration of Ceylon was not connected with that of the East India Company; it was a distinct possession of the crown, having been formally ceded by the Treaty of Amiens. In 1815 the king of Kandy had rendered himself so obnoxious to his subjects by a series of atrocities,—such as causing a mother to pound her children to death in a mortar,—that his deposition took place, and the British were invited by Kandian chiefs to take possession of his dominions. The conquest of the island was thus effected, and the natives had begun to taste the value of a just and merciful rule, when, in 1817, a rebellion broke out in the eastern provinces, and was with difficulty suppressed after a costly and sanguinary warfare of two years' duration. From 1819 to 1848 complete tranquillity prevailed in that island, and its material and moral condition were greatly advanced under intelligent and zealous governors. At Singapore, in 1819, sir Thomas Raffles established a factory on the south shore of the island, and in 1824, a cession in full sovereignty of this and the neighbouring islands was obtained by purchase from a person who claimed to be king of Jahore, and was afterwards raised to that throne. Malacca was ceded to the British in 1824 by treaty with the government of the Netherlands.

Had Mr. Canning become Governor-General of India when his appointment as successor of the marquess of Hastings was resolved upon, it may be doubted whether he could have carried through the policy which, as President of the Board of Control, he avowed in Parliament in 1819, upon the vote of thanks to the marquess of Hastings and the army in India:—"Anxious as I am for the prosperity and grandeur of our Indian empire, I confess I look upon its indefinite extension with awe. I earnestly wish that it may be possible for us to remain stationary where we are; and that what still exists of substantive and independent power in India may stand untouched and unimpaired. But this consummation, however much it may be desired, depends not on ourselves alone. Aggression must be repelled, and perfidy must be visited with its just reward. And while I join with the thinking part of the country in deprecating advance, who shall say that there is safety for such a power as ours in retrogradation?"* Of the prudence and wisdom of the theory of policy thus set forth, the nation at large,

* "Hansard," vol. xxxix. col. 882.

the East India Company, the great Indian administrators, never appeared to entertain the slightest doubt. But, practically, it was invariably found that without advance there would be retrogradation. It was in vain that those who led the British armies in India must have felt what Mr. Canning expressed—with how much jealousy the House and country are in the habit of appreciating the triumphs of our arms in India; how our military operations, however successful, have always been considered as questionable in point of justice.* Lord Amherst, who in March 1823 embarked for India as Governor-General, had to pass through this almost inevitable process of entering upon a war of conquest with the most sincere desire to remain at peace. Within six or seven months after his arrival in India, he had to write to a friend at home:—"I have to tell you that I most unexpectedly find myself engaged in war with the king of Ava."† This was the war with the Birman Empire, which involved us in hostilities from March, 1824, to February, 1826. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Birman signified a great warlike race that had founded various kingdoms, amongst which were Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Aracan. The kingdoms of Ava and Pegu were in a continued state of warfare, in which the Peguers were ultimately victorious. Ava had been conquered by them, when, in 1753, a man of humble origin but of great ability, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Hindo-Chinese peninsula,"‡ raised a small force, which, constantly increasing, expelled the conquerors and placed Alompra on the Birman throne." It has been remarked as equally curious and instructive, that "the last restoration of the Birman empire, and the foundation of ours in India were exactly contemporaneous."§ For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Birmese from the Irawaddi, pushed their conquests, whether by arms or negotiation, till they met. Their inevitable rivalry soon led to hostilities. The Birmese had gradually subjugated the independent states which formerly existed between their frontiers and those of the Company. Lord Amherst, in the letter which we have already quoted, describes how they seized an island on which we had established a small military post, and when the Governor-General mildly complained to the king of Ava of this outrage, attributing it to the mistake of the local authorities, a force came down from Ava, "threatening to invade our territory

* "Hansard," vol. xxxix. col. 866.

† "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 316.

‡ "Annuaire Historique," 1824, p. 537.

§ "Edinburgh Review," vol. xlvii. p. 183.

from one end of the frontier to the other, and to re-annex the province of Bengal to the dominions of its rightful owner, the Lord of the White Elephant."

At the beginning of April the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Birman dominions, situated at the embouchure of the Irawaddi—according to lord Amherst "the Liverpool and Portsmouth of Ava." This important place was taken possession of almost without striking a blow; but the hope of the Governor-General that from thence he should be able to dictate the terms of a moderate and therefore lasting peace, was not very quickly realized. The British had to deal with the most warlike of their neighbours. The king of Ava called his people to arms. During the rainy season they had abundant time for preparation; and sir Archibald Campbell, who occupied Rangoon, felt the immediate necessity of fortifying it against the probable attack of a bold and persevering enemy. An enormous pagoda, more than three hundred feet high, became a citadel, garrisoned by a battalion of European troops, and the smaller Bhuddist temples assumed the character of fortresses. During June and July the Birmese made repeated attacks upon the British positions, but were as constantly repelled. On the night of the 30th of August, when the astrologers had decided that an attack upon this sacred place would free the country from the impious strangers, a body of troops called Invulnerables advanced to the northern gateway. A terrible cannonade was opened upon these dense masses, and they fled at once to the neighbouring jungle.

The Birmese were more successful in their offensive operations in Bengal. Under the command of an officer called Maha Bandoola, the Aracan army advanced to Ramoo, and completely routed a detachment of native infantry. The alarm was so great in Calcutta that the native merchants were with difficulty persuaded to remain with their families, and the peasants almost universally fled from their villages. The Birmese, however, did not advance. The British had taken some important places of the Birman territory, and Maha Bandoola was recalled by the Lord of the White Elephant for the defence of his Golden Empire. In December Maha Bandoola brought sixty thousand fighting men to make one overwhelming attack upon Rangoon. For seven days there was severe fighting. The Birmese troops were repeatedly driven from their stockades, and at last, when they advanced on the 7th of December for a grand attack on the great pagoda, they were driven back into their entrenchments, and after severe fighting were chased into the jungle.

In February, 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell began to move up the Irawaddi into the interior of the Birman empire. As part of his force advanced to attack the formidable works of Donoopew, they were repulsed, and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded men were not carried off. The barbarity in warfare of the Birmese was notorious. These unfortunate men were all crucified, and their bodies sent floating down the river upon rafts. On the 25th of March sir Archibald Campbell undertook the siege of Donoopew. For a week there had been an incessant fire from our mortars and rockets, and the breaching batteries were about to be opened, when two Lascars, who had been taken prisoners, came to the camp, and said that the chiefs and all the Birmese army had fled, for that Maha Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of our shells. By the possession of Donoopew the navigation of the Irawaddi became wholly under our command. The army continued to advance, and Prome was occupied at the end of April. The rainy monsoon now set in, and there was a suspension of operations. In the middle of November and beginning of December there were two great battles, in the latter of which the Birmese were thoroughly discomfited. Overtures of peace were now made, but their object was only to gain time. At the beginning of 1826 there was severe fighting as the British advanced towards Ava. Repeated defeats and the approach of a conquering army compelled the king really to sue for peace when the British had reached Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from the capital. He had previously refused to ratify preliminaries which had been concluded on the 3rd of January, in announcing which event to her friends at home lady Amherst described herself "in the highest state of exultation and joy."* The vigorous operations of sir Archibald Campbell, who had defeated a large army styled "The Retrievers of the King's glory," had finally compelled the treaty of Yandaboo, which was signed on the 24th of February. By this treaty the king of Ava agreed to renounce all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies; to cede in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Aracan, of Yeh, of Tavoy, of Mergui, and of Tenasserim; and to pay the sum of one crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. He further agreed that accredited British ministers should be allowed to reside at Ava; that an accredited Birmese minister should reside at Calcutta; and that free trade to British subjects should be allowed in the Birmese dominions.

The fierce conflict of two years on the banks of the Irawaddi presented a memorable example of that courage and endurance

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. iii. p. 430.

which eventually overcomes dangers and difficulties apparently insuperable. It has been truly said by an officer engaged in this war, "Perhaps there are few instances on record in the history of any nation of a mere handful of men, with constitutions broken down by many months of previous disease and privation, forcing their way in the face of such difficulties, and through a wilderness hitherto untrodden by Europeans, to the distance of five hundred miles from the spot where they originally disembarked, and ultimately dictating a peace within three days' march of the enemy's capital." * During these land operations, with all this bravery and fortitude of the little army, it would have been impossible to succeed without the active co-operation of a flotilla on the rivers. The naval assistance thus rendered is memorable for "the employment of a power then for the first time introduced into war—steam. The steam-vessel had been very useful, not merely in carrying on communications with despatch but in overcoming formidable resistance." †

During the last year of the Birmese war the East India Company became engaged in a new conflict, for the purpose of protecting a native prince, with whom we were in alliance, against an usurper. The Rajah of Bhurtpore, before his death, at the beginning of 1825, had declared his son to be his successor, and had included him in the treaty of alliance with the Company. The nephew of the deceased prince raised a revolt against this succession. Many of the native princes looked on anxiously to see if the British, with the Birmese war on their hands, would put forth any strength to maintain one of their devoted adherents. In the streets of Delhi the populace had shouted, "The rule of the Company is at an end." The prince who had been expelled had been assured by sir David Ochterlony that he should be supported. Lord Amherst was at first for non-interference. He knew that Bhurtpore had been deemed impregnable; and he might fear that, now occupied with an enormous force by the usurping Rajah, the same ill fortune might befall an attack upon the place as had befallen lord Lake in 1805, when he was beaten from the city by the Jauts, who had ever since regarded themselves as invincible. The Commander-in-Chief in India, lord Combermere, in his Peninsular experience as sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen what war was in its most difficult operations, and he could not despair of taking an

* Lieut.-Col. Alexander M. Tulloch, quoted in Mac Farlane's "Our Indian Empire," vol. ii. p. 325.

† Mr. Wynn, in debate on Vote of Thanks to the Army, "Hansard," vol. xvii. col. 668.

Indian fortress when he recollected the terrible sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. He had just come to India to succeed sir Edward Paget in the chief command. The duke of Wellington described his old companion-in-arms as having lost no time in joining the army on his arrival in India, and as having travelled upwards of a thousand miles in ten days, in order that he might begin the operations at a proper season. "He had commenced those operations," says the duke, "carried them on with that vigour and activity which insured their success, and had closed them by a military feat which had never been surpassed by any army upon any occasion."* Lord Combermere, upon his arrival before Bhurtpore, addressed a letter to the usurper, requesting him to send out the women and children, who should have safe-conduct. This humane request was not acceded to. On the 23rd of November the bombardment commenced. On the morning of the 18th of January the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed the whole of the salient angle of the fortress. Our troops rushed in at the breaches. In two hours the whole rampart, though obstinately defended, was in our possession, and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The formidable works of Bhurtpore were afterwards destroyed; the rightful prince was reinstated; and the people returned to their allegiance. The rapid and decided success of lord Combermere dissipated the fears which bishop Heber had expressed to his friends at home at the beginning of the siege. He thought that should lord Combermere fail, "all Northern and Western India, every man who owns a sword and can buy or steal a horse, will be up against us, less from disliking us than in the hope of booty."

Before concluding this notice of the affairs of India during the administration of three governors-general, we must advert to a matter of important controversy—the regulation of the Press in India. The first newspaper published under the rule of the Company was one established at Calcutta in 1781. Other newspapers were set up during the next twenty years. In 1799, under the administration of the marquess Wellesley, regulations were issued for the newspaper press, the most important of which was that no paper should be published until it had been previously inspected by the Secretary to the government, or by a person duly authorized by him. The penalty for contravening these regulations was immediate embarkation for Europe. Mr. James Mill, in his "History of British India," describes the Indian press as a great nuisance, in its indecorous attacks upon private life,

* "Hansard," vol. xvii. col. 771.

and its ignorant censures of public measures, to control which lord Wellesley's regulations were framed. In 1818 the marquess of Hastings promulgated new regulations, which did not attempt to establish a censorship, but prohibited animadversions on proceedings in England connected with the government of India; discussions on the political transactions of local administration; private scandal; and disquisitions having a tendency to create alarm amongst the natives as to the probability of any interference with their religious opinions or ceremonies. In 1816 Mr. James Silk Buckingham, who had obtained a licence to reside in Calcutta, purchased the copyright of two of the newspapers published there, and amalgamated them under the title of "The Calcutta Journal." Although the marquess of Hastings had abolished the censorship previous to publication, he had established a tribunal whose business it was to watch the statements and opinions of the Indian newspaper press, and to give to their conductors that sort of warning with which we are familiar enough in the control of the press in a neighbouring country. In India a neglect of such warnings would be followed by the deportation of the offending proprietor, if not by a total suppression of the journal in which he had embarked his property. Mr. Buckingham, according to a statement of Dr. Phillimore in the House of Commons, received three such warnings previous to the marquess of Hastings resigning his administration, one of which, in 1822, was called for by his offence in traducing the government of India respecting the kingdom of Oude.* Mr. Adam, during the interval in which he administered the government previous to the arrival of lord Amherst, took a very summary mode to put an end to the freedom of Mr. Buckingham's strictures upon Indian affairs, and especially of a freedom most obnoxious to the authorities—the disposal of their patronage. The appointment by Mr. Adam of a Scotch clergyman, the head of the Presbyterian establishment in India, to the lucrative agency through which the government was supplied with stationery, called forth the animadversions of "The Calcutta Journal." Mr. Adam immediately annulled Mr. Buckingham's licence to remain in India, adding the threat that if he were found in the country after two months he should be sent to England as a prisoner. Mr. Buckingham transferred his paper to a British-born subject of the name of Arnot. At the period of lord Amherst's arrival, by a series of arbitrary proceedings the deportation of Mr. Arnot was effected; "The Calcutta Journal" suppressed; and its circulation merged in a

* "Hansard," vol. xv. col. 1013.

Calcutta newspaper, over which the government had efficient control by its appointment of an editor. Mr. Buckingham,—who long made England resound with the story of his wrongs, and who was in some degree recompensed by a large public subscription,—appealed to the Privy Council against the regulations of the Bengal government on the subject of the Press. The East India Company contended before the Privy Council, as Dr. Phillimore contended in his place in Parliament in 1826: "When the House considered the vast importance of our possessions in India, and the delicate tie by which they were held—that a handful of Europeans exercised supreme sway over many millions of the native people, and that our empire was maintained by opinion alone—they must see that if the same freedom of discussion were allowed to prevail in that country as we enjoyed in this, and if individuals were permitted to traduce the government through the means of the press, it would be impossible to retain the power which this country held in India." * Nevertheless, lord Amherst adopted a different policy with regard to the Press, which was undoubtedly the most prudent, as it was the most dignified. He had made one mistake on this subject upon his first arrival in India, seduced, it is alleged, by evil counsels. "Ever after, while his lordship was present in Calcutta to protect it, the Press enjoyed a freedom unknown to it for forty-four years, and experience showed, as it had done before, that that freedom was as safe as it was beneficial." † * Mr. Elphinstone, in conversation with bishop Heber, whilst maintaining the inconvenience and even danger of unrestricted political discussion, "acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated."

In the history of British India up to this period, we find very few traces of any effort on the part of the government to call forth the material resources of the Peninsula; to supply by new appliances of modern science the decay of the ancient works by which lands were irrigated and famine prevented; to bring distant places into correspondence by roads and improved navigation. The all-absorbing business of conquest prevented any marked attention to the improvement of the native cultivation of the soil, or of the communications by which produce could be conveyed from the producer to the consumer. The company was indeed very solicitous about the growth of opium, its great source of revenue, but it did little for the cultivation of cotton, the British demand for which would have formed a sufficient excitement to its growth and preparation for market by improved processes. Some efforts in

* "Hansard," vol. xv. col. 1013.

† "Edinburgh Review," vol. xlvii. p. 182.

this direction were however made by the East India Company. As early as 1788 they distributed amongst the natives seeds from different cotton-growing countries. In 1813 they brought an American to teach the people how to cultivate the cotton-plant, and they imported American gins for cleaning the wool. Small progress was made in carrying forward such improvements. The cultivation of cotton, of the sugar cane, of the hemp-plant, and of the cereals, would be always restricted to the local demand, as long as roads and water communications were neglected by the authorities which governed the country. Lord William Bentinck succeeded lord Amherst as Governor-General, and until his administration the roads of the country consisted of little more than native wheel-tracks. "Above Allahabad, and in various other parts, so recently as the year 1830, a regiment proceeding in course of relief from one station to another, had to be preceded by a native guide." *

* "Companion to the Almanac, 1857."

GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PRUSSIA.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.
1789 George III.	Louis XVI.	Joseph II.	Frederic William II.	Gustavus III.	Catherine II.	Charles IV.
1790 —	—	Leopold II.	—	—	—	—
1792 —	Republic.	Francis II.*	—	Gustavus IV.	—	—
1796 —	—	—	—	—	Paul I.	—
1797 —	—	—	Frederic William III.	—	—	—
1799 —	Bonapart, 1st Consul	—	—	—	—	—
1801 —	—	—	—	—	Alexander.	—
1804 —	Napoleon, Emperor.	—	—	—	—	—
1806 —	—	Austria.	—	—	—	—
1808 —	—	Francis I.	—	—	—	{ Ferdinand VII. }
1809 —	—	—	—	Charles XIII.	—	{ Joseph Napoleon }
1811 Regency.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1814 —	Louis XVIII.	—	—	—	—	Ferdinand VII.

* Upon the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine, in 1806, Francis ceased to be Emperor of Germany, and became hereditary Emperor of Austria, under the title of Francis I.

GREAT BRITAIN.	DENMARK.	PORTUGAL.	PAPAL STATES.	NAPLES.	SARDINIA.	UNITED STATES.
1789 George III.	Christian VII.	Maria.	Pius VI.	Ferdinand IV.	Victor Amadeus III.	George Washington, } (President). Re-elected 1793.
1793 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1795 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1799 —	—	—	—	—	Charles Emanuel IV.	John Adams, } (President). —
1797 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1799 —	—	John VI.	Pius VII.	—	—	—
1800 —	—	—	—	—	—	Thomas Jefferson, } (President). —
1801 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1802 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1803 —	Frederic VI.	—	—	Joseph Napoleon.	Victor Emanuel.	James Madison, } (President). Re-elected 1813.
1808 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1809 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1811 Regency.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1814 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1815 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1817 —	—	—	—	Ferdinand IV. (Restored.)	Victor Emanuel I.	James Monroe.
1820 George IV.	—	—	—	—	—	James Monroe, re-elected 1821.
1821 —	—	—	—	—	Charles Felix.	—
1823 —	—	—	Leo XII.	—	—	John Quincy Adams.
1825 —	—	{ Pedro IV. Maria da Gloria. }	—	Francis I.	—	—
1826 —	—	—	—	—	—	—

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND RULERS.

GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.
1815 Regency.	Louis XVIII.	Francis I.	Frederic William III.	Charles XIII.	Alexander I.	Ferdinand VII.
1818 —	—	—	—	Charles John XIV.	—	—
1820 George IV.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1824 —	Charles X.	—	—	—	—	—
1825 —	—	—	—	—	Nicholas I.	—

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE—(continued).

LORD CHANCELLOR.	FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.	CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.	PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.		
			HOME.	FOREIGN.	WAR AND COLONIES.
1801. John lord Eldon, (April 14).	1801. Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, created viscount Sidmouth, 1805 (March 7).	1801. Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, (March 7).	1801. Thomas lord Pelham.	1801. Robt. lord Hawkesbury, (Feb.).	1801. Lord Hobart, (March).
1802. "	1802. "	1802. "	1802. "	1802. "	1802. "
1803. "	1803. "	1803. "	1803. Hon. Chas. Yorke.	1803. "	1803. "
1804. "	1804. Hon. William Pitt.	1804. Hon. William Pitt.	1804. Robert lord Hawkesbury.	1804. Lord Harrowby.	1804. Earl Camden.
1805. Thomas lord Erskine.	1805. "	1805. "	1805. "	1805. Earl Mulgrave.	1805. Vis. Castlereagh.
1806. "	1806. William lord Grenville.	1806. Lord Henry Petty	1806. Earl Spencer,	1806. Hon. Chas. James Fox.	1806. William Windham.
1807. John lord Eldon.	1807. Duke of Portland.	1807. Hon. Spencer Percival	1807. Robt. lord Hawkesbury (afterwards earl of Liverpool).	— Lord Charles Howick, (became earl Grey, Nov. 1807)	1807. Viscount Castlereagh.
1808. "	1808. "	1808. "	1808. "	1807. Rt. Hon. George Canning.	1808. "
1809. "	1809. "	1809. "	1809. Hon. Richard Ryder.	1808. Earl Bathurst.	1809. Earl of Liverpool.
1810. "	1810. Hon. Spencer Percival.	1810. "	1810. "	— Marquis Wellesley.	1810. "
1811. "	1811. "	1811. "	1811. "	1810. "	1811. "
1812. "	1812. Earl of Liverpool.	1812. Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart.	1812. Viscount Sidmouth	1811. Viscount Castlereagh.	1812. Earl Bathurst.
1813. "	1813. "	1813. "	1813. "	1812. "	1813. "
1814. "	1814. "	1814. "	1814. "	1813. "	1814. "
1815. "	1815. "	1815. "	1815. "	1814. "	1815. "

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from page 170.)

- 1802 June 25: Definitive treaty between France and the Ottoman Porte.
 1802 September 11: Piedmont united to France.
 1803 March 14: Hostilities renewed between Great Britain and France.
 1803 May 18: War declared by Great Britain against France.
 1803 June 17: Great Britain declared war against the republic of Batavia.
 1803 August 1: A treaty ratified between Great Britain and Sweden.
 1804 December 12: Spain declared war against Great Britain.
 1805 January 24: War declared against Spain by Great Britain.
 1805 April 8: The *Treaty of Petersburg* entered into for a third coalition against France, England and Russia being the contracting parties.
 1805 August 9: The Emperor of Austria acceded to the treaty of Petersburg.
 1805 August 31: An alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into at Beekaskog, between Great Britain and Sweden.
 1805 September 8: *Third Coalition* against France, the parties being Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Naples.
 1805 September 21: A treaty of neutrality signed between France and Naples.
 1805 December 26: *Peace of Presburg* between France and Austria, by which the ancient states of Venice were ceded to Italy; the principality of Eichstett, part of the bishopric of Passau, the city of Augsburg, the Tyrol, all the possessions of Austria in Sunbia, in Brigau, and Ortenau, were transferred to the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Württemberg, who, as well as the duke of Baden, were then created kings by Napoleon; the independence of the Helvetic republic was also stipulated for.
 1806 April 7: War between Great Britain and Prussia.
 1806 July 12: The Germanic *Confederation of the Rhine* formed under the auspices of Napoleon.
 1806 July 20: *Peace of Paris* between France and Russia, which Alexander subsequently refused to ratify.
 1806 August 1: The treaty of the 12th July notified to the Diet at Ratisbon, when German princes seceded from the Germanic empire, and placed themselves under the protection of Napoleon.
 1806 October 6: The *Fourth Coalition* formed against France, by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Saxony.
 1806 November 21: The *Berlin Decree*, issued by Bonaparte after the battle of Jena, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade, and interdicting the whole world from any communication with them.
 1806 November 28: War declared against France by Russia.
 1806 December 11: A treaty of peace and alliance signed at Cosen, between Napoleon and the elector of Saxony, who then assumed the title of king.
 1806 December 17: War declared against Russia by Turkey.
 1806 December 31: A treaty of commerce entered into between Great Britain and the United States of America, which the latter state afterwards refused to ratify.
 1807 July 2: The President of the United States ordered all British ships to evacuate the ports of America, in consequence of the capture of the Chesapeake by an English ship of war.

- 1807 July 7: *Peace of Tilsit* concluded between France and Russia, when Napoleon restored to the Prussian monarch one-half of his territories, and Russia recognized the Confederation of the Rhine, and the elevation of Napoleon's three brothers, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, to the thrones of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia; this treaty was ratified on the 19th.
- 1807 Aug. 16: A Danish declaration published against Great Britain.
- 1807 October 8: The Prince Regent of Portugal ordered all his ports to be shut against the British, which order was speedily revoked, and on the French approaching Lisbon, he embarked, on Nov. 27, for the Brazils.
- 1807 October 31: A treaty of alliance entered into between France and Denmark.
- 1807 November 1: Russia declared war against England.
- 1807 November 10: A treaty ratified at Paris between France and Holland, whereby Flushing was ceded to the French.
- 1807 December 17: *Milan Decree* issued by Napoleon; England declared in a state of blockade.
- 1808 February 8: Treaty of peace between Great Britain and Sweden.
- 1808 February 18: A declaration issued by Austria, breaking off all connection with England.
- 1808 February 29: Denmark declared war against Sweden.
- 1808 March 30: A treaty of alliance and subsidy entered into between England and Sicily, whereby the latter was to be garrisoned by 10,000 British troops, and to receive an annual subsidy of 300,000*l*.
- 1808 May 1: The Regent of Portugal declared war against France.
- 1808 May 5: *Treaty of Bayonne*, whereby Charles IV. ceded all his titles to Spain and its dependencies to Napoleon, expressly resigning to him the right of transmitting the crown to whomsoever he should think fitting.
- 1808 May: On the festival of St. Ferdinand, insurrections broke out in several parts of Spain; at Cadiz in particular.
- 1808 June 6: War commenced between the Spanish insurgents and France.
- 1808 June 16: Insurrection of the Portuguese at Oporto, which spread so rapidly as to occasion the evacuation of the northern provinces by the French troops.
- 1808 June 25: A Spanish proclamation of peace with England, and Sweden, her ally, published at Oviedo.
- 1808 August 30: The *Convention of Cintra* signed, the French agreeing to evacuate Portugal.
- 1808 November 5: The *Convention of Berlin* entered into, whereby Napoleon remitted to Prussia the sum due on the war debt, and withdrew his troops from many of the fortresses in order to reinforce his armies in Spain.
- 1809 January 5: Peace ratified between Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte.
- 1809 January 14: A treaty of alliance ratified between England and the Spanish insurgents.
- 1809 April 6: War declared against the French by the Austrians.
- 1809 April 9: The *Fifth Coalition* against France by Great Britain and Austria.
- 1809 May 3: Russia declared war against Austria.
- 1809 July 25: Armistice between Sweden and Norway.
- 1809 September 17: A treaty of peace signed between Russia and Sweden.
- 1809 October 14: *Peace of Vienna*, between France and Austria; Austria ceding to France the Tyrol, Dalmatia, and other territories, which were shortly afterwards declared to be united to France under the title of the Illyrian provinces, and engaging to adhere to the prohibitory system adopted towards England by France and Russia.
- 1810 January 6: *Peace of Paris*, between France and Sweden, whereby Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen were given up to the Swedes, who agreed to adopt the French prohibitory system against Great Britain.
- 1810 February 19: Treaties of alliance and commerce signed between Great Britain and the Brazils.

- 1810 April 13: Sweden interdicts all commerce with England.
- 1810 April 19: The South American provinces of Caracas, &c., form a federative government, under the title of the Federation of Venezuela.
- 1810 May 1: All French and English vessels prohibited from entering the ports of the United States.
- 1810 May 29: The Dey of Algiers declared war against France.
- 1810 July 9: Holland incorporated with France on the abdication of Louis Bonaparte.
- 1810 November 19: Sweden declared war against Great Britain.
- 1812 March 14: Treaty of alliance signed at Paris between France and Austria.
- 1812 March 24: Treaty of alliance, signed at St. Petersburg, between Bernadotte, Prince Royal of Sweden, and the Emperor Alexander; the former agreeing to join in the campaign against France, in return for which Sweden was to receive Norway.
- 1812 April 1: The Berlin decree revoked as far as respected America.
- 1812 May 28: Preliminaries of peace ratified at Bucharest between Russia and Turkey, it being stipulated that the Pruth should form the boundary of those empires.
- 1812 June 18: The United States of America declare war against Great Britain.
- 1812 June 22: Napoleon having assembled an immense army in Western Prussia, declared war against Russia.
- 1812 July 6: A treaty of peace between Great Britain and Sweden ratified at Orebo.
- 1812 July 20: Treaty signed between the Emperor Alexander and the Regency of Cadiz, in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh of Spain.
- 1812 August 1: Treaty of peace and union ratified at St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia, renewing their ancient relations of friendship and commerce.
- 1813 January 25: *Concordat at Fontainebleau*, between Napoleon and Pius VII.
- 1813 March 1: The *Sixth Coalition* entered into between Russia and Prussia against France, the treaty being ratified at Kalisch.
- 1813 March 3: The *Treaty of Stockholm* entered into between England and Sweden.
- 1813 April 1: France declared war against Prussia.
- 1813 June 14: A treaty of alliance concluded between Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia.
- 1813 July 8: The *Convention of Peterswalden* took place between Great Britain and Russia.
- 1813 July 10: A reciprocal treaty of alliance and guarantee entered into between France and Denmark, ratified at Copenhagen.
- 1813 September 3: War declared by Denmark against Sweden.
- 1813 September 9: A triple *Treaty of Alliance* ratified at *Töplitz* between Russia, Austria and Prussia.
- 1813 October 3: A preliminary treaty of alliance signed at *Töplitz* between Austria and Great Britain.
- 1813 December 8: *Treaty of Valençay*, between Napoleon and Ferdinand the Seventh of Spain, whereby the latter was put in full possession of that kingdom, on agreeing to maintain its integrity.
- 1814 January 14: *Treaty of Kiel*, between Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark. Norway ceded to Sweden.
- 1814 February 5: The Cortes of Spain renounce the treaty ratified at Valençay.
- 1814 February 5: Congress of Chatillon between the four great powers allied against France, at which Caulaincourt attended on the part of France. The Congress broke up on the 19th of March.
- 1814 March 1: *Treaty of Chaumont* between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia.
- 1814 April 11: The *Treaty of Paris* ratified on the part of Napoleon and the Allies, by which Napoleon renounced his sovereignty over France, &c., stipulating that the island of Elba should be his domain and residence for life, with a suitable provision for himself and Maria Louisa, who was to have vested in her the duchies of Parma and Placentia; the same to descend to her son.
- 1814 April 23: A convention signed at Paris between the Count d'Artoise on the

- one part, and the Allied Powers on the other, stipulating that all hostilities should cease by land and sea ; that the confederated armies should evacuate the French territory, leaving its boundaries the same as they were on the 1st of January, 1792.
- 1814 May 30 : *Peace of Paris* ratified between France and the Allied Powers, in a supplemental article of which Louis XVIII. stipulated that he would exert his endeavours with the continental powers to ensure the abolition of the slave trade, in conjunction with Great Britain.
- 1814 July 20 : A treaty of peace signed between France and Spain at Paris, confirming the stipulations of previous treaties which had existed on the 1st of January, 1792.
- 1814 July 26 : Norway and Sweden commence hostilities. Norway opposing her separation from Denmark, but eventually submitting in the following August.
- 1814 August 13 : Convention between Great Britain and the Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries respecting the Dutch colonies.
- 1814 September 28 : A convention ratified at Vienna, whereby Saxony was placed under the control of Prussia.
- 1814 December 24 : *Peace of Ghent* between Great Britain and the United States of America.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

WAR OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

			Principal. £	Interest. £	
Peace	George III.	33 & 34	1793	247,874,434	9,711,238
War		34 & 35	1794	263,322,655	10,396,645
"		35 & 36	1795	321,462,679	12,699,310
"		36 & 37	1796	363,838,894	14,765,095
"		37 & 38	1797	338,960,590	15,575,330
"		38 & 39	1798	427,525,902	16,887,399
"		39 & 40	1799	442,324,377	17,560,127
"		40 & 41	1800	470,894,280	18,582,950
"		41 & 42	1801	517,511,871	19,819,839
War		42 & 43	1802	537,653,008	20,268,551
Peace		43 & 44	1803	547,732,796	20,812,962
Peace		44 & 45	1804	571,131,318	21,658,890
War		45 & 46	1805	599,869,847	22,508,359
"		46 & 47	1806	621,096,683	23,196,582
"		47 & 48	1807	633,806,412	23,373,092
"		48 & 49	1808	643,545,783	23,595,013
"		49 & 50	1809	654,401,311	24,292,276
"		50 & 51	1810	662,193,856	24,553,162
"		51 & 52	1811	678,200,436	25,484,765
"		52 & 53	1812	706,254,587	26,853,846
"		53 & 54	1813	738,093,781	29,893,737
"		54 & 55	1814	813,140,176	31,105,644
War		55 & 56	1815	861,039,049	32,645,618
Peace					

POPULATION IN 1811.

Great Britain.	Males.	Females.	Total.
England	4,555,257	4,944,143	9,499,400
Wales	289,414	317,966	607,380
Scotland	825,377	979,187	1,804,864
Army, Navy, &c.	640,500	640,500
Totals	6,310,548	6,241,596	12,552,144